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Received MAR 25 1913

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

FOR

THE YEAR 1909

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WASHINGTON 1911



MAR 25 1913

LETTER OF SUBMITTAL.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, Washington, D. C., January 10, 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 1909. I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CHARLES D. WALCOTT,

Secretary.

ACT OF INCORPORATION.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Andrew D. White, of Ithaca, in the State of New York; George Bancroft, of Washington, in the District of Columbia; Justin Winsor, of Cambridge, in the State of Massachusetts; William F. Poole, of Chicago, in the State of Illinois; Herbert B. Adams, of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland; Clarence W. Bowen, of Brooklyn, in the State of New York, their associates and successors, are hereby created, in the District of Columbia, a body corporate and politic by the name of the American Historical Association for the promotion of historical studies, the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts, and for kindred purposes in the interest of American history and of history in America. Said association is authorized to hold real and personal estate in the District of Columbia so far only as may be necessary to its lawful ends to an amount not exceeding 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., October 8, 1910.

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 1909. On September 10, 1909, the association completed the first 25 years of its existence, and in its annual meeting of December of the same year it celebrated the anniversary of its foundation. proceedings of that celebration are included in the accompanying report. The officers and members of the association justly feel that its record during the quarter century that has elapsed is reasonable cause for congratulation. So closely has the association become identified with all the historical interests of the Nation that its history forms one of the most important chapters in the history of historical work and studies in America. Year by year its activities have widened in scope and increased in importance. During the year 1909 a committee of the association published a report on the teaching of history in the elementary schools, while another committee carried on a revision of the report on the teaching of history in the secondary schools, which was first published over 10 years ago, and which has had so profound an influence upon that branch of education. The public archives commission has continued its useful and important work in making known the contents of the various State archives, and in December, 1909, it organized a conference of American archivists, which will be hereafter held annually and which will undoubtedly have a most important influence upon the development of archival science in America. The association has assumed the duty of presenting annually a complete bibliography of the year's product of books and articles relating to American history, which will hereafter form a constant feature of its annual reports. A committee has been appointed to consider the advisability of establishing a commission on historic sites and monuments, while another committee has, in conjunction with an English committee, been actively engaged in planning a bibliography of modern English history, a work which will be of the greatest service to American students.

Thus it is evident that the association is not failing in the fulfillment of the purpose set forth in the charter of incorporation granted to it by Congress—the promotion of the interests of American history and of history in America.

Very respectfully,

WALDO G. LELAND, Secretary.

The Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

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, 1909.

PRESIDENT:

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., .

Harvard University.

VICE PRESIDENTS:

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

> THEODORE ROOSEVELT., LL. D., Oyster Bay, New York.

SECRETARY:

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

TREASURER:

CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, Ph. D., 180 Fulton Street. New York.

SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL:

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

CUBATOB:

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., Quoque, N. Y.

> GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D., Toronto, Canada.

JOHN BACH McMASTER, Ph. D., LITT. D., LL. D., University of Pennsylvania.

SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D.,
Yale University, Associate Judge of Supreme Court of Errors of Connecticut.

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.

(Elected Councilors.)

MAX FARRAND, Ph. D., Yale University.

FRANK HEYWOOD HODDER, PH. M., University of Kansas.

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

CHARLES HENRY HULL, Ph. D.,

Cornell University.

FRANKLIN L. RILEY, PH. D., University of Mississippi.

EDWIN ERLE SPARKE, PH. D., LL. D., Pennsylvania State College.

PACIFIC COAST BRANCH.

OFFICERS ELECTED NOVEMBER 20, 1909.

PRESIDENT:

EPHRAIM D. ADAMS, PH. D., Leland Stanford Junior University.

VICE PRESIDENT:

EDMOND S. MEANY, LITT. M., University of Washington.

SECRETARY-TREASURER:

JACOB N. BOWMAN, Ph. D., University of California.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

(In addition to the above-named officers.)

HERBERT E. BOLTON, Ph. D., Leland Stanford Junior University.

MISS AGNES E. HOWE, State Normal School, San Jose, Cal.

EUGENE I. McCORMAC, PH. D., University of California.

MISS JEANNE E. WIER, University of Nevada.

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. THENRY 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.

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. THERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, PH. D., LL. D., 1901. ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D., 1901. †HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL. D., 1902. †GOLDWIN 8MITH, D. C. L., LL. D., 1902, 1908. †EDWARD McCRADY, LL. D., 1903. JOHN BACH McMASTER, Ph. D., LITT. D., LL. D., 1904. 8IMEON 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., 1908, 1909.

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. FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, A. M., 1885-1887. †WILLIAM FRANCIS ALLEN, A. M., 1885-1887. †WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1886-1888. †RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES, LL. D., 1887-1888. JOHN W. BURGESS, PH. D., LL. D., 1887-1891. ARTHUR MARTIN WHEELER, A. M., 1887-1889. †GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1888-1891. †GEORGE BROWN GOODE, LL. D., 1889-1896. JOHN GEORGE BOURINOT, C. M. G., D. C. L., LL. D., 1889-1894. JOHN BACH McMASTER, 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., 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., 1897-1900. ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, LL. B., 1898-1901; 1903-1906. WILLIAM A. DUNNING, PH. D., 1899-1902. †PETER WHITE, A. M., 1899-1902. J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., 1900-1903. A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, LL. B., 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., 1905-1908. JAMES H. ROBINSON, Ph. D., 1905-1908. WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, A. M., 1906-1909. WILLIAM MACDONALD, PH. D., LL. D., 1906-1909.

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COMMITTEES-1910.

Committee on Program for the Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting.—Prof. Evarts B. Greene, Urbana, Ill., chairman; Wilbur C. Abbott, Archibald C. Coolidge, Earle W. Dow, William L. Westermann, James A. Woodburn.

Local Committee of Arrangements for that Meeting.—Calvin N. Kendall, Esq., Indianapolis, Ind., chairman; Christopher B. Coleman, Jacob P. Dunn, Evarts B. Greene, T. C. Howe, Meredith Nicholson, Charles R. Williams,

Editors of the American Historical Review.—Prof. George B. Adams, Yale University, 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; Herbert D. Foster, Gaillard Hunt, Thomas M. Owen, Ulrich B. Phillips, Frederick G. Young.

Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize.—Prof. Charles H. Hull, Cornell University, chairman; Carl Becker, Francis A. Christie, John H. Latané, Claude H. Van Tyne.

Public Archives Commission.—Prof. Herman V. Ames, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Charles M. Andrews, Clarence S. Brigham, Robert D. W. Connor, Carl R. Fish, Victor H. Paltsits, Dunbar Rowland.

Committee on Bibliography.—Prof. Ernest C. Richardson, Princeton University, chairman; Appleton P. C. Griffin, W. Dawson Johnston, Wilbur H. Siebert, 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, Charles H. Hull, J. Franklin Jameson, Waldo G. Leland, Ernest C. Richardson.

Committee on the Herbert Boster Adams Prize.—Prof. George L. Burr, Cornell University, chairman; Guy S. Ford, Edwin F. Gay, James W. Thompson, John M. Vincent.

General Committee.—Prof. St. George L. Sioussat, University of the South, chairman; Jacob N. Bowman (ex officio), Walter L. Fleming, Waldo G. Leland (ex officio), Albert C. Myers, Frederic L. Paxson, Miss Lucy M. Salmon.

Committee on History in Secondary Schools.—Prof. Andrew C. McLaughlin, University of Chicago, chairman; Charles H. Haskins, James H. Robinson, James Sullivan.

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.

Conference of State and Local Historical Societies.—Clarence M. Burton, Esq., Detroit, Mich., chairman; Waldo G. Leland, secretary.

Committee to Report on Historical Sites and Monuments.—President Edwin E. Sparks, Pennsylvania State College, chairman; Henry E. Bourne, Edmond S. Meany, Frank H. Severance, Reuben G. Thwaites.

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ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES.

Organization.—The American Historical Association was organized at Saratoga, N. Y., on September 10, 1884, with an enrollment of 40 members. In 1889 the association was incorporated by act of Congress, its principal office was fixed at Washington, and it was required to make an annual report to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. The object of the association is the "promotion of historical studies," and the activities of the association have steadily increased in number and widened in scope.

Membership.—Any person approved by the executive council may become a member of the American Historical Association by paying \$3, the amount of the annual dues. On payment of \$50 any person may become a life member, exempt from dues. Any member may nominate for membership such persons as he or she believes to be properly qualified, but their willingness to accept election should in all cases be ascertained before presenting their names. Nominations should be made to the secretary, who will furnish blanks upon request. Persons desiring to join the association may make application to the secretary to have their names presented to the council.

Dues.—There is no entrance fee. The annual dues are \$3, payable on September 1 for the ensuing fiscal year. The publications of the association are not sent to members whose dues remain unpaid after December 1.

Pacific coast branch.—The Pacific coast branch was established in 1903 as an integral part of the American Historical Association. Those members of the association who reside west of the Rocky Mountains may be members of the Pacific coast branch, and all members of the Pacific coast branch are members of the association. The members of the Pacific coast branch pay their annual dues to the treasurer of the association and receive all publications that are distributed. The Pacific coast branch has its own officers and committees and holds its own annual meetings. The proceedings of these meetings, and certain papers presented at them, are published in the annual reports of the association. A delegate is sent to attend the annual meetings of the association.

Publications.—The annual report of the American Historical Association is published by authority of Congress, and contains the proceedings and program of the annual meeting, the proceedings of the Pacific coast branch, such papers read at the meetings as are selected for inclusion by the committee on publications, together with other material, such as documents, bibliographies, reports of commissions, etc.

The Papers of the American Historical Association, its earliest publications, are contained in five volumes, which were issued from 1886 to 1891 and then discontinued. These contain the reports of the first seven annual meetings (1884–1890), abstracts and texts of papers read at the meetings, lists of members, and a certain number of monographs.

: The American Historical Review is, by special arrangement with the board of editors, sent to all members in good standing. It is published quarterly, on the 1st of October, January, April, and July, each number being made up of

articles, documents, book reviews, and notes and news, and containing 200 or more pages. Volume I begins with the number for October, 1895.

The Handbook, containing the lists of officers and committees, with the names and addresses of members, is published in the spring of each odd year by the office of the secretary and distributed to all members.

The series of Prize Essays of the American Historical Association is composed of those monographs for which the Justin Winsor and Herbert Baxter Adams prizes are alternately awarded. Each monograph constitutes one volume of the series and is supplied to members, upon subscriptions sent to the treasurer, for \$1.

Writings on American History, an annual bibliography having 3,000 to 4,000 entries, is supported, in part, by a subsidy from the American Historical Association. The issues covering the years 1906, 1907, and 1908 are published by the Macmillian Company; those covering subsequent years are incorporated in the annual reports of the association.

Original Narratives of Early American History is the title of a series of reprints, edited under the auspices of the American Historical Association, and designed to provide a comprehensive and well-rounded collection of those narratives which hold the most important place as sources of American history anterior to 1700. The series is published by Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Study of History in Secondary Schools, being the report of the committee of seven of the American Historical Association, was published by the Macmillan Company in 1899. A committee of five has been engaged in a revision of this report, and this has been published by the same publishers in 1911.

The Study of History in Elementary Schools, being the report of the committee of eight of the American Historical Association, was published in 1909 by Charles Scribner's Sons.

Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series, of which the first three volumes have been published, will be complete to 1783 in six volumes (London, Wyman and Sons). The series is edited by W. L. Grant and James Munro, the expense of transcribing and editing being met by international cooperation. The American Historical Association is one of the financial supporters of this important work.

The Papers of the American Society of Church History were published in eight volumes from 1889 to 1897, and were discontinued upon the union of that society with the American Historical Association.

Annual meetings.—Annual meetings have thus far been held in Boston, Providence, New Haven, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Richmond, New Orleans, Cleveland, Detroit, Indianapolis, Chicago, and Madison. The meeting of 1911 is to be in Buffalo. The meetings are held during a period of three or four days within the dates of December 27-31. The program is made up of formal sessions with set papers and of more informal round-table conferences, of the annual business meeting, and of various social features. The public is cordially invited to all sessions and conferences. Preliminary editions of the program, with detailed information respecting railroad rates, hotel accommodations, etc., are sent to all members some weeks in advance of the meetings.

Conference of historical societies.—In connection with the annual meetings there is held each year a conference of representatives of the various State and local historical societies, for the discussion of matters of interest to such organizations, and the planning of cooperative activities. The reports of the conference are printed in the annual report of the association. All historical societies are urged to send representatives, whether members of the association or not, to this conference.

Conference of archivists.—A conference of archivists is also held, attended by representatives of national and state archives. Topics relating to European

and American archives, their organization, the collection, storage, and classification of material, and its use for historical purposes, are discussed in formal papers and informally at these conferences.

Historical manuscripts commission.—The historical manuscripts commission was established in 1895. It has engaged itself in securing information respecting the manuscript sources of American history and in publishing calendars and texts. Thus it has printed, in the annual reports, the letters of John C. Calhoun, the letters of Salmon P. Chase, the correspondence of the French ministers to the United States, 1791–1797, and the diplomatic archives of the Republic of Texas, as well as smaller collections of documents. The commission endeavors to stimulate an interest in the proper preservation and making accessible of manuscript materials and has prepared a leaflet of suggestions for the printing of documents relating to American history. This leaflet may be obtained upon application to the secretary.

Public archives commission.—The public archives commission was established in 1899 for the purpose of examining into the condition and character of the public records of the United States, of the several States, and of local communities, with a view to obtaining and publishing such information concerning them as will make the records more generally known and more easily available for students. The commission has been instrumental in securing legislation for the better administration of the public records in many States, and has printed, in the annual reports, reports of varying scope on the archives of about 30 States, as well as reports on the records of certain cities and counties, together with a summary of state legislation relating to the custody and supervision of the public records, and a bibliography of the printed public archives of the thirteen original States to 1789.

Committee on bibliography.—The committee on bibliography considers such bibliographical projects as come before it, and has caused to be prepared various bibliographies which have been printed in the annual reports. Among these have been a bibliography of the publications of American historical societies, a list of the public documents of the first fourteen Congresses, notes on the collections of works on European history in American libraries, bibliographies of Alabama and of Mississippi, etc.

Committee on a bibliography of modern English history.—This committee was appointed by the council in December, 1908, at the request of the conference on English history, for the purpose of securing the preparation of a bibliographical introduction to modern English history. It cooperates with an English committee having the same purpose.

HISTORICAL PRIZES.

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 blennially (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 awards on or before October 1 [hereafter July 1] of the given year—e. g., by October 1, 1911, 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 investigation 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.

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 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 (after Jan. 1, 1911) 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 1908 was offered annually) has been awarded to the following:

1896. Herman V. Ames, The Proposed Amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

1900. William A. Schaper, Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina; with honorable mention of Mary S. Locke, Anti-Slavery Sentiment before 1808.

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 of Pennsylvania—Slavery, Servitude, and Freedom, 1699-1861.

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 from 1558 to 1718.

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

NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 27-31, 1909.

By WALDO G. LELAND, Secretary.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 27-31, 1909.

By WALDO G. LELAND.

The American Historical Association was founded at Saratoga in September, 1884, and had, therefore, in December, 1909, completed a trifle more than a quarter century of existence.2 The American Economic Association was founded a year later and had completed a trifle less than a quarter of a century. An anniversary celebration was felt to be an appropriate exercise for both associations, in which joined the host of younger and more specialized societies which have grown up out of and about the two larger associations. Thus there met in New York the two older associations, together with the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, the American Association for Labor Legislation, the American Statistical Association, the American Social Science Association, the American Society of Church History, and the Bibliographical Society of America; an agglomeration which rivaled the American Association for the Advancement of Science, which was meeting at the same time in Boston. The total registration of all the societies in attendance at the New York meeting was about 1,100, of which 565 should be credited to the historical association. If size is to be taken as a criterion the twenty-fifth meeting of the American Historical Association was nearly twice as successful as the most successful preceding meeting. Contributing to this success in no small measure was the long list of foreign names figuring upon the consolidated program. Thus there were the Right Hon. James Bryce; Henry Higgs, of the Royal Economic Society; Prof. H. A. L. Fisher, of Oxford; Prof. George W. Prothero, of London; Sir Horace Plunkett, of Ireland; Camille Enlart, director of the Musée de Sculpture comparée, of Paris; Prof. Eduard Meyer, of the University of Berlin;

² For a most interesting historical sketch of the association see the article by Dr. J. F. Jameson in the American Historical Review, XV, 1 ff. (October, 1909).

¹For other accounts of the New York meeting see American Historical Review, XV, 475 ff.; the Survey, January 15, 1910; the Independent, January 6, 1910; and the Boston Transcript, January 1, 1910. In the present account free use has been made of these other reports.

Prof. Rafael Altamira, of Oviedo; Dr. H. T. Colenbrander, of The Hague; Maffeo Pantaleoni, of Rome; Prof. Wrong, of Toronto; Francisco J. Yánes, of the Bureau of American Republics, representing Latin America; M. Zumoto, of Tokyo; Dr. J. Takamine and Dr. K. Asakawa, Japanese residents of America; and T. L. Chao and Chang Lau Chi, of China. Internationalism was perhaps the dominating characteristic of the meeting. An entire session was devoted to the activities of the historical societies of England, France, Germany, Holland, and Spain; another to the Gladstone centenary; a third to the contributions of the Romance nations to the history of America; a fourth to the Scandinavian, Dutch, and German elements in America; the conference of archivists considered mainly the lessons to be learned from European archival practice; the conference of historical societies listened to a paper on the publications of French and German societies; and at the conference on history teaching were presented papers on German and French methods.

Another element of the meeting was the social entertainments provided by the citizens of New York through a committee of one hundred.

Monday afternoon, December 27, was occupied in committee and council meetings. In the evening there was held the citizens' meeting of welcome presided over by Mr. Joseph H. Choate, at which arrangements had been made for addresses of welcome by the President of the United States, the governor of New York, the mayor of New York City, and the president of Columbia University. storm had made impossible the participation of the President, but the meeting was nevertheless a brilliant opening of the exercises of the week. On Tuesday morning the historical and economic associations met to listen to the annual addresses of their presidents. The address by President Hart, of the historical association, on "Imagination in History "1 was an arraignment of inaccuracy in which, while defending the proper use of imagination as necessary to infuse vitality and a sense of reality into historical writings, he scored severely its improper use, ranging from a careless examination of the "sources" to the deliberate manufacture of "facts." President Dewey's address on "Observations in Economics": dwelt especially upon the necessity for accurate facts as a basis for better economic theory and a clearer understanding of economic life.

A luncheon at Columbia University was followed by informal speaking by Mr. Bryce, Prof. Fisher, and President Lowell. In the afternoon a reception was given for the associations in Earl Hall by the Academy of Political Science in the city of New York.



¹ Printed in full in the American Historical Review, XV, 227 ff. (January, 1910).

Printed in the American Economic Association Quarterly, April, 1910.

In the evening the historical association met in the new building of the New York Historical Society to listen to various accounts of the work of foreign historical societies. Prof. Prothero spoke of the work of English societies, Prof. Meyer of that of the German societies, Monsieur Enlart of the French societies, Dr. Colenbrander of the Dutch societies, and Prof. Altamira of those of Spain. A striking difference between the foreign societies and those of America is the greater part played by the national Governments in their direction. In wealth and membership the American societies are perhaps rather better off than those of Europe, but in the production of useful historical material systematically planned and edited with a high degree of scholarship they are undoubtedly far behind. Following this session was a smoker at the City Club.

On Wednesday morning there was a joint session of the historical and political science associations with the general topic, "British constitutional and political development with especial reference to the centenary of Gladstone." Prof. Dennis in his paper on "Tendencies in British Foreign Policy since Disraeli "5 surveyed the advances within 30 years which have been made in the problems connected with Egypt, South Africa, and Afghanistan and in relations with France, Germany, and Russia. Prof. Wrong, of Toronto, followed with a paper on "Canadian Nationalism and the Imperial Tie." 5 Mr. Porritt's paper on the "Paradoxes of Gladstone's Popularity" was from the point of view of a former Parliamentary reporter. Mr. Fisher, of New College, Oxford, spoke of the South African Union. He described the difficulties in the way of such a uniondifficulties brought about by the fact of recent war and by differences in nationality, language, and race; and dwelt upon the various compromises of the constitution—the dual seat of government, the suffrage, and official use of two languages. The final paper by Mr. Bryce dealt with "Recent English History in its Constitutional Aspects," with especial reference to the centenary of the birth of Gladstone. Speaking as one who had been a personal friend of the English statesman, Mr. Bryce was able to make his paper of unusual and vital interest. He spoke of Gladstone's trust of the people, which was the basis of his desire to extend the franchise, and of his large conception of the Empire and of England's relation to her colonies.

Following this session there was a breakfast, presided over by Prof. Sloane. The speaking which followed was participated in by Prof. Hart, who welcomed the foreign delegates; by Mr. Henry Higgs, of the Royal Economic Society, responding on behalf of these latter; and by Prof. Van Dyke, Prof. Dewey, and President Hadley.

¹ Printed below, pp. 229 ff.

² Printed below, pp. 257 ff. ³ Printed below, pp. 243 ff.

Printed below, pp. 245 ff.

⁵ Printed in American Political Science Association Proceedings, VI.

Printed below, pp. 115 ff.

In the evening there was a reception given by the ladies' reception committee, preceded by representations of the work of the City History Club and by historical tableaux, in which the characters were in large part personated by their actual descendants.

On Thursday morning the historical association held four simultaneous conferences.1 That on ancient history, of which W. L. Westermann of the University of Wisconsin was chairman, opened with a paper by Dr. A. T. Olmstead on "Western Asia in the days of Sennacherib of Assyria," which is printed in full in the present volume.² Next followed a paper by Prof. W. S. Ferguson, of Harvard, on Athens and Hellenism, in which he sketched the attitude of the Hellenistic powers toward Athens and described the reaction of Athens to the innovations of Hellenism in politics, government, and social and religious life. A third paper, by Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, of Cornell, related to the "Hellenistic Influence on the Origin of Christianity." Prof. Eduard Meyer, of the University of Berlin, described some of the papyri of the Jewish colony at Elephantine. of which a large number exist dating from the fifth century B. C. Many of these papyri are in small fragments, but they have been put together with great skill, and in some cases nearly complete documents have thus been restored. Most of them are in the Aramaic dialect, which was used as an official language of the Persian Empire. Important among the documents are applications for personal safety which contain illustrations of a pre-Deuteronomic form of Jewish cult. Such an application on the occasion of a conspiracy was made to the high priest of Jerusalem in 411, but remained unanswered, the Jews making it being regarded as heretics. An interesting document is the Story of the Wise Ahikar, a sort of Persian chronicle, in which the Assyrian kings are turned into conventional heroes. This book was read by the Jews from the fifth century, and some of the Hebrew writings show a close relationship to it. Ahikar was introduced into Greek story as Democritus and the traditions of his wisdom can be traced in Hellenistic writings. The story of Ahikar is the first oriental book outside of Egypt and Babylon that has come down to us and it shows the universal background of the specific development in the various countries.

The conference on mediæval history, of which Prof. Emerton was chairman, was a joint session with the American Society of Church History. In the first paper Prof. E. B. Krehbiel, of Leland Stanford University, dealt with the degree to which the great interdict laid upon England by Innocent III in the reign of King John was observed. A close examination of the records had satisfied the



¹ The account that follows is taken in part from the American Historical Review.

^{*} See below, pp. 91 ff.

Printed in the American Historical Review XVI, 1 ff. (October, 1910),

writer that the rewards which John bestowed on those who violated the interdict and the punishments he inflicted on those who observed it caused a considerable amount of disobedience among the clergy. The second paper, by the Rev. Edward W. Miller, of the Auburn Theological Seminary, treated of the origin and historical importance of the mediæval trade guilds and of the religious character and fraternal spirit of the craft guilds. These had their patron saints and usually one or more chaplains, and performed various religious or philanthropic acts, undertaking important charities even outside the circles of their members. Prof. Sidney B. Fay, of Dartmouth, treating of the "Roman Law and the German Peasant," 1 argued that there is no contemporary evidence for the commonly accepted views that the introduction of the Roman law tended to depress the German peasant of Luther's time into the condition of a Roman slave, that there was a popular opposition to the Roman law, or that its introduction was a cause of the Peasants' Revolt of 1525. Monsieur Camille Enlart made a plea for the study in America of the history of mediæval art, tracing the development of that study in France during the last 30 years.² Prof. A. C. Howland, of the University of Pennsylvania, illustrated the special tendencies of the reform movement of the eleventh century in southern Germany-the fostering of an active intellectual life and the inculcation of practical morality-from the life of Othloh, a monk of St. Emmeram, in Regensburg, whose writings contain much autobiographical material.

The conference on American history dealt with the westward movement. It was presided over by Prof. Paxson, of the University of Michigan. Papers were read by Prof. Hodder on the "Attitude of Missouri toward the Compromise of 1820," by Mrs. Mathews on "The Erie Canal and the Settlement of the West," by Prof. Bretz on "Some Aspects of Postal Extension into the West," and by Prof. Meany on "Morton Matthew McCarver, Frontier City Builder," three of which are printed in full in the present volume.

A full report of the proceedings of the conference of archivists is contained in another part of this volume. The importance of this conference should not be lost sight of. It marks one more effort on the part of the association to secure practical results, which should be of the greatest value to the future of American historical studies.

¹ See American Historical Review, XVI, 234 ff. (January, 1911).

M. Enlart's paper is printed below, pp. 103 ff.

³ See below, pp. 151 ff.

⁴Printed in a volume entitled The Holland Land Company and Canal Construction in Western New York, Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, XIV, 187-203.

⁵ See below, pp. 141 ff.

[•] See below, pp. 173 ff.

⁷ See below, pp. —.

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It is to be hoped that the conference may become a permanent feature of the meetings of the association and that it may be the means of securing proper provision for the care and administration of American archives.

During the afternoon four conferences were held. That on modern European history was presided over by Prof. Robinson, of Columbia University. The first paper, by Prof. Ferdinand Schevill, on the political situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, was designed not so much as a historical study as to represent the political impressions of a traveler. Bosnia, he said, is the Orient, and in considering it one must abandon western standards. Three principal issues hold the foreground in the public interest. The first of these is the agrarian question; the second is that of the Bosnian constitution; and the third is that of the incorporation of the Bosnians in the Hungarian half of the dual monarchy. Prof. Ford's paper on "Bismarck as Historiographer" is printed in full in the present volume.

Under the title "Recent Progress in Modern European History," Prof. Lingelbach showed, by means of comparative statistics, the growth in the study of modern history, both in undergraduate and graduate courses. This progress is particularly noticeable in Paris, as evidenced especially by the activities of the Société d'Histoire Moderne. As regards the sources of modern history, he pointed out that there is actually a plethora of them, both manuscript and printed, and he emphasized the need of organization for their effective exploitation. There is also need of means of orientation as to conditions and work being done by others in this field.

Speaking on "A College Course in Contemporary History," Dr. Carlton H. Haves described a method practised in one of the courses presented at Columbia.2 This course, he said, had been regarded as an experiment, but it had had a remarkable success—a success attributable in the first place to the inherent interest and importance that attach to the contemporary period and its problems, and in the second place to certain departures in the method of instruction. While the general history of the British Empire and the Continent in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is covered, emphasis is laid on European affairs since 1870 with the purpose of providing a useful training for college men and of supplying a unifying force in the heterogeneous curriculum. Instruction is given in two distinct parts-lectures and "laboratory" work. The laboratory is the most important factor in the success of the course. Each member of the class clips articles relating to foreign affairs from American newspapers and once a week classifies them. Twice a month he prepares



¹ See below, pp. 125 ff.

³Dr. Hayes's article is printed very nearly in full in the History Teacher's Magazine for February, 1910, pp. 127, 128.

a review of current events in a given country based on the clippings and on his reading in works of reference and in the foreign newspapers kept in the laboratory. By means of personal consultations and discussions of special topics the course becomes an organic whole, the historical setting of European problems is explained, and a sound critical habit of mind in newspaper reading is inculcated. An interesting discussion followed the reading of the last paper. Upon the question being raised as to whether such a course interfered with other college work. Prof. Robinson expressed the opinion that departments of history had always been too modest in their demands for a due proportion of the student's time, and in particular too modest in their demands for equipment. Prof. Ford questioned the use of newspapers as a primary basis for the study of modern history, and suggested that while New York had unusual facilities in this respect, it was possible for too much newspaper reading to result in a certain degeneracy of work. As to the trustworthiness of newspapers, Prof. Robinson thought that, as compared with the mediæval annals, the advantage was rather with the former. Prof. Anderson, speaking of the limits of a course in modern European history, said that he had found difficulty, starting with 1789, in bringing the course down to the present. He was planning, therefore, to give an additional course from 1878 to date.

The conference on ethnic elements in the history of the United States, of which Prof. Greene was chairman, considered the German, Dutch, and Scandinavian elements, papers being read by Profs. Goebel and Faust, Mr. Dieserud, and Dr. Colenbrander. The papers by Prof. Goebel and Dr. Colenbrander, together with one by Miss Putnam, which there was not time to hear, are printed in the present volume.¹ President Babcock was not present but sent his paper, which was not read in the conference, but which will be found in the American Historical Review.²

The conference of historical societies, of which Prof. Sioussat was chairman, considered the general subject of publications. A full report of the proceedings of the conference is included in this volume.³

A conference on the work of history and civics clubs, presided over by Mr. Frank B. Kelley, naturally centered about the work of the City History Club of New York. There were papers by Miss M. Elizabeth Crouse on the "Aim and Methods of the City History Clubs," by Mr. A. L. Pugh on "A Practical Program in Municipal Civics for Clubs," and by Mr. Howard C. Green on "Actual Work Done in Civic Clubs."

* See below, pp. 279 ff.

¹ For these three papers see below, pp. 181 ff.

² See American Historical Review, XVI, 300 ff. (January, 1911).

At the close of the afternoon came the annual business meeting of the association, the minutes of which follow the present account.

In the evening was held the last general session of the association, the subject for consideration being southern history. Papers were read by Mr. Thomas on "The South's Problem-Some of its Difficulties," by Prof. Dunning on "Legislation and the Race Problem," and by Mr. Jervey on "The Negro Problem as Affected by Sentiment." Prof. Kelly Miller, who was to have spoken on legislation and practice, was absent. A paper by Dr. Dubois, which will be found in the American Historical Review,2 was on "Some Actual Benefits of Reconstruction." He held that there was much danger that the tradition declaring the negro in politics the prime cause of the misfortunes of the period of Reconstruction will come to pass for fact in the history of that period. He wished to show first, that there were certain inevitable bad results of war which no method of reconstruction and no possible human agencies could have changed; secondly, that when there has been charged against Reconstruction all that has been alleged there still remains the fact that many possibilities of far greater evil and of much greater turmoil were prevented; thirdly, that the actual harm of Reconstruction has been in many cases grossly exaggerated: and finally, that actual concrete benefits of Reconstruction are being enjoyed by the South to-day in the form of universal manhood suffrage, free public schools, and new social legislation. In the discussion which followed Col. Chisolm, of Birmingham, spoke on the effects of Reconstruction in the Southern States.⁸ He discussed in particular three aspects of his subject: The effect on the southern whites, the effect on the negro, and the effect on the nation.

Prof. U. B. Phillips, called upon by President Hart to speak extemporaneously, dwelt upon the great opportunity for service to the country and to the cause of scholarship in the thorough-going, scientific, detached, and dispassionate investigation of southern development since the war. The most striking theme, of course, is the radical readjustment of race relations with their endless ramifications. Writers have made little of the important tendency of present-day negroes and whites to draw aloof economically and to establish each race so far as practicable upon a self-sufficing basis. Again, little inquiry has been made into the relative average efficiency of negro labor in slavery and in freedom. In the Carolinas and Georgia the cotton industry has been revolutionized since the war by the use of commercial fertilizers, and in Texas the development has been predominantly in the hands of white laborers. But in the



¹ See below, pp. 40 ff.

^{*}American Historical Review, XV, 781 ff. (July, 1910).

² Mr. Chisolm's paper has been printed in the Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald of January 12, 1910.

middle Gulf States, on the other hand, negro labor has constantly been the main reliance, and the chief change in industrial conditions has been the change in negro status from slavery to freedom. these latter States and in typical black-belt counties in each of them census returns of the two main products, cotton and corn, show the per capita production in 1900 to have been at least 40 per cent smaller than that in 1860. How far are these indications borne out by other tests. and to what extent, if any, can the change be attributed to the difference in the status of labor? In studying the recent South certain truisms must be borne in mind. The post bellum conditions have proceeded directly and problems have been inherited from the ante bellum régime. The people involved have not differed in any fundamental way from the general run of people of similar stocks and similar circumstances throughout the world. The Afro-American population is too varied in qualities to be described by any expression which will exclude all other peoples. Coming from the most diverse African races, still further varied by intermixture with white blood, it is necessary in studying this people to recognize at once its diversity as well as the degree of unity which it possesses. Following Prof. Phillips, Mr. Warfield expressed the opinion that the negro problem should be studied from an attached or sympathetic point of view. The loss of so many men in the South had been, he held, a great disadvantage in the solution of its problems. Prof. Riley, of the University of Mississippi, spoke more especially of the necessity of a new point of view in studying the history of Reconstruction. These studies have thus far, he said, been conducted mainly from the standpoint of the state government. This seemed to him a mistake. It was working at the wrong end of the subject. The most pressing and important need at this time is a thorough, discriminating, and impartial treatment of the local history of Reconstruction. Prof. Riley then described the work of investigating local conditions and history that was being done by advanced students at the University of Mississippi.

On Friday morning two conferences were held. That on the contribution of the Romance nations to the history of America is fully reported in another part of this volume.¹ The conference on history in the secondary schools, of which Miss Salmon was chairman, was a joint session with the New York State Teachers' Association.² A paper was read by Miss E. S. Davison, of Bradford Academy, on "History in German Secondary Schools." She visited a number of schools in Munich, Frankfort-on-the-Main, and Berlin. She

* Printed in the Educational Review for November, 1910.



¹ See below, pp. 219 ff.

² An excellent report of this conference will be found in the History Teacher's Magazine for February, 1910, pp. 128, 129.

observed that in the gymnasia the main purpose is to prepare for citizenship and to inculcate patriotism. Two types of history course are offered; one beginning with the history of Germany and working backward, the other beginning with antiquity and working forward to the development of Germany. The latter type seems to be displacing the former. In it all work in mediæval and modern history centers about Germany. The pupils are expected to acquire a definite knowledge of the leading facts of history. The teaching is somewhat biased and is evidently adapted to certain political exigencies. In the popular schools no text-book is used, but in the gymnasia a sort of brief text-book or syllabus is employed. Prof. Johnson, of the Teachers' College, who was to have presented a paper on "History in the French Secondary Schools," was unable to be present at the conference on account of serious illness. Mr. James Sullivan spoke shortly on the same subject that Prof. Johnson was to have treated.1 Prof. Andrew C. McLaughlin, chairman of the committee of five, presented a preliminary report. The committee was appointed two years ago at the Madison meeting to consider the report of the committee of seven and to make recommendations for alterations in that report, if any should be needed. Prof. McLaughlin said that the committee was not as yet ready to make a formal report, although it had reached very definite conclusions on the main subject under consideration. It was early determined by the committee that radical and far-reaching alterations of the report of the committee of seven were unnecessary. One pressing subject which demanded attention concerned the extent of the field of ancient history. The committee of five accepted the reasons given in the earlier report for continuing the field of ancient history down to the time of Charlemagne. It was apparent, however, that there was some difficulty in determining how much time and energy should be devoted to the last four or five centuries of that period. The committee, therefore, had decided to state with considerable explicitness the topics that should be covered. The relation of civil government to American history presented another problem. Teachers of government are asking for more time for the separate study of that subject; the committee was therefore preparing to report that in case colonial history could be given partly in connection with English history, two-fifths of the year might be devoted to the separate study of American history and government; and it was also suggested that it might be found very desirable to have the courses in the two subjects run side by side throughout the whole year. The most difficult problem of all was how to have more opportunity for the study of modern European history.



¹Mr. Sullivan's remarks were not, as has been stated in one or two reports of the conference, an abstract of Prof. Johnson's paper.

mand for emphasis on modern European history appears to be very widespread. The subject has been fully discussed by the committee, as it has been by various teachers' associations during the last two or three years. The preliminary report suggested that the courses recommended by the committee of seven might be so conducted as to provide for emphasis on the latter period, or there might be an establishment of new courses on some such plan as this:

First. Ancient history to 800 A. D.

Second. English history, with its Continental relations, to 1760, or thereabouts.

Third. Modern E opean history, introduced by a rapid summary of mediæval history and conditions.

Fourth. American istory and government.

The report of the committee was variously discussed by Prof. James, Prof. Foster, Prof. Haskins, Prof. Sill, Mr. Howe, Prof. Robinson, and Mr. Sullivan. Miss Salmon closed the conference by a few remarks, expressing the hope that some time soon teachers could give up the discussion of the curriculum and devote a session of the association to a consideration of methods, to a discussion of how history should be taught.

With Friday noon the formal sessions of the annual meeting came to a close.

An account of the meeting would be incomplete without some mention of the various exhibitions which had been prepared by Profs. Johnson and Shotwell and Librarian Johnston, of Columbia. One of these was a collection of aids to the visualization of history consisting of lay figures, models, casts, utensils, weapons, coats of arms, and other objects of various kinds, as well as pictures, maps, stereoscopic views, lantern slides, etc., classified as bearing on ancient, European, English, and American history.

The other exhibition was designed to represent the development of historical writing and was undoubtedly the finest collection of its sort that has been brought together in America.² Many of the treasures on exhibition came from the library of Mr. J. P. Morgan, who generously loaned them for the occasion. From three baked clay tablets containing Babylonian temple records of about 2700 B. C. to pamphlets issued during the recent Russian revolutionary disturbances, the whole range of historical writing was covered.

¹ Described in detail in the History Teacher's Magazine for February, 1910.

² For descriptive accounts of this exhibition see the Boston Transcript for December 29, 1909, and January 5, 1910.

MINUTES OF BUSINESS MEETING.

The annual meeting of the American Historical Association for the election of officers and the transaction of other business was held at Columbia University in New York City, on Thursday, December 30, 1909, at 4 p. m., with the president of the association, Albert Bushnell Hart, presiding. After the meeting had been called to order the association proceeded to listen to the reports of officers and committees.

The first report to be read was that of the Pacific coast branch, which was presented by Prof. Bernard Moses, the delegate of the branch. Prof. Moses gave in substance what is hereafter printed in full as the report of the secretary of the branch.

Prof. Charles H. Haskins, secretary of the executive council, reported that that body had held three meetings during the year and had voted the usual appropriations for carrying on the work of the association. The council had arranged for the participation of the association in the International Congress of Archivists to be held in Brussels in August, 1910, appointing a special commission for that purpose. A special committee had also been appointed to consider the advisability of maintaining a commission on historic sites and monuments, and another special committee to consider the subject of a general index to the volumes of papers and annual reports thus far issued by the association. The council had decided that the twenty-sixth annual meeting of the association should be held in Indianapolis on December 27-31, 1910.

The secretary of the council then read the committee appointments for the year 1910, which are printed hereafter.

The secretary of the association, Mr. Waldo G. Leland, reported that the membership of the association stood at 2,743, representing a net gain during the year of 425. The total number of new members added had been 493. Thirty-eight members had died, of whom two were former presidents of the association, Dr. Henry C. Lea and Prof. George Park Fisher. The secretary's office had printed and distributed during the year the biennial list of members which had been somewhat enlarged in scope and given the title of Handbook. The annual report for 1907, in two volumes, had also been distributed, and the annual report for 1908, also in two volumes, would be issued during the coming year.

The report of the treasurer, Dr. Clarence W. Bowen, printed in full hereafter, showed that the net receipts of the year had been \$9,521.24, the net disbursements, \$8,648.68. The total assets of the association stood at \$26,903.11, an increase during the year of \$818.81.

The committee appointed by the president to audit the treasurer's report, Messrs. Edwin E. Sparks and Andrew McF. Davis, reported that they had found the report to be correctly given.

The report of the historical manuscripts commission was presented by its chairman, Mr. Worthington C. Ford. The commission did not plan to present any body of material for inclusion in the annual report for 1909 as the second volume of the Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas, composing the second volume of the annual report for 1908, would be in press during the greater part of the coming year. The commission had before it certain suggestions which it was hoped would bear fruit in the near future and respecting which a definite report might be expected at the next meeting.

For the public archives commission the chairman, Prof. Herman V. Ames, reported that the commission hoped to present for inclusion in the annual report for 1909 a preliminary report on the archives of California by C. A. Duniway, a report on the public archives of Illinois by Messrs. Clarence W. Alvord and

Theodore C. Pease, and a report on the archives of the Territory of New Mexico by Prof. John H. Vaughan. Reports were in progress in other States and would be printed subsequently. Upon the initiative of the commission and by authority of the council arrangements had been made to participate in the International Congress of Archivists, to be held in Brussels in August, 1910. As in previous years the work of transcribing documents relating to American history in the British Archives for the Library of Congress had been continued under the supervision of Prof. Charles M. Andrews on behalf of the commission. A new activity had been undertaken by the commission in the organization of a conference of archivists, which had been held in connection with the present meeting of the association, and the success of which had been such as to warrant planning for a similar conference next year.

Prof. Charles H. Hull, chairman of the Justin Winsor prize committee, stated that as the Justin Winsor prize was not awarded in the odd years the committee had no report to make.

For the Herbert Baxter Adams prize committee, its chairman, Prof. George L. Burr, reported that three essays had been submitted to the committee in competition for the Herbert Baxter Adams prize, which the committee had awarded to Dr. Wallace Notestein, of the University of Nebraska, for his essay entitled "A History of English Witchcraft from 1558 to 1718."

For the board of editors of the American Historical Review Prof. George B. Adams, chairman, reported the resignation of Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart from the board after a service dating from the founding of the Review in 1895. The council had elected as his successor, for six years from January 1, 1911, Prof. Frederick J. Turner, of Harvard University.

Dr. E. C. Richardson, chairman of the committee on bibliography, reported that the routine work of the committee had been confined to the unfortunate but necessary rejection of special bibliographies offered for printing, space for such contributions not being at present available in the annual reports. The special work of the committee had been in connection with the proposed joint list of collections relating to European history, which had been compiled and was in process of being edited. An experimental test of the need and value of such a list had been made by sending the first 23 titles of the alphabetic list to 10 of the typical libraries in 3 sections of the East. Of these 23 sets 5 were lacking in all the libraries, and only 5 were found in as many as half the libraries. A majority of the titles were found in only 2 libraries. Harvard with 15 sets and the Library of Congress with 14 easily led, but even these libraries lacked each one-third, and only one other library had as many as one-third, which showed the general need of such a list. A grouping by regions showed that out of the 23 titles 17 could be consulted at Harvard, Boston Public, or Yale, 12 at the New York Public, Cornell, Princeton, and the University of Pennsylvania, and 13 at Johns Hopkins and the Library of Congress. The object of preparing the list, Dr. Richardson said, was not only to secure knowledge as to where copies might be found for purposes of consultation or of interlibrary loans, but also to secure cooperation on the part of librarians in the making of purchases so that there might be one copy of each set in every geographical center or locality instead of a haphazard duplication. Its chief value would be as an object lesson showing what might be done on a larger scale. The most important part of the committee's work had been, therefore, the enlisting of interest on the part of librarians and the encouragement of plans pointing in the direction indicated.

The report of the general committee was presented by the chairman, Prof. St. George L. Sioussat. The committee had as in past years devoted its activi-

ties to increasing the membership of the association, and 493 new members had been added during the year. In most of the Southern States lists have been secured of persons who would probably be interested in the work of the association, and to those were sent pamphlets of information respecting the work and activities of the association and invitations to become members. Lists have also been prepared of persons residing within 300 miles of New York City to whom the annual meeting of 1909 would be of interest, and to these had been sent invitations to membership and programs of the sessions. A special canvass had also been conducted in the Rocky Mountain and Pacific States by the secretary of the Pacific coast branch. It was felt by the committee that the results of its work had been as gratifying as could be expected, especially in the Southern States where the relative increase in membership had been marked.

The report of Dr. J. Franklin Jameson as general editor of the series of Original Narratives of American History follows in full:

"Since the last annual meeting one volume of this series has been published. entitled 'Narratives of New Netherland.' The volume comprising Capt. Edward Johnson's 'Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England,' edited by the general editor of this series, is now in the printer's hands. The volume of 'Narratives of Early Maryland,' edited by Mr. Clayton C. Hall, is finished in manuscript and will within a few days be in the hands of the general editor. The next volume will be one entitled 'Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, Delaware, and West Jersey.' It will be edited by Dr. Albert Cook Myers, and will be composed as follows: Extracts from David de Vries's 'Korte Historiael ende Journals-Aenteyckeninge'; Capt. Thomas Yong's letter to Secretary Windebank, 1634; extracts from Acrelius's 'History of New Sweden'; an unpublished affidavit of four men from the Calmar Nyckel, 1638; Gov. Printz's reports of June 20, 1644, and of 1647; Gov. Rising's reports of 1654 and 1655; the epistle of Penn, Lawrie, and Lucas respecting West Jersey, September, 1676; 'The Present State of the Colony of West Jersey in America.' September 1681; Penn, 'Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania,' 1681; 'Letter of William Penn to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders,' 1683; 'Letter of Thomas Paschall to J. J. of Chippenham,' February 10, 1683; Penn, 'A Further Account of the Province of Pennsylvania,' 1685; 'Letter from Doctor More,' 1686; Richard Frame, 'A Short Description of Pennsylvania,' 1692; Gabriel Thomas's 'Historical Descriptions of Pennsylvania and West New Jersey,' 1698; a translation of Pastorius's 'Umständige Geographische Beschreibung,' 1700; and a translation from the Welsh of a letter of John Jones, 1708 (?). After this will follow a volume of 'Narratives of Early Carolina,' edited by Mr. A. S. Salley, jr., secretary of the Historical Commission of South Carolina."

Dr. E. C. Richardson reported for the committee on a bibliography of modern English history, the chairman of the committee, Prof. E. P. Cheyney, being absent. The work of the committee during the year had consisted in going over the subject in its general aspects with the English committee and in discussing the scope and method of compilation of the proposed bibliography. The prospect of determining upon a basis acceptable to both the English and American committees in the near future was good.

In the absence of the chairman, Prof. William A. Dunning, Mr. W. G. Leland reported for the committee on publications that, in addition to selecting the contents of the annual report for 1908, the committee had inaugurated the new series of prize essays of the American Historical Association by publishing the essay by E. B. Krehbiel on "The Interdict," to which (in equal parts with W. S. Robertson's "Miranda") the Herbert Baxter Adams prize had been awarded in 1907. The number of copies of "The Interdict" thus far sold (234) had

been sufficient barely to pay the expense of publication. The second volume of the series, Clarence E. Carter's "Great Britain and the Illinois Country," to which had been awarded the Justin Winsor prize in 1908, was about to go to press and could be expected in the spring. Up to the present time 216 copies had been subscribed for. The attention of the association was called to the necessity of supporting the series and to the fact that continuous subscriptions could be made to the series at \$1 per year, the amount to be added to the annual dues, thus avoiding the trouble of ordering and paying separately for the volumes.

For the committee of five on history in the secondary schools, Prof. Charles H. Haskins reported, the chairman, Prof. A. C. McLaughlin, being absent, that a plan of a report had been prepared, adhering in general to the recommendations of the committee of seven. This plan was to be discussed at a conference to be held on the following day, and would be submitted to the association during the coming year.

The nominating committee then presented its report as follows:

DECEMBER 30, 1909.

The committee on nominations respectfully report the following nominations of officers of the American Historical Association for the ensuing year:

President: Frederick J. Turner.

First vice president: William M. Sloane. Second vice president: Theodore Roosevelt.

Secretary: Waldo G. Leland. Treasurer: Clarence W. Bowen.

Secretary of the council: Charles H. Haskins.

Curator: A. Howard Clark.

Members of the executive council: Evarts B. Greene, Charles H. Hull, Max Farrand, Frank H. Hodder, Edwin Erle Sparks, Franklin L. Riley.

WILLIAM MACDONALD,
WILLIAM E. DODD,
GEORGE M. WRONG,
Nominating Committee.

Upon the report being read it was moved and unanimously voted that the secretary of the association be directed to cast the ballot of the association as a whole for the candidates as nominated by the committee. The secretary being thus instructed, cast the ballot as directed, and the candidates as nominated were declared elected.

The retiring president expressed the feeling of gratitude felt by the entire association for the untiring efforts of those who had worked to make the twenty-fifth annual meeting so notable a success, especial thanks being due to the chairmen and members of the committee on program and of the committee on arrangements. It was explained that, instead of the usual resolutions of thanks to the individuals and others whose hospitality had been extended to the association, the council had decided that its secretary should write individual letters of acknowledgment and appreciation.

The meeting was then declared adjourned.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

President.—Prof. Frederick J. Turner, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. (After October 1, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.)

First vice president.—Prof. William M. Sloane, Columbia University, New York City.

Second vice president.—Theodore Roosevelt, Esq., Oyster Bay, Long Island, N. Y.

Secretary.—Waldo G. Leland, Esq., Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C.

Treasurer.-Clarence W. Bowen, Esq., 130 Fulton Street, New York City.

Secretary of the council.—Prof. Charles H. Haskins, 15 Prescott Hall, Cambridge, Mass.

Curator.—A. Howard Clark, Esq., Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. Executive council.—Ex-presidents: Hon. Andrew D. White, President James B. Angell, Henry Adams, Esq., James Schouler, Esq., James Ford Rhodes, Esq., Charles Francis Adams, Esq., Rear Admiral Alfred T. Mahan, Prof. Goldwin Smith, Prof. John B. McMaster, Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, J. Franklin Jameson, Esq., Prof. George B. Adams, Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart. Elected: Prof. Max Farrand, Prof. Frank H. Hodder, Prof. Evarts B. Greene, Prof. Charles H. Hull, Prof. Franklin L. Riley, Prof. Edwin Erle Sparks.

COMMITTEES.

Committee on Program for the Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting.—Prof. Evarts B. Greene, Urbana, Ill., chairman; Wilbur C. Abbott, Archibald C. Coolidge, Earle W. Dow, William L. Westermann, James A. Woodburn.

Local Committee of Arrangements for that Meeting.—Calvin N. Kendall, Esq., Indianapolis, Ind., chairman; Christopher B. Coleman, Jacob P. Dunn, Evarts B. Greene, T. C. Howe, Meredith Nicholson, Charles R. Williams,

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

General Committee.—Prof. St. George L. Sloussat, University of the South, chairman; Jacob N. Bowman (ex officio), Walter L. Fleming, Waldo G. Leland (ex officio), Albert C. Myers, Frederic L. Paxson, Miss Lucy M. Salmon.

Committee on Publications.—Prof. William A. Dunning, Columbia University, chairman; and (ex officis) Herman V. Ames, George L. Burr, Worthington C. Ford, Charles H. Haskius, Charles H. Hull, J. Franklin Jameson, Waldo G. Leland, Ernest C. Richardson.

Historical Manuscripts Commission.—Worthington C. Ford, Esq., Massachusetts Historical Society, chairman; Herbert D. Foster, Gaillard Hunt, Thomas M. Owen, Ulrich B. Phillips, Frederick G. Young.

Public Archives Commission.—Prof. Herman V. Ames, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Charles M. Andrews, Clarence S. Brigham, Robert D. W. Connor, Carl R. Fish, Victor H. Paltsits, Dunbar Rowland.

Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize.—Prof. Charles H. Hull, Cornell University, chairman; Carl Becker, Francis A. Christie, John H. Latané, Claude H. Van Tyne.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.—Prof. George L. Burr, Cornell University, chairman; Guy S. Ford, Edwin F. Gay, James W. Thompson, John M. Vincent.

Committee on Bibliography.—Prof. Ernest C. Richardson, Princeton University, chairman; Appleton P. C. Griffin, W. Dawson Johnston, Wilbur H. Siebert, George P. Winship.

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 on History in Secondary Schools.—Prof. Andrew C. McLaughlin, University of Chicago, chairman; Charles H. Haskins, James H. Robinson, James Sullivan.

Committee to Report on Historical Sites and Monuments.—President Edwin E. Sparks, Pennsylvania State College, chairman; Henry E. Bourne, Edmond S. Meany, Frank H. Severance, Reuben G. Thwaites.

Conference of Historical Societies.—Clarence M. Burton, Esq., Detroit, Mich., chairman; Waldo G. Leland, secretary.

Commission to participate in the Brussels Congress of Archivists.—The Public Archives Commission as above, and, in addition, Ralph D. W. Connor, Worthington C. Ford, Gaillard Hunt, Waldo G. Leland, Henry E. Woods.

Report of Clarence W. Bowen, treasurer American Historical Association, December 17, 1908-December 15, 1909.

RECEIPTS.

Balance cash on hand		\$5, 908. 74
	** ***	
2,554 annual dues, at \$3		
2 annual dues, at \$3.25	6. 50	
1 annual dues	3. 20	
5 annual dues, at \$3.15	15. 75	
14 annual dues, at \$3.10	43. 40	
4 annual dus, at \$3.05	12. 20	
1 annual dues	3. 03	
1 annual dues	8. 02	
1 annual dues	2. 98	
1 annual dues	2. 95	
1 annual dues	2. 85	
2 annual dues, at \$2.50	5. 00	
1 annual dues	2. 00	
4 life memberships	200.00	
Sales of publications	607. 01	
Royalty on "The Study of History in Schools"	23. 35	
Interest on bond and mortgage	825. 00	
Dividends	100.00	
-		9, 521. 24

15 100 00

15, 429. 98

DISBURSEMENTS.

Treasurer's clerk hire, etc., vouchers 8, 63, 87, 120, 131, 145, 148,	****
185	\$342. 28
Secretary's clerk hire, etc., vouchers 22, 24, 26, 40, 41, 55, 56, 57,	
61, 62, 68, 69, 70, 84, 85, 89, 90, 100, 102, 103, 114, 125, 135,	
150, 171, 172	649. 33
Postage and stationary, treasurer and secretary, vouchers 3, 21,	
25, 32, 37, 42, 43, 47, 50, 58, 71, 79, 81, 82, 92, 104, 111, 113,	
124, 126, 129, 132, 133, 138, 146, 147, 149, 154, 155, 163, 168,	
178. 179	436. 99
Secretary of the council, vouchers 2, 30, 34, 53, 54, 158, 160, 161,	
162	77. 00
Pacific coast branch, voucher 9	34. 05
American Historical Review, vouchers 1, 17, 44, 48, 51, 52, 60, 64,	
72, 73, 76, 77, 80, 86, 106, 108, 109, 112, 115, 116, 117, 121, 127,	
153. 166	4, 041, 20
Public archives commission, vouchers 12, 13, 28, 36, 94, 95, 96,	1, 011, 20
139. 182, 183, 184	192. 60
Historical manuscripts commission, vouchers 122, 130, 174	439. 00
Justin Winsor prize committee, vouchers 10, 46, 98	219, 30
	8. 75
Herbert B. Adams prize committee, voucher 98	151. 75
General committee, vouchers 16, 99, 110, 181	191. (0
Committee of five on history in secondary schools, vouchers 4, 156,	150.00
157	150. 60
Colonial entries of the records of the British privy council,	
voucher 74	108. 60
Annual bibliography, voucher 89	200. 00

Annual report, 1907, vouchers 142, 143, 144	\$79, 97	
Annual report, 1908, vouchers 91, 134, 136	20. 50	
Handbook, 1909, vouchers 88, 97	878, 97	
Expenses twenty-fourth annual meeting, vouchers 5, 6, 7, 11, 18,	010.01	
19, 20, 23, 27	181. 85	
Expenses twenty-fifth annual meeting, vouchers 173, 177	34. 27	
Expenses executive council, vouchers 31, 164, 165, 167, 170.	07. 21	
175, 176, 180	263, 04	
Editorial work, vouchers 49, 59, 67, 83, 93, 107, 123, 169	275, 00	
Publication committee, vouchers 29, 35, 65, 66, 118, 140, 152	364, 15	
Engraving certificates, vouchers 14, 45, 105, 151	3, 75	
Collection charges, vouchers 38, 101, 119, 137, 186	10. 58	
Bank stocks, vouchers 33, 159		
Miscellaneous expenses, vouchers 15, 75, 78, 128, 141		
		\$11, 447, 68
Balance cash on hand in National Park Bank		
	-	-,
	_	15, 429. 98
Net receipts, 1909		9, 521, 24
Net disbursements, 1909		
Excess of receipts over disbursements		872. 58
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, 1909, to date		
11 shares American Exchange National Bank stock at 249		
Cash on hand in National Park Bank		
		26, 903. 11
An increase during the year of		818. 81
Respectfully submitted.		
CLARE	NCE W. Bo	WEN,

NEW YORK, December 15, 1909.

REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE.

NEW YORK, December 30, 1909.

The undersigned, appointed as an auditing committee, have examined the above report and certify that there has been submitted to them a certificate of the Audit Company of New York, showing that the accounts of the treasurer have been examined by the company and that the securities have been exhibited and that the same are correct.

A. McF. Davis, Edwin E. Sparks.

Treasurer.

Report of the Audit Company of New York.

[The Audit Company of New York, 165 Broadway.]

Mr. CLARENCE W. BOWEN,

Treasurer, The American Historical Association,

130 Fulton Street, New York City.

DEAR SIE: Agreeably to your request, we have examined the cash records of the American Historical Association for the year ended December 16, 1909.

American Historical Association for the year ended December 16, 1909.

The results of this examination are presented, attached hereto, in an exhibit termed:
"Statement of cash receipts and disbursements for the year ended December 16, 1909."

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. The mortgage and accompanying papers were found in order.

Two certificates of stock of the American Exchange National Bank, aggregating 11 shares, were examined and found to be in accordance with the requirements.

Very truly, yours,

THE AUDIT COMPANY OF NEW YORK. C. RICHARDSON, Secretary. GEO. H. BOWERS, New York Manager.

NEW YORK, December 23, 1909.

Statement of cash receipts and disbursements for the year ended December 16, 1909.

RECEIPTS.		
Dues: 2,554½ at \$3		
2,304g at \$3		
1 at \$3.20	6. 50	
5 at \$3.15	3, 20 15, 75	
14 at \$3.10	43, 40	
4 at \$3.05	13. 40 12. 20	
1 at \$3.03	3. 03	
1 at \$3.02	3. 03 3. 02	
1 at \$2.98	3. 02 2. 98	
1 at \$2.95	2. 98 2. 95	
1 at \$2.85	2. 85 2. 85	
2 at \$2.50	2. 80 5. 00	
1 at \$2	2. 00	
1 At \$4	2.00	
	7, 765. 88	
Life memberships, 4 at \$50	200. 00	
•	7, 965, 88	
Royalty on "The Study of History in Schools"	23. 35	
	607. 01	
Sale of publications Interest on bond and mortgage of \$20,000:	001.01	•
6 months at 4 per cent to Mar. 29, 1909 \$400.00		
6 months at 41 per cent to Sept. 29, 1909 425. 00	825, 00	
Dividend on 10 shares American Exchange National Bank stock	100.00	
-		
Total receipts for year		
balance on hand Dec. 17, 1908, as per our statement dated Dec. 24	, 1908	5, 908. 74
	-	15, 429. 98
DISBURSEMENTS.	•	
Treasurer's clerks' hire for year		\$342. 23
Secretary's clerks' hire for year		649. 33
Secretary of the council, expense		77. 00
Twenty-fourth annual meeting		
Less refund of overpayment	30. 75	131. 85
Twenty-fifth annual meeting		34. 27
American Historical Review		4. 041. 20
Pacific Coast branch, expense		34. 05
1907 annual report		79. 97
1908 annual report		20. 50
1909 handbook		378, 97
Audit fee, account examination of treasurer's records		25. 00
Postage and stationery—treasurer and secretary—		
Less amount paid by joint committee		
LICOR SERVERE PRICE OF JOINE COMMITTEE	442. 04	-555
-	442. 04 5. 05	436. 99
Bank collection and exchange	442. 04 5. 05	
Bank collection and exchange	442. 04 5. 05	436. 99
	442. 04 5. 05	436. 99 10. 53
Engraving certificates	442. 04 5. 05	436. 99 10. 53 3. 75
Engraving certificates	442. 04 5. 05	436. 99 10. 53 3. 75 1. 00
Engraving certificates	442. 04 5. 05	436. 99 10. 53 3. 75 1. 00
Engraving certificates	442. 04 5. 05	436. 99 10. 53 3. 75 1. 00 8. 00
Engraving certificates	442. 04 5. 05 158. 60	436. 99 10. 53 3. 75 1. 00

American Exchange National Bank stock: 10 shares at \$255 1 share at \$249		\$2 799 00
Guide to the manuscript materials for the history of the United 1783 in the British Museum, etc	States to	2. 00 275. 00
Disbursements on extension of Henry Romberg mortgage		4. 25
Annual bibliographies committee	200. 00	
Executive council	263. 04	
Public archives commission	192. 60	
Historical manuscripts commission	439. 00	
Justin Winsor prize committee	219. 30	
Herbert B. Adams prize committee	8. 75	
General committee	151. 75	
Committee of five on history in secondary schools	150. 60	
Publication committee\$414.55 Less amount paid by E. B. Krehbiel 50.40		
Less amount part by E. D. Micholei	364. 15	
Total committee expenses		1, 989. 19
Total disbursements for year		11, 447. 68
Balance cash in bank represented by certified check on the Nat Bank of New York, dated Dec. 16, 1909		3, 982. 30
	•	15, 429, 98

PROGRAM OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD IN NEW YORK CITY DECMEBER 27-31, 1909.

The twenty-fifth annual meeting of the American Historical Association will be held in New York on December 27–31, 1909, jointly with the American Economic Association. The American Political Science Association, the American Statistical Association, the American Sociological Society, the American Association for Labor Legislation, the American Social Science Association, the Bibliographical Society of America, the American Society of Church History, and the New York State Teachers' Association will all hold meetings at the same time and place.

The usual arrangements have been made with the railways for reduced fare upon presentation of a convention certificate. Full details concerning transportation and hotels are given in the circular issued by the joint anniversary committee, Earl Hall, Columbia University, New York. Reservation of rooms in the dormitories of Columbia University or in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel should be made at once.

During the entire week there will be a specially arranged exhibition in Teachers' College of aids in the teaching of history, with special reference to source work and visualization. This exhibition will contain many devices in use in the schools in France and Germany—imported especially for it—which are accessible for teachers of history in America, and other illustrative material.

There will be an exhibition in the library of Columbia University of material illustrating the development of historiography. This exhibit will include early manuscripts of historical writers, first editions of Greek and Roman historians, mediæval chronicles in manuscript and in print, autograph manuscripts of American historians, and valuable and rare works and documents relating to European and American history. The collection of manuscripts, printed works, antiques, paintings, etc., of the Hispanic Museum, One hundred and fifty-sixth Street and Broadway, will be on exhibition daily from 10 to 5. The New York Historical Society, 170 Central Park west, and the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, 226 West Flfty-eighth Street, extend to the members of the American Historical Association a cordial invitation to visit their rooms and libraries. Both these societies possess rare and interesting historical material.

Places of historical interest in New York may also be visited on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday afternoons by small partes under the special direction of the City History Club of New York. A representative of the City History Club will be at headquarters to receive applications.

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 association will be cordially welcome to the regular sessions. For details see the other circular.

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MONDAY, DECEMBER 27.

- 1 p. m.—Luncheon as the guests of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. Guests will assemble promptly in the Assembly Hall of the Metropolitan Building, corner of Twenty-third Street, Fourth and Madison Avenues.
- 3 p. m.—Meeting of the executive council and the various commissions and boards of the association (at the call of the chairmen).
- 8 p. m.—Carnegie Hall: Citizens' Meeting and Official Welcome to the American Historical Association and the American Economic Association, and to the allied societies holding meetings in connection with this anniversary. The Carnegie Hall meeting is arranged by a general committee of the citizens of New York. Mr. Joseph H. Choate will be permanent chairman of the meeting. President William Howard Taft, Gov. Charles Evans Hughes, Mayor George B. McCleilan, and Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler have consented to make addresses.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 28.

- 10 a.m.—Horace Mann Auditorium, Columbia University. Presidential addresses:
- (1) Imagination in History. President Albert Bushnell Hart, American Historical Association.
- (2) Observation in Economics. President Davis R. Dewey, American Economic Association.
- 12.30 p. m.—Luncheon in University Hall, Columbia University, tendered by the university.
- 2 p. m.—Horace Mann Auditorium, Columbia University. Presidential addresses:
- (1) The Physiology of Politics. President A. Lawrence Lowell, American Political Science Association.
- (2) Labor Legislation and Economic Progress. President Henry W. Farnam, American Association for Labor Legislation.
 - 4.30 p. m.-Earl Hall, Columbia University.

Reception to officers, members, and guests of the American Historical Association, American Economic Association, and the other societies meeting with them, given by the Academy of Political Science in the city of New York.

- 6.30 p. m.—A club dinner will be served in the university commons, at \$1 per person for all who wish to take dinner on the university grounds.
- 8 p. m.—New York Historical Society Building, 170 Central Park West, corner of Seventy-sixth Street. General Session on the Work of Historical Societies in Europe.
- (1) The Work of Historical Societies in Great Britain. G. W. Prothero, London, England.
- (2) The Work of Historical Societies in Germany. Eduard Meyer, Berlin, Germany.
- (3) The Work of Historical Societies in France. Camille Enlart, Paris, France.
- (4) 'The Work of Historical Societies in Holland. H. T. Colenbrander, Voorburg, Holland.
 - (5) The Work of Historical Societies in Spain. R. Altamira, Oviedo, Spain. 10 p. m.—Smoker at the City Club, 55 West Forty-fourth Street.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 29.

10 a. m.—Hotel Waldorf-Astoria (Astor Gallery). Joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association.

General Topic: British Constitutional and Political Development, with special reference to the Centenary of Gladstone.

Tendencies in British Foreign Policy since Disraeli. A. L. P. Dennis, University of Wisconsin.

Canadian Nationalism and the Imperial Tie. G. M. Wrong, University of Toronto.

The Paradoxes of Gladstone's Career. Edward Porritt, Harvard University. The Political Union of South Africa. Herbert A. L. Fisher, New College, Oxford.

Recent English History in its Constitutional Aspects, with special reference to the Centenary of the Birth of Gladstone. Rt. Hon. James Bryce, British Ambassador to the United States.

12.30 p. m.—Hotel Waldorf-Astoria. Breakfast, with reception to foreign guests and brief addresses. A charge of \$2 will be made for this breakfast. Ladies, who are members, or guests of members, are invited to lunch at the Colony Club, Madison Avenue and Thirtieth Street, at the same hour, and seats will be reserved for them at 2 o'clock in the boxes of the Banquet Hall at the Waldorf-Astoria for the speeches following the breakfast.

4-6 p. m.—Tea, at the residence of Mrs. Clarence W. Bowen, 5 East Sixty-third Street.

9 p. m.—Hotel Waldorf-Astoria. Reception and entertainment, with historical tableaux, by the ladies' reception committee of New York; Mrs. Robert Abbe, chairman. Refreshments will be served at 11 o'clock.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 30.

10 a, m.—Columbia University. Historical Conferences.

(1) Ancient History (Hamilton Hall, Room 214). Chairman, W. L. Westermann, University of Wisconsin.

Sennacherib. A. T. Olmstead, University of Missouri.

Hellenistic Athens. W. S. Ferguson, Harvard University.

The Hellenistic Influence on the Origin of Christianity. Nathaniel Schmidt, Cornell University.

Some Remarks on the Papyri of the Jewish Colony at Elephantine (Fifth Century B. C.). Eduard Meyer, University of Berlin.

Discussion ¹ led by Henry A. Sill, Cornell University, H. B. Wright, Yale University, and R. F. Scholz, University of California.

(2) Mediæval History (Joint session with the American Society of Church History, Hamilton Hall, Room 502). Chairman, Ephraim Emerton, Harvard University.

The Great Interdict of England. E. B. Krehbiel, Stanford University.

The Church and the Mediæval Trade Unions. Edward W. Miller, Auburn Theological Seminary.

The Roman Law and the German Peasant. Sidney B. Fay, Dartmouth College.

Some Aspects of the Reform Movement in the Eleventh Century. A. C. Howland, University of Pennsylvania.

Mediæval Archæology. Camille Enlart, Paris, France.

(3) American History: The Westward Movement (Hamilton Hall, Room 302). Chairman, Frederic L. Paxson, University of Michigan.

The Attitude of Missouri toward the Compromise of 1820. Frank Heywood Hodder, University of Kansas.

¹ The discussion was omitted, owing to lack of time.

The Eric Canal and the Settlement of the West. Lois Kimball Mathews, Vassar College.

Some Aspects of Postal Extension into the West. Julian P. Bretz, Cornell University.

Morton Matthew McCarver, Frontier City Builder. Edmond S. Meany, University of Washington.

Discussion.

- (4) Conference of Archivists (Hamilton Hall, Room 202). Chairman, Herman V. Ames, University of Pennsylvania.
- (a) Some Lessons to be Learned from European Practice in the Administration of Archives. Waldo G. Leland, Carnegie Institution, Washington.

Discussion: With especial reference to British Archives, Charles M. Andrews, Johns Hopkins University; with especial reference to German Archives, Marion D. Learned, University of Pennsylvania; with especial reference to Italian Archives, Carl R. Fish, University of Wisconsin: with especial reference to Dutch Archives, William I. Hull, Swarthmore College; with especial reference to Spanish Archives, William R. Shepherd, Columbia University; with especial reference to Swedish Archives, Amandus Johnson.

- (b) Tragedies in New York's Public Records. Victor H. Paltsits, State Historian of New York.
- $12.\dot{3}0~p.~m.$ —Luncheon tendered by Teachers' College, Columbia University, to the members of the American Historical Association.
 - 2 p. m.—Columbia University. Historical Conferences.
- (1) Modern European History Conference (Schermerhorn Hall, Room 301). Chairman, James Harvey Robinson, Columbia University.

The Political Situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Ferdinand Schevill, University of Chicago.

Bismarck as Historiographer. Guy Stanton Ford, University of Illinois. Recent Progress in European History. W. E. Lingelbach, University of Pennsylvania.

- A College Course in Contemporaneous History. Carlton H. Hayes, Columbia University.
- (2) American History: Ethnic Elements in the History of the United States (Havemeyer Hall, Room 309). Chairman, Evarts B. Greene, University of Illinois.

The German Element. Julius Goëbel, University of Illinois; A. B. Faust, Cornell University.

The Scandinavian Element. Kendric C. Babcock, University of Arizona; Juul Dieserud, Library of Congress.

The Dutch Element. H. T. Colenbrander, Holland; Ruth Putnam, Washington, D. C.

Discussion led by A. J. H. Kern, Jamaica, N. Y.²

(3) Conference of State and Local Historical Societies (Havemeyer Hall, Room 301). Chairman, St. G. L. Sioussat, University of the South.

Review of Five Years' Work of the Conference.

Progress of Societies during the Year.

Report of the Committee on Cooperation among Historical Societies. Hon. Dunbar Rowland, LL. D.

What we can learn from the Publishing Activities of European Societies. H. E. Bourne, Western Reserve University.

Some Defects in the Publications of American Historical Societies. Worthington C. Ford, Boston, Mass.

¹ President Babcock was not present nor was his paper read.

² The discussion was omitted, owing to lack of time.

Discussion of Problems of Publication.

(4) Conference on the Work of History and Civics Clubs (Teachers' College, Room 200). Chairman, Frank B. Kelley, City History Club of New York.

The Aim and Methods of the City History Clubs. Miss M. Elizabeth Crouse, New York.

A Practical Program in Municipal Civics for Clubs. A. L. Pugh, High School of Commerce, New York.

Actual Work done in Civics Clubs. Howard C. Green, College of the City of New York.

Discussion.

5 p. m.—Columbia University (Havemeyer Hall, Room 309). Business meeting.

8 p. m.—Hotel Waldorf-Astoria (Astor Gallery). General session on Southern History.

The South's Problem; Some of its Difficulties. William H. Thomas, Montgomery, Ala.

Legislation and Practice. Kelley Miller, Howard University.1

A Few of the Controversies.2 William A. Dunning, Columbia University.

Actual Benefits of Reconstruction. W. E. B. Du Bois, Atlanta University.

The Negro Problem as Affected by Sentiment. Theodore D. Jervey, Charleston, S. C.

Discussion: Robert Chisolm, Birmingham, Ala.; William Garrott Brown, New York City; Hon. S. W. McCall. Winchester, Mass.

10 p. m.—Reception by Mr. and Mrs. William K. Vanderbilt at their residence, 660 Fifth Avenue, corner Fifty-second Street.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 31.

10 a. m.—Columbia University.

(1) Conference on the Contribution of the Romance Nations to the History of America (Chapel, Teachers College). Chairman, W. R. Shepherd, Columbia University.

The Contribution of Spain. R. Altamira, Oviedo, Spain.

The Contribution of France. R. G. Thwaites, Madison, Wis.

The Contribution of Portugal. Hiram Bingham, Yale University.

The Contribution of the Latin-American Republics. Francisco J. Yanes, Washington, D. C.

(2) Horace Mann Auditorium. History in Secondary Schools in France and Germany, and Proposals of the Committee of Five. (Joint session with the New York State Teachers' Association.) Chairman, Miss L. M. Salmon, Vassar College.

History in German Secondary Schools. Miss E. S. Davison, Bradford Academy, Mass.

History in French Secondary Schools. Henry Johnson, Teachers College, Columbia University.⁵

Preliminary report of the Committee of Five.

Discussion.

Inspection of the exhibits at Teachers College and Columbia University Library.

¹ Prof. Miller being absent, his paper was not read.

²The title should read, "Legislation and the Race Problem."

Not present

Omitted on account of illness.

⁵ Prof. Johnson being absent on account of illness, his place was taken by Dr. James Sullivan.

A special train will leave for West Point at 1 p. m. provided a sufficient number desire to make this trip. The party will be received by the commandant and given the privilege of inspecting the things of interest. The total cost will be \$2 per person, including round-trip railroad fare and box luncheon served on the train. Returning, the party will reach the city about 6 p. m.

Joint anniversary committee of American Historical and Economic Associations.—William M. Sloane, Clarence W. Bowen, Edwin R. A. Seligman, Samuel McCune Lindsay.

Finance committee.—Frank A. Vanderlip, chairman; Henry P. Davison, treasurer; A. Barton Hepburn, Darwin P. Kingsley, Edwin S. Marston, Paul Morton, Moses Taylor Pyne, Paul M. Warburg.

Citizens' committee of one hundred.—Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott, John Bigelow, Rev. Dr. Hugh Birckhead, Clarence W. Bowen, Henry C. Brewster, Nicholas Murray Butler, Rev. Dr. Samuel Parkes Cadman, John Lambert Cadwalader, Andrew Carnegie, Joseph Hodges Choate, John Claffin, Henry Clews, Rev. Dr. Edward Benton Coe, Alfred Ronald Conkling, Henry P. Davison, Robert W. de Forest, Dr. Francis Delafield, Chauncey M. Depew, James B. Dill, Alexander Wilson Drake, Loyall Farragut, Stuyvesant Fish, Austin B. Fletcher, Dr. Austin Flint, jr., Frederick Gallatin, Asa Bird Gardiner, James J. Goodwin, Rt. Rev. Dr. David Hummel Greer, Rev. Dr. Percy Stickney Grant, Rev. Dr. W. M. Grosvenor, Parker D. Handy, A. Barton Hepburn, Rev. Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis, Samuel Verplanck Hoffman, Henry Holt, George P. Hopkins, William Dean Howells, Thomas H. Hubbard, Archer Milton Huntington, Dr. Abraham Jacobi, Dr. Walter Belknap James, Rev. Dr. Charles Edward Jefferson, Rev. Dr. Rufus P. Johnston, Darwin R. Kingsley, Dr. Samuel Waldron Lambert, Samuel McCune Lindsay, Philip L. Livingston, George Brinton McClellan, Patrick F. McGowan, Rev. Dr. Wallace MacMullen, Hamilton Wright Mabie, V. Everit Macy, Edwin S. Marston, Brander Matthews, Herman A. Metz, Levi P. Morton, Paul Morton, Victor Morawetz, Thomas M. Mulry, Stephen Henry Olin, Edward Patterson, Henry Parish, George Foster Peabody, Howland Pell, George Walbridge Perkins, Dr. William Mecklenburg Polk, John Jay Pierrepont, Gen. Horace Porter, Dr. William H. Porter, George Haven Putnam, Harrington Putnam, M. Taylor Pyne, Rev. Dr. William Rogers Richards, George Lockhart Rives, Elihu Root, Charles H. Russell, jr., William J. Schieffelin, Edwin R. A. Seligman, Isaac N. Seligman, Jacob H. Schiff, James Thomson Shotwell, James R. Sheffield, Rev. Dr. Joseph Silverman, Joseph Edward Simmons, William M. Sloane, James Speyer, Myles Standish, Francis Lynde Stetson, Lispenard Stewart, William Rhinelander Stewart, Charles E. Sprague, Walter L. Suydam, Henry W. Taft, William Haynes Truesdale, Frederick Douglas Underwood, William Kissam Vanderbilt, Frank Arthur Vanderlip, Paul M. Warburg, James Grant Wilson, Egerton Leigh Winthrop, jr., Alexander Stewart Webb, Edwin H. Weatherbee, Edmund Wetmore, Clarence S. Whitman.

Reception Committee for Carnegie Hall Meeting, Monday evening, December 27.—James R. Sheffield, chairman; William J. Schleffelin, vice chairman; Nicholas Murray Butler, Andrew Carnegie, Alfred R. Conkling, Robert W. de Forest, Loyall Farragut, Stuyvesant Fish, Austin B. Fletcher, Frederick Gallatin, Samuel Verplanck Hoffman, Thomas H. Hubbard, Archer M. Huntington, Philip L. Livingston, Howland Pell, Horace Porter, Jacob H. Schiff, Isaac N. Seligman, Rev. Dr. Joseph Silverman, James Speyer, Myles Standish, Lispenard Stewart, Walter L. Suydam, Henry W. Taft, Edwin H. Weatherbee, James Grant Wilson, Egerton Leigh Winthrop, jr.

Ladies' Auxiliary Reception Committee.—Mrs. Robert Abbe, Mrs. Harriet C. Abbe, Mrs. William Loring Andrews, Mrs. Anson P. Atterbury, Mrs. Joseph S. Auerbach, Mrs. George W. Bacon, Miss Cora F. Barnes, Mrs. William H. Bliss,

Miss Eleanor Blodgett, Mrs. W. B. Beekman, Mrs. Frederick H. Betts, Mrs. Sanford Bissell, Mrs. E. H. Blashfield, Mrs. R. F. Bloodgood, Mrs. Emil L. Boas, Mrs, Clarence W. Bowen, Miss Elizabeth Briggs, Mrs. William Adams Brown, Mrs. Nicholas Murray Butler, Mrs. Elihu Chauncey, Mrs. John Bates Clark, Mrs. John Caldwell Coleman, Miss Florence Colgate, Mrs. Edward Curtis, Mrs. R. Fulton Cutting, Mrs. Lewis L. Delafield, Mrs. Horace E. Deming, Mrs. Robert W. de Forest, Mrs. Charles H. Eaton, Mrs. Charles S. Fairchild, Mrs. Hamilton R. Fairfax, Mrs. John H. Finley, Mrs. Harry Harkness Flagler, Mrs. Austin Flint, Mrs. Benjamin W. Franklin, Miss Frelinghuysen, Mrs. James T. Gardiner, Mrs. Almon Goodwin, Mrs. E. R. L. Gould, Mrs. Chester Griswold, Mrs. A. Barton Hepburn, Miss Elsie Hill, Mrs. George B. Hopkins, Mrs. Archer M. Huntington, Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, Mrs. Brayton Ives, Mrs. Edward G. Janeway, Mrs. Robert Underwood Johnson, Mrs. Adrian H. Joline, Mrs. Cadwalader Jones, Miss Eleanor I. Keller, Mrs. de Witt Knox, Mrs. George F. Kunz, Mrs. Charles R. Lamb, Mrs. Grant La Farge, Mrs. Janvier Le Duc, Mrs. Daniel S. Lamont, Mrs. Samuel McCune Lindsay, Mrs. Frederick W. Longfellow, Mrs. Henry P. Loomis, Mrs. Joseph T. Low, Mrs. Seth Low, Mrs. Charlotte Russell Lowell, Mrs. George A. Lung, Miss Julia G. McAllister, Mrs. John W. McBurney, Mrs. V. Everit Macy, Mrs. Howard Mansfield, Mrs. Walter Maynard, Mrs. J. W. Miller, Mrs. F. D. Millet, Mrs. J. Pierpont Morgan, Mrs. John G. Milburn, Mrs. J. R. MacArthur, Mrs. Leonard E. Opdycke, Mrs. H. Fairfield Osborn, Mrs. Herbert L. Osgood, Mrs. Henry Phipps, Mrs. John Dyneley Prince, Miss Lucia Purdy, Miss Ruth Putnam, Mrs. William B. Rice, Mrs. James Harvey Robinson, 'Mrs. Harold Raasloff, Miss Florence Rhett, Mrs. Hilborne Roosevelt, Mrs. William H. Schieffelin, Miss Emma G. Sebring, Mrs. Edwin R. A. Seligman, Mrs. William M. Sloane, Mrs. Datus C. Smith, Miss Clara B. Spence, Mrs. James Speyer, Mrs. L. L. Stanton, Mrs. W. R. Shepherd, Miss Ida Tarbell, Mrs. Frederick F. Thompson, Miss Amy Townsend, Mrs. George Montgomery Tuttle, Miss Anne S. Van Cortlandt, Miss Mary Van Buren Vanderpoel, Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, Mrs. George Henry Warren, Mrs. Schuyler N. Warren, Mrs. Edmund Wetmore.

The Executive Committee of the Ladies' Auxiliary Reception Committee.— Mrs. Robert Abbe, chairman; Mrs. Nicholas Murray Butler, Mrs. H. Fairfield Osborn, Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, Mrs. Edward G. Janeway, Miss Eleanor Blodgett, Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, Mrs. Hilborne Roosevelt, Miss Florence Rhett, Mrs. Emil L. Boas, Mrs. A. Barton Hepburn, Mrs. J. R. MacArthur.

Columbia University Reception Committee.—Frank J. Goodnow, chairman; Carlton H. Hayes, vice chairman; Henry R. Mussey, vice chairman; Eugene E. Agger, Charles A. Beard, Miss Lillian Brandt, William H. Carpenter, John B. Clark, William A. Dunning, Edward Thomas Devine, Livingston Farrand, Franklin H. Giddings, Carl F. L. Huth, Henry Johnson, O. F. Lewis, Roswell C. McCrea, Edward McChesney, H. C. Pearson, Miss Juliet S. Points, James Harvey Robinson, Edward McC. Sait, George Winfield Scott, William Robert Shepherd, Henry Rogers Seager, James T. Shotwell, Mrs. Mary K. Simkhovitch, Vladimir G. Simkhovitch, Munroe Smith, Alvan A. Tenney.

Program Committee of American Historical Association.—James T. Shotwell, chairman; Max Farrand, Charles H. Haskins, Thomas W. Page, Frederic L. Paxson,

A REPORT OF THE ACTIVITY OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION FROM NOVEMBER 19, 1908, TO NOVEMBER 20, 1909.

By JACOB N. BOWMAN, Secretary.

The officers during this year were the following: President, Benjamin Ide Wheeler, president, University of California; vice president, Mr. George H. Himes, Portland, Oreg.; secretary-treasurer, Prof. J. N. Bowman, University of California; the council, the above and Prof. E. D. Adams, Stanford University; Mr. George E. Crothers, San Francisco; Mrs. Mary Prag, San Francisco; and Prof. H. W. Edwards, Berkeley.

The council held a meeting in San Francisco, February 18, 1909. It volunteered to hold a first session in Seattle in connection with the Alaska-Pacific-Yukon Exposition. The offer was not accepted. The paper of Mr. D. E. Smith, "The Viceroy in New Spain," read at the Berkeley meeting, 1908, was recommended for publication in the annual report of the association. A program committee for the Stanford meeting, set for November 19-20, 1909, was appointed in March: Profs. E. D. Adams and P. E. Martin, of Stanford University; Prof. H. W. Edwards, of Berkeley; Mr. F. J. Teggart and Prof. J. N. Bowman, of the University of California. Prof. H. Morse Stephens was elected to represent the branch at the meeting of the council of the association in New York in November, 1909. The program committee reported on October 20, 1909, the program for the Stanford meeting, which was approved by the council.

From the records and archives of the branch it is impossible to ascertain the exact membership in November, 1908. During the year the names and addresses of the high school and college teachers in the Coast States—except Arizona and Colorado—were secured with a view to making wider and better known the nature and work of the branch and the association. An accident in the mail service prevented the full use of this mailing list, but 500 circulars were sent out, principally to high-school and college teachers in California, Oregon, and Washington.

One member of the branch, Mr. J. J. Ryan, of San Jose, died during the year, as also one member of the association residing on the coast, Mr. J. J. Hagerman, of Colorado Springs.

The statistics of membership as reported at the Stanford meeting are as follows: Members of the branch, 208; members of the association residing on the coast, 15; nominees for branch membership, 17; new members during the year, 27; members of the association residing on the coast becoming members of the branch, 20; branch loss by removal to the East, 3; resignations from the branch during the year, 4; net increase or decrease in membership during the year, unknown.

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The expenses for the year were \$70.92, as compared with \$17 in 1904, \$51.54 in 1905, \$28.30 in 1906, \$55.80 in 1907, and \$34.80 in 1908. The increase is due to the efforts to secure a mailing list of the high-school and college teachers on the coast.

The officers elected for the ensuing year at the Stanford meeting are: President, Prof. E. D. Adams, of Stanford University; vice president, Prof. E. S. Meany, of the University of Washington; secretary-treasurer, Prof. J. N. Bowman, of the University of California; the council, in addition to the above, Prof. H. E. Bolton, of Stanford University; Miss Agnes E. Howe, of the San Jose State Normal School; Dr. E. I. McCormac, of the University of California; and Miss Jeanne E. Wier, of the University of Nevada.

The committees now in existence are: Committee on making available library resources, Geo. E. Crothers (chairman), J. C. Rowell, G. T. Clark, and J. L. Gillis; committee on public archives, C. A. Duniway (chairman), C. C. Plehn, Col. H. Weinstock, Judge P. J. Shields, and A. Holman; committee on annual meetings of coast learned societies at the same time and place, J. N. Bowman (chairman), and E. D. Adams.

The spirit and interest in the branch has greatly increased during the year, and after correspondence with the secretary of the association the routine work has been systematized. The active interest of the university men has been roused, and a conscious effort is being made to interest the high-school teachers of the coast in the branch and to bring them into close touch with its work.

II. TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION, AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION.

CARNEGIE HALL MEETING, MONDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 27, 1909.

Prof. WILLIAM M. SLOANE,

Temporary Chairman.

Hon. JOSEPH H. CHOATE,

Permanent Chairman.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AND AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION. HELD AT CARNEGIE HALL, IN NEW YORK CITY, ON MONDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 27, 1909, AT 8 P. M.

Mr. SLOANE. Ladies and gentlemen: When the two associations of scholars chose to celebrate their jubilee in the city of New York the response from this city was most hearty and spontaneous, and you have before you on the program the names of the ladies and gentlemen of New York who have united to make this a jubilee not only in name, but in fact. This meeting is the work of the men's reception committee, but the ladies of New York have been in no way inferior, as later in the program will be seen, for with their lunches and receptions and all that goes to make merriment at this holiday season. they have been not only coadjutors, but leaders in the great cause. We are very grateful—I speak for the joint committee of managers we are very grateful indeed for your presence here. Our gratitude takes somewhat the form so well known in the old dictionary, of a lively sense of favors to come. And we be peak your further hearty cooperation with us throughout the scientific sessions that are to follow this meeting, in particular those at which the presidential addresses are to be delivered. If you will come on the subway to One hundred and sixteenth Street, there you will find a commodious and delightful auditorium prepared for your reception, and the addresses will keep you fully informed of the latest work which has been done in the fields of history and of economics. We therefore trust that you will find your way in considerable numbers to our meeting at Columbia to-morrow, it being especially and peculiarly the Columbia day, and later on to our meetings at the Waldorf.

The present severe storm has prevented the attendance of the President of the United States, who heartily desired, as he informed me but one short week ago, to be present and address the audience that would gather here. But we have the Chief Magistrate of our own Commonwealth, who lays aside the gravest affairs of state, to grace this occasion with his presence. And it is only fitting that we should express our hearty gratitude to him for the sacrifice which he has made to be present. In the name of the men's committee I therefore formally call this meeting to order and ask you to accept as its chair-

man one of the most distinguished citizens of New York, in whose renown we all rejoice, the Hon. Joseph H. Choate.

Hon. Joseph H. Choate. Ladies and gentlemen: I never feel worse than for the fifteen minutes before I am called upon to speak, and never better than when I find myself in the presence of such an audience as this.

I regard it as a very great honor to be called upon to act as chairman of this meeting and to welcome this great congress of learned men who have gathered from all parts of the United States—some of whom have crossed the ocean—to take part in these discussions that are to take place this week.

The guests of honor, as we may call them—the American Historical Association and the American Economic Association—I may perhaps say a word about without wounding their feelings.

The American Historical Association is celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary. In that short period of time it has grown from a little handful to a vast body of members, represented in all the States and all the Territories, each interesting his own community and bringing from it to the collective body comfort, aid, and wisdom. And to show you how choice their membership is, how choice their honors are, it has but one honorary member, and that is a great historian, the Hon. James Bryce, ambassador from Great Britain.

It has done its true work in developing the study of history. It has contributed very largely to historical research, and to knowledge in this country among the people and in the schools; and its annual publications, sent forth by the Government as public documents, are of immense value.

As to the American Economic Association, I do not profess to be quite as familiar with all of its objects, but I understand that its studies in the main relate to the production, distribution, and use of wealth; and certainly nothing could be better for New York, and nothing could be better for the economists than that they should come here and instruct us upon that very subject.

I do not mean to say much about our guests, but I think I ought to say something about New York to these distinguished gentlemen who have come all the way from the Pacific coast, or all the way across the Atlantic, and perhaps I ought to correct some current errors in respect to the city of New York.

One would think from reading some of the newspapers and magazines that come to us from a distance, that the people of the city of New York are entirely engaged in the production, the distribution, and the use of wealth. One would suppose that we are a sordid, selfish, mercenary community, bent upon nothing but pleasure and money; that the men spend their nights and days in piling up dollars, and the women their days and nights in spending them.

Well, nothing could be more imperfect, to say the least, as a description of New York, than that.

It is true that as in all other communities that I know anything about, the world is too much with us; late and soon, getting and spending we lay waste our powers. It is true that the pursuit of wealth is an almost universal malady here as everywhere else; but the tables are written on both sides. There is another side to the picture of New York which I wish for a few moments to dwell upon for the consideration—not for the entertainment—of these honored guests of ours. In that great American renaissance, which set in after our Civil War, and which Lincoln prophesied at Gettysburg, when he said that this Nation under God was to have a new birth of freedom-little dreaming what tremendous results were to follow, and how a thousand times more than he anticipated his prophecy was to be fulfilled; because, when the Union was finally and actually and forever restored, and slavery was forever laid away, when that cancer that had gnawed upon the vitals of the Republic for 100 years was killed, a new America sprang up, exhibiting an energy, an enterprise, an imagination, a daring, and a hope such as had never been dreamed of before; and the whole country awoke to new action, to new endeavor, to new achievements, in which more has been accomplished than, I believe, by any other nation known to history, in the same space of time—in this American renaissance, New York has been the recipient, New York has had the benefit of all the great triumphs, of all the great successes and achievements that have taken place all over the land. New York has grown great because the country has grown so great to feed and to support it, so that I think now, without hesitation, we may say it is the center of the civilization of the continent.

See what wonderful things have been achieved here in this city under our very eyes! Look at our universities, happily led by Columbia, itself taking the lead in some respects of all the universities in the land, coming, as I believe, in closer contact with the people, a more truly democratic university than you can find in any other place, allying itself with the great institutions it finds about it, opening its doors every day to the public to valuable lectures on many branches of learning. Never was there a more democratic institution in the shape of a university than that. And then there are the College of the City of New York and the Normal College for Women—and I am told we are the only city that supports at its own public expense, without a dollar of cost to the pupils, two great institutions like those for men and for women—which redound not only to the great advantage of the city, but to that of the whole country itself.

And then take our common-school system with its 650,000 pupils. No wonder, when the city grows so fast, that we are unable every autumn to house them! No wonder that they have to take half days instead of whole days! No wonder that it is almost impossible, even for this great city, with all of its resources, to keep pace with its own increase in the production of children!

And again, take our great museums: I remember that only 40 years ago we went, cap in hand, to the legislature in Albany for charters for the Museum of Art and the Museum of Natural History. They were granted willingly, but without any thought on the part of anyone in the legislature which granted them or on our part who received them, that after 40 years they would grow to be institutions that would attract from many distant countries experts to view their treasures and to see what New York and America could accomplish.

Now, all this has been done, and I claim not for New York the credit, but for the whole country I claim the credit, because New York has been only the recipient, after all, of the results of the efforts and achievements of the rest of the country. We give freely, because it is freely given to us; and I think I may fairly say that no other community proportionally is doing or has done as much for the development of education, of energy, of art, and science throughout the country as this sometimes much-abused city of New York. All the great universities acknowledge their obligations to the beneficence, to the public spirit, to the sympathy of the citizens of the city of New York. Harvard itself, somewhat distant and somewhat differing from others in its immense original endowments, Columbia, Yale, Princeton, Chicago, all owe their strength in very large measure to the sympathy and support which they have received from here. And I think I should not be wrong in saying that there is hardly an institution of learning, hardly any institution established for the promotion of the general welfare of mankind throughout the land, that directly or indirectly has not felt the beneficence, the generosity. and sympathy of the high-minded citizens of this community.

Well, then, the whole thing is reciprocal—it all acts and reacts; New York is the heart of the life of the Nation, and it sends its blood and strength through all the arteries of communication throughout the land for the encouragement and for the benefit of all. And this lifeblood finds its way back through all veins of traffic and transportation to be constantly renewed and restored; so when these many learned societies make their visit once in 25 years—I hope it will be much oftener—when they come here from every State in the Union to enjoy the discussions and the illumination that will proceed from the exercises of the present week, they are but coming home, they are but bringing back to us the sympathy and the interest which we have manifested for them. And I believe it will not only be a very

interesting week for these visitors, but it will redound in double measure to the benefit and the advancement of this great city of New York.

Truly, this is a great national occasion. I am sorry the President of the United States, whom you all so much admire, is not here to be the typical representative of the United States in receiving all these guests. It is really a national affair, not confined to one society or to five or to twenty societies, nor confined to one city, but it speaks whole volumes for the intelligence and the interest of the people of this country and of this city in the questions in which these societies are interested, that such a gathering can take place in this city, and that such an audience can come together as is here to-night.

Gentlemen, there is not one of your societies, however numerous they may be, however abstruse or difficult the subjects with which it has to deal, that does not find in this city of New York a large number of educated people fully in sympathy, fully interested in what you may have to deal with. I observed in London that no man could come from whatever quarter of the world to lecture upon any subject, however obscure, however obsolete, or however new, without finding an audience in the city of London, made up of people who were interested in his particular subject, and who welcomed his ap-New York, I believe, stands in the same relation to the United States and to the whole of this continent of America. It is interested; it is ready to furnish listeners for any man who comes from any quarter of the globe to discuss the subjects that are laid down on your program; and I prophesy for this conference a very great success and very great benefits, not only to those who attend. but to all the citizens of the United States.

But I know time is flying—it never flies so fast as when a man is on his feet and other people are sitting. You will have the privilege of listening to three very interesting and important speakers, and foremost among them I have the great pleasure of presenting to you the mayor of New York, and I am very glad that you thus welcome his coming, because, in a certain way, it is a kind of farewell address, for he has but four or five days more of public service, which he has performed so well.

I have the great pleasure of presenting to you his honor, the mayor, George B. McClellan.

Hon. George B. McClellan. Mr. Chairman and governor; ladies and gentlemen: I have come before you this evening with a great deal of hesitation, for I am a layman and a dabbler, and you profess the two kindred sciences of life—economics, the science of the how, and history, the science of the why—economics, the science of to-day, and history, the science of yesterday.

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I am sure you will understand why it is that I, who am officially in extremis, who in less than 100 hours will have officially passed away and ceased to be, why it is that for the moment, at least, I take more interest in history than in economics.

I think that we are all agreed, those of us who dabble and those of us who profess alike, that history is a science; that its function is, therefore, in the words of Speaker Reed, to add to and not to subtract from the sum of human knowledge; that the purpose of teaching us history is the benefit of the taught rather than the glory of the teacher.

It is true that the tons of books upon historical subjects that are annually cast upon the waters and that return to their authors after many days, unsold, and the multitude of earnest and worthy but hopelessly dull people whose occupation is the instruction in history of those who are so intellectually imprisoned that they are powerless to escape, would seem to disprove the rule. And yet, the rule remains, even though sometimes more honored in the breach than in the observance.

The field of historical study is so vast; the time, in the rush and worry of modern civilization, which we are able to give to education is so pitifully short, that the very best that we can hope to accomplish is merely to scratch the surface. When I was an undergraduate the total time given to the study of history in our curriculum was two hours a week during the junior year. In 74 hours our professor was expected to give us a complete knowledge of the history of every people and every country throughout all times. We were fortunate in sitting under one of the most brilliant intellects and the greatest teacher I have ever had the honor to come in contact with. Yet, even Prof. William M. Sloane could not accomplish the impossible. But he succeeded in giving to us two precious gifts that have endured always—a desire to read history and the knowledge how to read it. When we left him every intelligent boy among us did so with the conviction that while truth may sometimes be stranger than fiction. the reading of history is always a more absorbing and more fascinating pursuit than the reading of all the novels that were ever published.

Prof. Sloane solved for us the whole problem of education, the purpose of which is not the cultivation of intellectual specialists or of omniscience, but the purpose of which is to instruct the pupil, to inspire the pupil with a desire to learn, and to teach him how to study.

It has become the fashion to sneer at Dumas and at Prescott and to shrug the shoulders interrogatively at Ferrero. It may be that Dumas and Prescott are atrociously incorrect; it may be that Ferrero, instead of carrying us back into the past, brings the past down to us; that he lacks the sense of proportion and perspective, that his work is out of drawing, his values wrong, and that his high lights are

too intense. All this may be true, and yet the fact remains that Dumas and Prescott and Ferrero make all the past for us an actual living present; make of the Bourbons, and of Richelieu, and Mazarin, of Ferdinand and Isabella, and Torquemada, of Sulla, Caesar, and Cicero human beings like ourselves, with flesh on their bones and blood in their veins, with hearts that beat and brains that think, with our likes and dislikes, our virtues and vices, our passions and prejudices, instead of paragons of excellence, or monsters of evil.

Not merely human automata, dressed in the costumes of the foregoing periods, the men of the past have been made live again for us, so that we make of them our friends, the companions of our reveries, sharers of our sorrows and our joys. In other words, we learned to like the reading of history for its own sake, so that ultimately—ultimately, mind you—even Hallam's Middle Ages becomes a joy, and the Chronicles of John the Deacon in the original hog-Latin a pastime for a summer's afternoon.

There is a general impression that there is nothing easier than to write a book or to teach, provided one only tries hard enough. As the result of this, thousands of statistical abstracts masquerade in solemn and smug pomposity as history, and hundreds of incompetents cause their wretched little pupils to loathe and curse the very sound of history's name.

We can not all be Sloanes or Dumas or Prescotts or Ferreros, but we can most earnestly resolve that we shall not burden the world with an additional book unless we have a message to convey, and we shall not try to teach unless we feel the responsibility of the task. This negative duty of refraining from writing and teaching history is more and more observed, certainly in this community, and the reason for it is that there is a constant development in the cultivation of the people of this town. As our chairman has told you, there is a false idea that New York is so occupied in the pursuit of wealth, so busy in the struggle for existence, that her people have no time for anything else, that her men are only money grabbers, her women butterflies. Nothing could be more false. There is an intellectual side in this city. New York draws nearer and nearer, as the years go by, to that goal that all thinking New Yorkers hope she may one day attain-of becoming not only the world's center of wealth, but its center of thought as well.

We have museums, libraries, and collections, which through the munificence of individuals and the generosity of our taxpayers are the most important in the country. Thanks to Mr. Carnegie, our branch library system is unequalled. Thanks to the knowledge and the generosity of Mr. Morgan, New York is rapidly earning her place among the art centers of the world. We have men and women who think as well as men and women who do. We have scholars, scientists,

artists, philosophers, and, with its museums and collections, the center of our world of intellect and of thought, our great University of Columbia.

I am not a Columbia man, for Princeton is my alma mater, but I should be lacking in common fairness if I did not do simple justice to that great institution of research and of thought. From Columbia emanates the impulse which has forced our people upward and onward in the direction of higher thoughts and nobler aspirations than the pursuit of the dross and of the sordid; which has forced them to adhere to the ideal that there is something in this world more worthy of striving for and more worth having than wealth; that the cultivation of mind and the development of character and of soul depend upon our own exercise, and can not be bought with money. And Columbia derives her inspiration partly from the man who has made her what she is; the man who has raised her from a secondary position to one of eminence among the great universities of the world. The public of letters, the public of science, the public of New York owe a debt of gratitude, difficult to pay, to that eminent New Yorker, Nicholas Murray Butler.

Ladies and gentlemen, let me assure you of the appreciation of the people of our city that you should have selected New York as your place of meeting. We are very proud that you should hold your silver jubilee here. I congratulate you most heartily upon the work that you have accomplished in the past, that you are accomplishing in the present, and that, God willing, you will continue to accomplish in the years to come. When you hold your golden jubilee may you do so with the consciousness that the second quarter century of your life has been even more useful to mankind than was the first.

In the name of the people of the city of New York, I, the mayor, bid you a sincere and hearty welcome. May the proceedings of your associations be most successful, and may you so enjoy yourself that when the time comes to select the place for your next meeting, you will unanimously choose our city. But should that be impossible—if at the close of your meetings you find that you must leave us—I earnestly trust that you will do so with the firm resolve that at least as individuals, some day, you will return.

Chairman Choate. Ladies and gentlemen, I am delighted to see by your applause how thoroughly you appreciate the encomiums that are lavished, and so justly lavished, upon Columbia University. It is truly the crown of our city; the center of our municipal civilization. And if these guests who are gathered here to-night had no other result of their sight-seeing than to visit Columbia, to visit its noble and unmatched library and its contents, the splendid group of buildings by which it is surrounded, and to study for themselves the courses of instruction that are there laid out, it would be a sufficient

reward. There is one very rare collection there this week, such as has never before been found, I think, in any one place, and perhaps may never be found again, and that is a collection of historical documents, manuscripts, and other choice treasures, brought together to illustrate the progress of historical writing. And I now have very great pride and pleasure in presenting to you the president of Columbia University, Nicholas Murray Butler.

President Nicholas Murray Butler. Mr. Chairman, governor, ladies and gentlemen: Truly a noteworthy and significant welcome has been prepared for this company of American scholars. It is significant and it is noteworthy that in our democracy the President of the United States, the governor of the State of New York, and the mayor of the city are willing and glad to take time from their laborious duties to greet and to mingle with a thousand of the Nation's scholars. We must all regret the enforced absence of the President of the United States. How suitable it is that the President, the governor, and the mayor, should welcome the body of men drawn from all parts of our Nation, who are students of history, economics, and political science! These three great public officers are in personal direction and supervision of the three, or three of the greatest experimental laboratories of history, economics, and political science that the world has to offer.

In your associations, in your studies, and in your libraries you historians and economists and political scientists study and analyze the waste, the velocity, and the traction powers of the wheels of government. But those wheels actually revolve in the presence of these public officers and under their direction, and perform the practical work of government with their guidance. Is it not appropriate that the men whose offices bring them in closest contact with the results of your studies as applied to the daily practical problems of government and of administration should endeavor to appraise for us all the value and significance of the studies to which you are devoted? There was once a governor of this State whose heart was thought by some to be just a little cold toward projects presented to him under the label of reform, who used to receive and consider the requests of citizens who waited upon him to secure his aid for certain legislative proposals with a formula something like this:

"I am very glad, gentlemen, to have had the pleasure of seeing you. I think I understand what it is you have in mind. Won't you draw a bill and send it up to me to look at?"

And it is related that his petitioners rarely came back. That particular divorce between theory and practice we are rapidly learning how to overcome. And, thanks to the activity, the teaching, and the publications of your associations, the public opinion of the United States and of every State is being educated up to a point

where it is beginning to demand expert service and expert knowledge in dealing with daily problems of legislation and of administration.

A democracy grows in power, grows in weight, grows in significance, grows in its very democracy as it learns to combine and unite theory and practice, and as it learns to call upon the men who know, to tell it how to act in the presence of a problem, a dilemma, of legislative or executive relief. But there is one difficult thing in this endeavoring to relate theory and practice, one difficulty in the way of bringing the man who knows into the position where the great mass of the population will turn to him with trust and confidence, and that is the absence so often from our studies and our speculations of allowance for the human element in life and in government.

If any one thing seems, just now as you meet in your twenty-fifth annual meeting, to be more clearly indicated than another, it is that all of the studies that you represent are focusing themselves upon what we call, in America, in England, in France, in Germany, in Russia, the social problem. We are not now studying history so much for entertainment as for light upon to-day. We are not now studying economics and political science so much to secure display for our originality, our inventiveness, as to throw light upon the problem of to-day. And the great problem of to-day, whether you approach it from history, or approach it from economics, or approach it from public law, is the great problem of the mass of democratic population. What are you going to do? What policies are you going to recommend? What legislative acts are you going to suggest? What lesson from history and economics are you going to draw that will guide this great population of four or five millions of people, and other great populations the world over, and increase the average comfort and happiness and opportunity of the mass? How are we going to bring into our studies enough of the human element to let us see the sociological, the ethical implications of what we are trying to do? Just now, our sociological friends are meeting with the natural scientists in another part of the country. They ought to be here. There is no set of subjects, no line of inquiry or no type of reflection more necessary as complementary to our studies of history, economics, and public law than these sociological studies which let us see the other man's point of view.

We owe an enormous debt to those men, primarily Frenchmen and Italians, who have led the way in the study of the mind of the mass, the movement of opinion, the expression of emotion and feeling, the blind struggle of the deepest human instinct for expression, that come out in the great life of a community and a commonwealth on occasion. It is simply blindness in this twentieth century to study history and economics and public law and to lose sight of all that. These great societies have passed out of the class of theoretical studies,

if there are any such. I doubt it. But if there are, your societies have carried these studies outside the limits of theoretical consideration, and you are dealing to-day with the most practical, the most pressing, the most immediate questions in human life. You may be, as the mayor has eloquently said, reading again the history of Rome, or the pages of Ferrero, you may be studying the intricacies of the civilization of the middle age, or you may be discussing philosophic theories of value, but always and everywhere you are focusing on this human twentieth-century problem.

You will remember that when the fall of the Bastille was announced Fox was reported to have said, "How much the greatest event in history, and how much the best!" I wonder whether Fox did not mistake the sign and symbol of an event for an event itself. I wonder whether what his eye seized upon as the most significant happening in history was not just one more of the visible evidences of the onward movement of that great democratic tendency which gives form and shape and guidance and interpretation to our modern life, beginning as the dumb expression of instinct, finding here the articulate voice and there a battle cry, coming out into the open to follow an eloquent and persuasive leader, seizing upon a constructive mind to teach it how to write itself upon the statute book, making constitutions, laws, governmental systems, but always and everywhere seeking human expression, to get out into the open, out beyond the grasp of privilege, and out beyond the limitation of artificial oppression, out where the human soul and mind and feeling can express themselves as free agents and render some kind of service to their own personal ideals, and to the race to which they belong. I wonder whether that is not the greatest thing in our modern history. And I wonder whether the relation of these societies and their studies to it, is not most intimate and direct. Judged as history judges, not quite with the measure of the geologist or the physicist, but still judged as history judges, democracy is yet very young. Enormous human issues, psychological, ethical, social, hang in the balance of its ultimate success or failure. And those of us who are so fortunate and who ought to be so happy that the lot of our lives is cast in these delightful, stimulating, and practical studies, ought to feel from the contact with this great city, ought to feel from association with our colleagues and friends, that we, through our studies and the interpretation of them, are contributing what we can to the perfection, the development, and the upbuilding of our modern American democracy, to the end that every human being that owes it allegiance may find the chance for self-expression, for growth, for development, and for usefulness.

I should like to say a word in appreciation of the presence here of a distinguished group of scholars from the Old World. In one

of our newspapers yesterday I read a somewhat animated discussion as to whether there was any culture in America. Into that dark and disputed field I shall not enter. But I do cay, whether we have in America any share of culture or not, we have a scholarly and a gentlemanly courtesy and a feeling of appreciation and regard for the distinguished men who have come from other posts of duty in Great Britain and France and Holland, in Germany, in Italy, and Spain, and elsewhere across the ocean, to assist at these important conferences. On behalf of my colleagues I bid our colleagues across the sea a sincere and hearty welcome to New York and to the meetings of the societies which they are to honor by their presence.

I have said enough to indicate that, in my thinking, this occasion is one of high seriousness. This is no mere holiday expression, although it will be made as pleasant as it can possibly be made for each and every guest. It is a high and serious gathering to deal with high and serious things, remembering that the welcome offered you by Nation, by State, by municipality, and by your own immediate colleagues is so warm and so sincere, not only because of your distinguished personality—although it would be so for that alone—but because of the significance of the gathering of a thousand men who are giving their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, that great studies may be pursued and kept alive in our American life, and that their practical lessons may be drawn for the good of the whole people.

Chairman Choate. I may now refer to a message from the President of the United States, whose absence we all deplore. This is directed to Mr. Clarence W. Bowen, chairman of the executive committee:

WHITE HOUSE, December 27.

In view of the fact that the railroad people can give no assurance of my reaching New York in time for your meeting this evening, and as I must be here the first thing in the morning, I do not feel warranted to make the trip. Please, therefore, express my excuse and regret.

WILLIAM H. TAFT.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, the chief magistrate of the State of New York realizes in his own person for the time being the entire history of the State. He is engaged during his more or less protracted term or terms of service in studying these very questions of economics that you have all come here to assist in deciding. I have sometimes thought, looking at our State, looking at our city, under other administrations, that it would be well if the whole thing could be put in the charge of an executive committee of the Economic Association. But I am perfectly satisfied with things as they are at Albany, and hope I shall be so with things as they are to be in

the city of New York, and I have the great pleasure of presenting to you the governor of New York, the Hon. Charles E. Hughes.

Hon. Charles E. Hughes. Ladies and gentlemen: When I was invited to be present upon this occasion I reminded a spokesman of the committee that for the governor the week before the convening of the legislature was one of fasting and prayer. It was a week in which every citizen of the State who had evolved some plan for improvement by legislation, or in administration—and there are some millions of them, to my personal knowledge—had an indefeasible right to see the chief executive. It was a time for inspection, introspection, examination, and explication just prior to formal communication. I told him it was absolutely impossible at such a time, despite my great desire to join in extending this welcome, for me to be here. He answered that the President of the United States was going to give a welcome on behalf of the Nation, and that the governor should be present to give a welcome on behalf of the State. Now, you know the activity of Presidents is the despair of governors. I answered that if the President were to be here to extend a welcome for the Nation, it certainly was my duty as well as my privilege to endeavor to represent the gratification of the people of the State of New York that this meeting was to be held within our borders.

We greatly regret that the President can not be with us; not alone because he could speak to you the welcome which should be national in its breadth—as this is an occasion of national significance—but because in his own personal work and achievements he has so largely represented the ideals of these associations in his labors of administration and in the difficult work of our courts.

We regret very much that we can not welcome him as he would welcome you. But the people of the State of New York do most heartily greet you and express their pleasure that you have reached this time of commemoration, when in the case of the Historical Association and of the Economic Association you can celebrate 25 years of honorable and productive effort.

But it is not simply by way of commemoration of what you have accomplished that I would speak, but rather extend to you the welcome which is in all our hearts because of what you represent in motive and purpose.

The past 25 years have been years of unexampled opportunity. The rewards of honorable endeavor have never been larger, and the inducements to work in the familiar callings of enterprise and profession have never been greater. I am addressing many who voluntarily turned aside from those paths which seemed so sure to lead to affluence, to comfort, to positions of distinction in the commercial and professional world, that you might sacrifice your all to

truth and to the pursuit of what you believe to be the highest aim of man—the ascertainment of knowledge and its application to the problems of a free society.

With respect to this aim you represent what has been so happily called "the writing on the other side of the table." In this community, as in the communities from which you come, will be found, to the credit of America, many of the brightest and the most favored intellectually and morally of the students of our universities, to whom there is no goal comparable with that of truth and no stimulus so great as that which is supplied by the modern scientific method of pursuing it.

I would hail it as a fortunate thing for the people of this State and of this city if they gave to this meeting the significance which it deserves, not simply by reason of the achievements of the past, but because of the presence of so many representatives of this fine body of men and women throughout our country, whose labors are in truth our best assurance that the opportunities of democracy are not corrupting and that we are still idealistic despite the practical advantages which are at our door.

We have perhaps great difficulty in obtaining a true historical perspective. It is very easy to magnify the importance of the days in which we live; to treat that which is really ephemeral as of permanent value; to find in the tendency of the day, or of a decade, an indication of a permanent movement. We can not estimate truly the value of the events of which we are a part, yet we must feel that we are living at a time, the problems of which give us a prophecy of the great difficulties which free society is to meet, and impress upon us the necessity of bringing to their solution the best that honest purpose and intelligence and skilled training can afford. We need to understand better than we have yet understood that in the work of the student and in the careful research of the historian and the studies of the economist are the natural and necessary aids of the practical administrator. Those charged with executive affairs must be-certainly should first be-students, that they may meet the demands of the moment by the endeavor to apply a principle of action which is the result of profound thought. Now I know that this is far removed from the purpose of those who would twist government and administration to some selfish purpose and make it serve the ends simply of ambition or of greed. But I thank Heaven that in this country those charged with administration are more and more realizing that the people are content with honest interpretation of facts according to the light of the interpreter, but will not put up with any attempt to cover improper designs by any sort of parade of either conservative learning or radical proposal.

The Executives of our day may make mistakes. They may be exposed to just criticism because of a lack of merit in their recommendations or policies, but the American people, true to their instinct, will pardon if they believe that there is a sincere endeavor to ascertain the facts; to deal with problems in the light of the facts, with the sole object to be of service to the community; and that must be the test to be applied in all our difficult essays of administration.

We need in our lawmaking bodies study. The legislator should be a student of the legislation of the past; of the laws of other countries and other States; a practical man, because he is dealing with the application of theory to actual affairs, but a student with practical duties. And I rejoice that we are drawing more and more to legislative service men who have had special training in our schools and men who look at the problems of the day in the light of the experience of the past; men who can take the long view as well as the short view.

We need men trained in history and in economics in our courts. Nothing is a greater mistake than to suppose that the judicial work is removed, as dealing with some exact science, from economic problems and historical reflection. As a distinguished judge said in my hearing the other evening, in the construction of statutes it is a very attenuated line frequently between judicial construction and judicial legislation in matters of constitutional interpretation. In matters of constitutional interpretation the economic view, the extent of research, the acquaintance with the past, with great enterprises, and with formal efforts to solve problems, the general view as to future tendencies and desirable ends will have a most important bearing upon the conclusion that may be reached. What we need more than anything else at this time, it seems to me, is a general understanding that in administrative places, in our legislative halls, and upon the bench a knowledge of history and of economics and a close relation to the work that is being done in societies such as your own are not only not to be regarded with derision but should be treated as matters of first and invaluable importance.

Now, I am very glad that we are so impressed with the difficulties of our situation that we are far more hospitable to the suggestions which come from universities and economic and scientific societies than we have been in the past. The crowding of business in our Federal concerns and in our State concerns, the tremendous scope of governmental activities force themselves upon the attention of those charged with responsibility to such a degree that inevitably they turn for light to those who in the more quiet hour are able carefully to work, to plan, to study, and to reflect. We see evidences of this on every hand. I think the time will come when we shall actually have a tariff framed in accordance with expert study and in the

light of facts ascertained and known and read of all men, so that they may duly prepare the same in accordance with the just interests of the people and of those who may benefit by tariff legislation. In every department, wherever you may look, you find the necessity of getting the man who can tell you what is, who has a genius for getting at the real facts of the case, and who can come with a report upon those facts showing not only the skill of the master of research, but the common sense and poise and adjustment of the man acquainted with the difficulties of administrative work. There is no one in any position—chairman of a committee in the legislature, head of a department, executive of a State or of a nationwho does not count himself happy if he can come into close contact with the man who has had the rare opportunity to learn by painstaking investigation the facts of our social condition, all that pertains to these delicate human relations, so that remedies that may be needed may be devised in the light of experience and with a general acquaintance which must lie outside of the range of the busy administrator. It is very gratifying that at the time of our most pressing necessity there should be this greater cooperation between the man of thought and the man of action. And the men of thought are becoming more and more the men of action. We have less of doctrines to be maintained at all hazards, fewer schools with creeds, fewer political and economic dogmas which must be accepted as a test of fellowship, and we have more and more the caution of the trained investigator, who is unwilling to hazard a final generalization, knowing that there is yet so much he must learn before the last word can be spoken. And so the man of thought is anxious to have a chance to work; to see how the machinery moves; to get close to the actual affairs of public life, of social enterprise, of the various industrial occupations, and to the relations which give rise to those manifold questions; and the man of action on the other hand is becoming more and more the student. He is consorting more and more with those who have had the opportunity which the pressure of his own work has denied to him.

Once in a while a distinguished representative of the schools will go over into another field and talk of things of which he knows nothing, and again some man fresh from the field of action will attempt to give lectures which would really be suitable from one of academic past. But these illustrations are exceptional, and go to show the rule. They go to show this happy relation of the sense of mutual need and desire to cooperate, which is so helpful a sign at this hour.

You have in your various associations the opportunities to study many phases of the same question. There are, I do not doubt, many of you who rejoice in knowledge for its own sake; who love to

ascertain something apparently unrelated because of the joy of acquisition. And there is no finer joy than that of the scholar alone in his library, rejoicing over a point that is all his own—that up to date no one else, he thinks, may have apprehended. But after all your work is practical. It is to be decided by practical advantages. You are simply bringing together many data from many laboratories, giving the result of an extended experimentation, not for the purpose of piling up the grave of foolish speculations, in an immense mausoleum of annual reports, but in order that you may have something worth while to give to busy men, to administrators, to men who have the responsibilities of the work of government, in order that they may be helped. And I would say not to the scholars, but to the men of affairs, study history, even if it is superficially studied. We need its information; we need the poise that it gives. We can not be firm and secure and well poised in the turmoil of the hour unless we have reviewed the activities and fought the battles of the olden times, and known of the ups and downs of former critical hours. But the best of all is the encouragement, the consciousness that we have as we lift our eves from the page of history, that difficult as have been the problems of other days, and of our own day, humanity is moving on; step by step a gain is made. We are the favored of all kinds. We to-day have the best inheritance in our generation that the children of men have ever enjoyed. And however doubtful may be the future, we can not survev the past, with its awful scenes of human cruelty, with its blackness of despair at times, without realizing the capacity that the human race has for the onward movement, without being satisfied that the advantages of this hour will never be lost. And by the cooperation which you offer, and by the intense desire of the people at large that all should be done to conserve honorable conditions, widen opportunity, lessen misery, and enlarge happiness, we are destined—not losing, but increasing the advantages that we now enjoy-still to continue on the upward path until we get somewhere near the goal which has been the dream of the poets, and the historians, and the scholars of the bygone days.

Chairman Choate. By virtue of the power vested in me as chairman of this meeting, I now declare the meeting closed.

OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH. Amendmental approximation as a processing approximation of the pacific coast branch.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY, CAL., NOVEMBER 19-20, 1909.

By JACOB N. BOWMAN, Secretary of the Branch.

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

By JACOB N. BOWMAN.

The sixth annual meeting of the Pacific coast branch of the American Historical Association was held at Stanford University on Friday and Saturday, November 19–20, 1909. The meeting was one of the most successful and most interesting that the branch has yet held, and this success is largely due to the committee on local arrangements and to Prof. E. D. Adams, head of the history department in Stanford University.

The first session was held on Friday afternoon in room 231 of the History Building. The vice president of the branch, Mr. George H. Himes, of Portland, Oreg., presided in the absence of the president, Benjamin Ide Wheeler, in Berlin. After a few remarks Mr. Himes called to the chair Prof. Adams, of Stanford University, who presided during the remainder of the session.

The first paper was read by Prof. S. L. Ware, of Stanford University, on "The Self-government of the Elizabethan Parish." He explained the offices of the parish, their duties and their jurisdictions. In both church and state the parish was the center of all government; its responsibility was to the Crown, as the parish government was considered the Queen's business. The duties were burdensome and often invidious. Offices were never solicited and seldom did a person serve a second term. Freedom from service was often granted as a privilege; sometimes men paid for their release from parish offices, and cases are also noted where men have gone to court to evade office. Women could serve in some of the offices; a widow served out the unexpired term of her deceased husband. All in all, the holding of offices was felt to be a duty rather than a right. matters of taxation the parish assessed itself; in case of the parishioners failing to do this, the constables, justices, etc., arranged it for them. Because of these conditions the select vestry, a closed body, rose in the late Elizabethan times and continued its life and work to the end of the nineteenth century. The parish was much more of a reality then than now; it was more democratic; seldom were persons asked to perform the duties of others. Justices of the peace

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were chosen by the parish, and the parish did its own policing in the absence of the royal police and army. The jury system imposed self-government. This system was in great contrast to the conditions on the Continent, where France, for instance, was ruled from the desks of Paris. These ideas of parish life and government were in time taken over the seas to America.

The second paper was read by Dr. E. I. McCormac, of the University of California, on the "Colonial Opposition to Imperial Authority during the French and Indian War." He held that the period of the French and Indian War deserves more attention than is given it by constitutional writers. In this war the colonies upheld the protests, demands, ideas, and contentions that they later maintained in the Revolution. The tendency to resist government was seen in different degrees in all the colonies. This resistance to external authority and this restriction of outside government was roused in the French and Indian War, and the later action of Parliament only roused it still further. All the colonies hated the common enemy and all felt loyalty to their own England; yet they felt that there was a limit to the action of the mother country and of Parliament. Dr. McCormac then cited instances from different colonies. When aid was granted in Virginia in 1753 they demanded "proof to their own satisfaction" as to the need of aid and as to the expenditure. Maryland refused for a long time to vote aid to send troops to western parts. The rejection of the Albany plan indicated the attitude of the colonies with respect to self-government. Pennsylvania stated the general feeling that no plan of union could be both effective and satisfactory. The wars carried on by England and France were felt by the colonies to be wars for empire, and both countries should therefore pay for them. Troops were used only for local needs; the colonies were to decide when and where the troops were to serve, and sometimes refused to allow them to pass beyond their own borders; the troops were only for defense, and even then the control was hampered. Pennsylvania especially retained command of her troops, and refused money for the troops to serve under a Virginia general. The colonies insisted on the right to contribute, the right to make free gifts to the Crown, but felt as an infringement any pressure from England as well as any assertion of right on the part of England to tax them. This levying of the taxation was held to be the right of the colonial representatives. Riders and conditions were imposed on money acts, thus forcing the governors to sign or do without money. Pennsylvania was especially adept in this form of legislation. recruiting of troops also indicated the colonial opposition. Desertions, often in the progress of a battle, were open and frequent. Colonial officers were unable to enforce order and system among the troops; the law was ineffective and public opinion was on the side of

the troops. During the French and Indian War the colonies kept in close touch with each other; they claimed exclusive control in matters of taxation, basing this claim on old rights and on their non-representation in Parliament. Practically all the colonial arguments of the Revolutionary War were already developed in the French and Indian War.

Prof. E. B. Krehbiel, of Stanford University, then read a paper on "The Immigration of the Russian Mennonites in the Seventies." He pointed out that in doctrine they were of Quaker and Anabaptist origin. They sprang up in Switzerland and Holland simultaneously in the sixteenth century and spread through northwestern Germany. They came to the Palatinate, but suffered greatly there at the end of the seventeenth century from the forces of Louis XIV. Catharine II found them suitable immigrants for southern Russia in 1788. She granted them concessions in religious freedom, local government, and freedom from military duties. Under these conditions they flourished and became wealthy, but held aloof from Russian life. They did not intermarry nor become Russian citizens nor learn the Russian language. Consequently they aroused the dislike of the Russians. In 1870 the Russian Government determined to revoke the old concessions and provided that after 1874 the Mennonites were to be ruled as Russian citizens, and that they should accept the Russian religion and language. The Mennonites, therefore, determined to emigrate. They sent a committee of 12 to America to choose a suitable location. Manitoba, Minnesota, Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, and Texas were visited. The Santa Fe Company became interested in them as settlers on the plains. An agent was sent to Russia, who aided them in deciding to migrate to America instead of to Siberia, and much assistance was furnished by the American Mennonites. The migration began in 1874. They left Odessa and Lemberg and came via Liverpool and New York to the United States. The majority settled in Kansas. Some settled in Nebraska, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and In all these places they became very prosperous and Manitoba. wealthy.

The last paper of the session was read by Prof. R. S. Scholz, of the University of California—"Notes on Roman Imperialism." He directed attention to the fact that the Roman imperialism was not an inheritance from the Roman Republic. The keynote of imperialism was development, consolidation, and socialization This social process was a natural one, but the political process was due to a conscious policy. Sometimes, as in Gaul, both of these processes went hand in hand, the language, society, and life and the towns and imperial authority all developing together. The policies of the various emperors were not consistent, differing in many ways, yet all led in the end to the edict of Caracalla granting citizenship throughout the Empire. The

imperial citizenship thus developed was more important and advantageous than the earlier form. The army, with its requirement of Roman citizenship or 25 years of service in the provincials, was of great service in bringing about this imperial unity. Through the army the different parts of the Empire and of the provinces were brought into close contact with each other and thus prepared for the imperial citizenship. Traces of decline were already marked in Trajan's day. Especially felt was the dearth of men to recruit the army. Steps were taken to meet this danger by admitting to the army illegitimate men, sons of Romans and free mothers, etc.

The Empire was not an aggregate of civitates. In the development of imperial unity there was no buffer to save the municipal from the imperial authority. The municipality and municipal freedom were therefore doomed.

On Friday evening at the Faculty Field Club a reception and the annual dinner were held. Prof. E. D. Adams presiding. The presidential address was delivered by Mr. George H. Himes, of Portland, Oreg., on "The Historical Unity of the American States West of the Rocky Mountains." Mr. Himes pointed out the relatively unknown character of western history, the interrelation of the Western States and their relation to the Eastern States and to the parts of the Orient on the Pacific. The Oregon country was the birthplace of American institutions on the coast, and Oregon men played great parts in coast history. Marshall, who discovered gold at Sutter's Fort, and Bennett, who identified the find, had both worked in Oregon gold fields. His paper, Mr. Himes stated, was the result of 20 years of fact gathering. He had questioned, in person and by letter, some 20,000 persons who came to the Oregon Territory between the earliest date, 1832, and 1859. He had worked through 7,444 of the answers with the following results regarding the places of origin: From New England, 6 per cent; from the Middle States (i. e., those on both sides of the Mississippi). 50 per cent; from the South, 33 per cent; and from foreign parts (Canada, England, Germany, etc.), 11 per cent. Of this number 95 per cent came West prior to 1856. New England was the most important factor on account of its spirit. He concluded with a plea for the consideration of the coast in our American histories; they are still dominated by the men from the East. The mass of details on the Eastern States is not commensurate with their historical importance and our own pride in the West should urge us to a study of its history.

Dr. J. C. Branner, vice president of Stanford University, after bidding the branch a hearty welcome to Stanford, spoke, at the request of Prof. Adams, on his Brazilian collection. He began the collection in 1871, it growing out of his work in Brazilian geology. It contains the laws of Brazil from 1808 to 1906 complete, as well as

some 6,000 books and pamphlets on Brazilian life, history, and travel. He very kindly offered its use to any member of the branch or the association interested in Brazilian history.

Prof. Bernard Moses, of the University of California, then spoke on "The Historical Field in South America." He pointed out many differences in life and culture between the northern and southern continents. He also told of the scientific congress held at Santiago de Chile, last year, and pointed out the extent to which a gathering of this kind, without political or diplomatic interests, can bring the different parts of the Western Hemisphere into a better understanding of each other.

Mr. George E. Crothers, of San Francisco, spoke on the "Library Value of Public Documents." He urged libraries to secure public documents as they are published, when they can be had for the asking; within a few years they are out of print and often exceedingly expensive. He also spoke on the advisability of honors and of fellowships for graduate students to aid in the stimulation of graduate work and interest.

Mr. F. J. Teggart, curator of the Academy of Pacific Coast History, spoke of the work of the academy, which, he said, is a publishing body, printing original material and secondary works bearing on Pacific coast history.

Prof. E. S. Meany, of the University of Washington; Miss Agnes E. Howe, of the San Jose State Normal School; Miss Jeanne E. Wier, of the University of Nevada; Prof. T. C. Knoles, of the University of Southern California; and the secretary of the branch, also spoke.

The secretary was instructed by a unanimous vote to send a letter to President Benjamin Ide Wheeler and a telegram to Prof. H. Morse Stephens expressing the regrets of the branch at their absence and its best wishes for their year in Europe.

On Saturday morning the second session was opened by Vice President Himes, who later called Prof. Adams to the chair.

Prof. P. J. Treat, of Stanford University, read the opening paper on "Captain Arthur Phillip, First Governor of New South Wales." After referring to the conditions of Australia and its acquisition by England, Prof. Treat spoke of the work of Capt. Phillip. His instructions directed him with his shipload of convicts to establish a settlement at Botany Bay; but after an investigation of actual conditions he selected, on his own authority, Sydney Harbor instead. Phillip saw the value of Australia and of New South Wales; and through the term of his governorship there he spent his best energy in laying a firm foundation for a permanent settlement, which has grown into the present Sydney. His courage, common sense, and tenacity overcame all obstacles. For six years he presided there as a little king with no appeal from his decisions except to the secretary

of state, eight months away. He left in 1792 and died at Bath in 1814.

The second paper was read by Prof. D. E. Smith, of the University of California, on "The Intendant System in New Spain." The word "intendant," he pointed out, was of French origin and used to designate a provincial governor; the institution was taken to Spain early in the eighteenth century and to New Spain in 1786. One of the most notable reforms brought about by Spain in the government of her colonies in America was the institution of the intendant system. In the vicerovalty of New Spain this meant the setting up of 12 provincial governors endowed with extensive powers in place of the old governors and corregidores. The decree authorizing this change was promulgated in Madrid at the close of 1786. and was put into effect in Mexico in the course of the year 1787. Hitherto historians have paid very little attention to the changes involved in this legislation and have apparently made no effort to analyze and understand the text of the decree itself, to say nothing of the contemporary accounts of the actual workings of the new law. Very recently there has been brought to light in Mexico the correspondence of the viceroys with the home government bearing on this subject and, what is of special value, the long report of the younger Revilla Gigedo. In the light of this new material it is now possible to understand the full scope of the intendant's office and its relation to the general administrative reforms of Charles III.

Prof. H. E. Bolton, of Stanford University, then read a paper on "The Discovery of the Lost History by Father Kino." Father Kino was a German, born about 1640; from a mathematical professorship in Ingolstadt he entered a Jesuit residence. In 1680 he came to Mexico and began his missionary work on the northern frontier. He founded a cloister near Tucson, Ariz., and for 25 years made it his headquarters for exploring trips. He was interested in the insular or continental condition of California, and wrote a book to prove that California was part of the continent. He wrote many other books, some of which were left unpublished. The earliest reference to the unknown work is 1767; it is again referred to in 1816, and still later by Bancroft in his works. Only a short time ago Prof. Bolton found in Mexico City the original MS. of the frequently cited history written in Kino's own hand and signed by him three different times. It has 403 folio pages of text and a 14-page table of contents. The title is quite long and may be reduced to the "Celestial Favorites." It was divided at first into four parts; but another part was added later as a conclusion, urging further conquest of lands. The book was ordered by the Father General in Rome and it is therefore an official history. It was written about 1699-1710. The MS. is identified beyond doubt as the "Lost History by Father Kino."

The next paper was by Prof. Edmond S. Meany, of the University of Washington, and had for title, "The Towns of the Pacific Northwest were not Founded on the Fur Trade." Citing Prof. Turner as to the development of the trading posts of the central part of the continent into towns, Prof. Meany stated that for the country west of the Rocky Mountains that thesis could not be applied. Tracing the course of international relations which terminated in the American occupation of the Pacific Northwest, he pointed out that it was agricultural settlement rather than the fur trade which counted, and that the nuclei of the towns were usually a sawmill, water power, a mine, or a convenient crossroads in the farming districts.

The session was closed with a paper by Mr. F. J. Teggart, of the University of California, on "The Early Missouri Fur Trade." The speaker took up the early fur trade of the Mississippi Valley and the policies of the Spanish authorities relative to this activity. In the eighteenth century the Spanish Government was accustomed to grant exclusive privileges of the trade of an Indian tribe to a company or to an individual. The trade was also sometimes opened to all; especially was this true for the trade in the more distant parts. It was offered as a reward for penetration into those remote parts or granted as an encouragement to further exploration. The Missouri played its part in leading the traders among the many Indian tribes interested in the fur trade, and in guiding the exploring traders to the base of the mountains. It eventually became the great highway from the Mississippi to the West.

The teachers' session on Saturday afternoon had as its general subject "Ancient History in the First Year of the High School." Prof. H. W. Edwards, of the Berkeley High School, read the first paper on "Methods of Teaching Ancient History to Beginners." He pointed out that the distance of the subject from the present and the beginner's intense interest in the present often result in the destruction of the latter and engender a hatred for history. He suggested that this be corrected by taking advantage of the pupil's interest and his environment.

Prof. W. C. Westergaard, of the Alameda High School, followed with a paper on "Points of Contact between Ancient History and the Present." He directed attention to the many things in common between ancient history and the present; citizenship, the rich and poor, the limits of franchise, taxation questions, democracy, the judicial system, the colonial system, the expansion of peoples and empires, social customs, women's suffrage, architecture, etc.

Prof. R. F. Scholz, of the University of California, in opening the discussion spoke rather of the subject matter of ancient history than

¹ This paper is printed in full below, pp. 165 ff.

of its presentation in the high school, and pointed out many possible eliminations and points of new emphasis. Prof. S. P. McCrea, of the Redwood City High School, discussed the high school in comparison with the German gymnasium. He hoped for a systematic scheme of history work from the grades to the high school in order to avoid the present waste and repetition. Prof. H. W. Rolfe, of Stanford University, then pointed out that America has no type education such as England has and Greece had. To be taught efficiently in the high school ancient history must be placed in terms of the life of which it is the expression.

The business session was held at 4 o'clock Saturday afternoon. The secretary read a short report of the finances and also a report of the activity of the council during the year. Communications were read and referred to the council for action.

The committee on resolutions, Prof. E. S. Meany, chairman, Prof. D. E. Smith, and Miss Antoinette Knowles, reported the following resolutions:

Whereas the Pacific coast branch of the American Historical Association is about to close its sixth annual meeting after a most successful interchange of helpful thought and suggestion, and

Whereas our attention has been called to the struggles of historical societies of the Pacific coast States; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we hereby express our hearty interest in the work of the various State and local societies within this territory and pledge to these organizations our earnest support in all possible ways; and be it further

Resolved, That the Pacific coast branch urge upon the legislatures, executives, and other officers of the several States a liberal policy in the giving of public support to these organizations which are endeavoring to collect and preserve the materials of local history and in other ways to advance the cause of historical research and study; and be it further

Resolved. That the secretary of this branch be instructed to correspond with the representatives of the historical societies in question with a view to ascertaining the ways in which we can cooperate with them in their work and that he be requested to make a report with recommendations to the next annual meeting; and be it further

Resolved, That we hereby acknowledge with gratitude our indebtedness to the authorities of Stanford University, the Faculty Club, the local committee of arrangements, the members of the faculty who extended the hospitality of their homes, and to our own officers who have combined their efforts to achieve what has certainly been one of the most successful meetings in the history of our organization.

The resolutions were adopted.

The auditing committee, Mr. George E. Crothers, chairman, and Prof. H. W. Edwards, then reported as follows:

The undersigned have examined the accounts of J. N. Bowman, treasurer of the Pacific coast branch, American Historical Association, and have found the same to be correct and in good form.

The report was adopted.

The committee on nominations, Prof. A. B. Show, chairman, Prof. Bernard Moses, and Prof. E. I. Miller, recommended the following as officers for the ensuing year:

For president, Prof. E. D. Adams, Stanford University;

For vice president, Prof. E. S. Meany, University of Washington;

For secretary-treasurer, Prof. J. N. Bowman, University of California;

For members of the council, together with the above, Prof. H. E. Bolton, Stanford University; Miss Agnes E. Howe, San Jose State Normal School; Dr. E. I. McCormac, University of California; and Miss Jeanne E. Wier, University of Nevada.

The secretary was instructed to cast a ballot for the above officers. A resolution was passed authorizing the council to appoint a committee of two, one from Stanford University and one from the University of California, to meet with similar committees from similar societies to discuss the feasibility of annual meetings at the same time and place.

Prof. Bernard Moses, of the University of California, was elected delegate to the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the American Historical Association, and Prof. E. B. Krehbiel, of Stanford University, was elected alternate.

The meeting adjourned.

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IV. WESTERN ASIA IN THE REIGN OF SENNACHERIB OF ASSYRIA (705-681).

By ALBERT TOLMSTEAD,
Instructor in the University of Missouri.

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(WESTERN ASIA IN THE REIGN OF SENNACHERIB OF ASSYRIA 705-681.)

By ALBERT T. OLMSTEAD.

In any attempt to study critically the history of Western Asia in the period of Assyrian supremacy, it is most natural to group the events around the person of the monarch who was, for the time being, the most important individual in the civilized world. This we do, not so much on account of the dominant personality of these rulers, though most of them were, indeed, strong men, as because we must take, however reluctantly and with however much suspicion as to the personal equation, the royal annals for the backbone of our narrative. This seeming isolation of the events of each reign is further intensified by the fact that none of these royal records extends to the end of its reign, and we accordingly have here a marked break, after which we often find an entirely new set of conditions. It has therefore seemed wise, in dealing with this history in detail, to follow the Germans in their Jahrbücher system of presenting reign by reign the rulers of that German Empire which formed in mediæval times so similar a center for the general history of Europe. This has already been done with the necessary detail for the reign of Sargon, and it is as an advance study for a similar discussion of the reign of his son and successor, Sennacherib, that the present sketch is submitted.2

As regards our sources, we are by no means so well situated as in the case of his father's reign, and we are far less so as compared with those of his son and grandson, Esarhaddon and Ashur bani apal.³ Aside from a few doubtful and much discussed fragments

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¹Olmstead, Western Asia in the Days of Sargon of Assyria (Cornell Studies in Hist. and Pol. Sci., Vol. II). Beferred to as Sargon. It is intended to deal with the history of the other Assyrian reigns in the same fashion.

² The best general account of the reign is that given by G. Maspero, Histoire ancienne de l'Orient classique, III, 273 ff. The sketch of Sennacherib given by Weber in Das Alte Orient is brief but good. In the present article only the most important references are given.

^{*}A full bibliography of the various editions and translations of the texts is given by Maspero, op. cit., 273, note 1. The majority are now badly antiquated. We need only refer to the text editions in Rawlinson's Cuneiform Inscriptions and in Smith and Sayce's History of Sennacherib. The most up-to-date translation is that of C. Bezold, accompanied by a transliterated text based on the recensions, in the Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, II, 80 ff., but this is already antiquated and an adequate philological publication is much to be desired.

which seem to belong to the end of the reign, all our official records are simply more or less complete editions of one document, which was added to with each year, thus furnishing a good example of the manner in which these were built up.¹ In this the events are arranged in order, but it is the order of campaigns, not of years, and we must look elsewhere for an exact chronology. Some help may be secured in fixing a minimum date by noting the year in which any one recension was compiled. For the first few years something may be gained by my reconstruction of the last fragment of the so-called "Assyrian Chronicle," while the Babylonian Chronicle gives exact dates for those events connected with the native country of the author and is confirmed by the king lists. Yet we must admit that much of our chronology is merely relative.

For all this later period the Assyrian letters from the royal archives are of the utmost value,4 but here, again, we have few which can as yet be attributed to this particular reign. In the case of Sargon it was possible to write a whole chapter, that dealing with the Armenian wars at the close of his reign, from the absolutely authentic data of these letters, and later, as, for example, in the case of the Esarhaddon succession,6 they amplify and correct the scanty and prejudiced official sources. A few of no great importance have already been identified and more will certainly be, but this can be secured only by a long and painful study of documents noted for their difficulty of interpretation and still largely untouched by the philologist. For no reign have we more dated commercial documents,8 but their evidence is of value mainly for geography or for the commercial life, and their main interest for us at present must lie in the fact that we date by them the careers of the great officials. and thus identify the writers of the letters. Of the greatest possible value are the sculptures, but the fire which destroyed the palace

¹Twenty-five inscriptions or fragments were utilized by Bezold, loc. cit., in the preparation of his composite text, but it is to be desired that a fuller description of these and of what portions they contain should be given. The Cornell Expedition has a large prism fragment which seems to belong here. The three rock inscriptions at Bavian have not been mentioned in the text. The Cornell Expedition secured squeezes of these while in Assyria.

² Sargon, 15 ff.

³ All the chronological data are most conveniently studied in the Chronologische Beigaben to the Keilinschr. Bibl., II, 286 ff.

⁴R. H. Harper, Assyrian and Babylonian Letters.

⁵ Sargon, 148 ff.

⁶ Godbey, American Journal of Semitic Languages, XXII, 63 ff.

⁷E. g., K. 4740, discussed by Winckler, Altorientalische Forschungen, II, 24 ff., dating from 693. It is a letter dealing with the privileges of Babylon and is sent by two Assyrian partisans in that city.

⁸C. H. W. Johns, Assyrian Deeds and Documents.

The sculptures are figured in A. H. Layard, Monuments of Nineveh, and discussed in his Nineveh and its Remains and in Nineveh and Babylon. The results secured by a renewed study and attempt to place those without labels are interesting, but too specialized to be given here.

has also destroyed most of the labels, and only a minute study will permit us to use them. And even then we can never rid ourselves of the uneasy suspicion that the particular slab before us may, after all, be one of the many we know to have been stolen by his son from the palace of the half-finished city to which Sargon gave his name.¹.

Since the overshadowing question of his reign was the relation to be assumed toward Babylon, the Babylonian Chronicle is in many respects the most important of our documents, and this is justified by its almost complete impartiality, for we must remember that to its author Assyrian and Chaldæan were alike in being barbarians who were destroying his native country between them.² The Haldians or early Armenians now entirely fail us for records, and for the peoples on the northwest frontier we have only an Armenian translation of a Greek work, which very indirectly goes back to the Babylonian Berossus, and even that was preserved only because it was supposed to refer to the Greeks.³

In some respects our most interesting sources are those preserved in our own sacred writings. But here again all is uncertainty. One small fragment, added to the main document in Kings after it had been copied from that common source whose text is more accurately given in the historical portion of Isaiah, is certainly contemporary, or nearly so, and may be part of the royal annals of Judah, or may even go back to a cuneiform original. The remainder of the account in Kings, save for a few easily removed glosses, is undoubtedly preexilic, but seems to be based on tradition rather than on written sources; at least it is strongly influenced by folklore. Some references—for example, the story of Merodach Baladan's embassy and the allusions of the speeches—belong rather to the reign of Sargon. As for the prophecies of Isaiah, their attribution to definite historical events is one of the most difficult problems of Biblical criticism.

Yet in spite of the comparative paucity of sources, we may secure a fairly full account of the events of the period. Sennacherib's father, Sargon, was an usurper whose vigor made up for his unknown ancestry. There is no likelihood that our monarch was born to the purple, for he early appears in one of the letters as crown prince. While his father was conquering Babylonia he was left in Kalhu as regent of Assyria, and it is from here that we find him conducting the Armenian wars. The Cimmerian invasion and the defeat of the



¹ Place, Ninève, II, 92.

² Text best given by Delitzsch, Assyrische Lesestücke ⁴, 137 ff. Translation by A. Barta, Assyrian and Babylonian Literature, 200 ff.

³ Eusebius, Chronicle, ed. Schoene, 27, 35. One passage is referred to Polyhistor, the other to Abydenus, but both are based on one original, and that can only be Berossus.

⁴ II Kings, XVIII, 14-16.

⁵ Sargon, 23.

Haldians led to the advance of the old king in person and his death in battle in Cappadocia.¹

When, therefore, Sennacherib ascended the throne, in August, 705,2 he was already a seasoned soldier who had become accustomed to rule independently. He needed all his courage and ability, for affairs were once more at a crisis. All along the frontiers the news that an Assyrian king had fallen in battle caused immediate revolt. Egypt at once began intrigues and won over Hezekiah of Judah in spite of the protests of Isaiah. All Palestine followed suit, and so did Phœnicia under the hegemony of Tyre. Those who still clung to Assyria suffered like Padi, king of Ekron, who was handed over to Hezekiah by his people and thrown into chains.3 The Cappadocian province so laboriously formed by Sargon 4 at once slipped away and one or two raids by succeeding monarchs secured merely the shadow of rule in this portion of the border. Already the first forerunners of the Indo-European tribes were pouring iu-Cimmerians, Scythians, Cilicians—while farther east these same tribes were destroying, bit by bit, the old Haldian kingdom and bringing in the real Armenians. On the northeast frontier other Indo-European tribes, the Medes and their allies, were now pressing directly on the Assyrians, and were already within dangerously close striking distance of the capital itself. Babylon was only half conquered and throughout the whole region, and even extending north well into Assyrian lands, were settlements of half-nomadic Aramæans, fresh from the Arabian desert and driving out the settled population before them.

The first duty of the new king was to secure the body of his father and to give it proper burial.⁵ Then he turned his attention to Babylon. Sargon, after his conquest, took upon himself the direct rule of the city, hoping thus to win over the hearts of the patriots. This meant that he could not properly attend to the control of the remainder of the empire, and his son was therefore given Assyria. Sennacherib followed a somewhat different policy, for he retained Assyria for himself and, anticipating the policy of Esarhaddon, placed a younger brother on the throne.⁶ He himself, no doubt, kept all real power in his own hands, so that the king lists could actually speak of him as the ruling monarch.⁷

¹ Sargon, 155 ff.

² The 12th of Ab, according to the chronological document in II Rawlnison, 69.

^{*} Prism, II, 70 ff.

⁴ Sargon, 91 ff.

⁵ Sargon, 157, on the basis of K. 4730 and the letter 81-2-4, 65. II, 473.

⁶We know this only from Berossus; cf. Schrader, Keilinschr. Bibl., II, 291. It is possible to argue that this is only an anticipation of the reign of the son of Sennacherib, but it is better to accept Berossus until proved wrong. The name is not given and this is, it is true, a little suspicious.

⁵ Schrader, op. cit., II, 287.

This condition of affairs lasted for two years, during which time we hear nothing of the course of events. Then, how we do not know, Assyrian rule came to an end, and a certain Marduk zakir shum, perhaps a native Babylonian, succeeded in holding the throne for a month. Merodach Baladan saw his opportunity in this, and once more regained control by the aid of Elam (703). But Assyria seems to have held some parts of North Babylonia, and Sennacherib at once invaded the country. After six months of rule, Merodach Baladan was driven out of the city and pursued far into the swamp lands.

The attempt to hold Babylonia as a separate dependency under the rule of a member of the Assyrian royal family had proved a failure, Sennacherib now made a further concession by handing over the kingdom to a Chaldæan named Bel ibni, who had been a hostage the greater part of his life in Assyria and might therefore be supposed to have become pro-Assyrian. This lasted a little longer (702–699). But this establishment of a subject prince in Babylonia did not mean the end of campaigning in the south. The next year the reduction of the Elamitish capital Susa, always one of the main points of Assyrian war policy, was brought a step nearer by a campaign whose purpose was the extension of the province of Gambulu, while another, the next year, against the Kashshites and Ellip, gave a similar extension to the Harhar province and the two now furnished a good base for advance on Elam itself.

Affairs of Babylonia now seemed sufficiently settled to allow, after four years, an attempt to win back the lost countries on the Egyptian frontier. But the king's absence in the west gave the Chaldæans another opportunity. Bel ibni was led to recognize the claims of race and united with the ever hostile Merodach Baladan and Nergal usheshib, already intriguing for the throne he was later to fill. Sennacherib deposed Bel ibni and returned to his earlier policy of placing an Assyrian prince on the throne. This was none other than Ashur nadin shum, his eldest son, who retained control until 693.6

¹ Marduk zakir shum is only known definitely from the king list, Schrader, loc. cit. But it is probable that we should not restore in Bab. Chron., II, 17, Marduk (zakir shum), as Delitzsch in his edition of the inscription, but Marduk (apal iddin) or Merodach Baladan. This is made a little more probable by the occurrence in the next line of itta ("with"), which then should be continued by the name of Ishtar hundu, the king of Elam. Unfortunately, the document is badly mutilated just here. The official Annals, I, 19 ff., are more detailed, but add little more of value.

²This seems proved by the absence of the North Babylonian cities in the list of those aptured.

³ Six months according to Berossus, nine according to the king list; cf. H. Winckler, Untersuch. z. altor. Gesch., 12. A full account in the Annals, I, 19 ff. Bab. Chron., II, 19 ff., is still much mutilated.

⁴The greater part of this comes from the recension known as the Bellino Cylinder; Bab. Chron., II, 23.

⁵Bab. Chron., II, 24; Annals, I, 52-II, 33. The *ina metiq girria* of I, 52, seems to mark a new campaign.

Bab. Chron., II, 26 ff.; Annals, II, 63 ff.

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It was clear that Babylonia would not remain content with Assyrian rule so long as Merodach Baladan was alive. An expedition therefore invaded his home land, Bit Iakin, but he fled to Elam by sea. This was the cause of Sennacherib's undertaking a proceeding unique in the Assyrian annals. The whole history of Assyria is a constant reminder of the fact that an empire may grow great in spite of a complete neglect of sea power. Sennacherib alone had a faint glimmering of its importance, as was to be shown in his later victory in Cilician waters, and he now took the bold step of following up the fugitives by sea. Strange as it may seem, there was no fleet in the Persian Gulf, for even the more commercial Babylonians had long ago forgotten its importance. Like the Persians after them, they were forced to rely on the Phænicians, who were ordered to build ships at the head of navigation of the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers. They were then taken to the seacoast, where a great camp was established. We can understand how the Phœnicians from the tideless Mediterranean should not have known of the effects of the tides. but it seems difficult to believe that the camp should have been put in such danger by this means that the king was forced to take refuge on board the fleet, yet this is what the Assyrians themselves confess. This appears to have alarmed the king, for he did not take charge of the expedition in person. After elaborate sacrifices to the gods of the deep, a raid was made on the coast of Elam, but the main object of the attempt was not accomplished, and, in spite of the picturesque accounts with which the scribes adorned it, it had no permanent results, unless we count as one the fact that it was never repeated.1

But it did have one serious immediate consequence. While Sennacherib was engaged in the extreme south, Hallusu of Elam took the opportunity to march into north Babylonia, took prisoner the Assyrian crown prince, Ashur nadin shum, placed on the throne Nergal usheshib, and even invaded Assyria itself. The situation was most perilous for the main army of defense and, as it would seem, the king himself was still in south Babylonia and cut off even from retreat. It was not until late in the next year that the Assyrians could advance to the north. At Nippur, on the boundary of north and south Babylonia, Nergal usheshib was defeated and taken; but this only secured a safe retreat for the king, for another Chaldean, Mushezib Marduk, secured the throne of Babylon.²

¹Annals, III, 42 ff.; IV, 21 ff. The fullest account in the recension published by Smith and Sayce, Sennacherib, 88 ff.; Bab. Chron., II, 36 ff. A remarkably good discussion of the expedition from the topographical standpoint by J. de Morgan, Délégation en Perse, I, 17 ff. The sculptures are here especially valuable.

² The return journey and capture of Nergal usheshib is briefly referred to in the Annals, IV, 35, where it is stated that it took place "on my return." We learn of the capture of the crown prince and the accession of Mushesib Marduk only from Bab. Chron., 39 ff., which allows us to reconstruct the actual course of events. The fact that we first hear of the Assyrians in Uruk and then in Nippur shows that they were marching north, while the date of first of Teshrit proves how long they were in the south.

Nor was it easily won back. The Elamites continued their policy of defending their own country by keeping the Assyrians engaged in Babylonia and a direct attack on Elam was beaten off in spite of internal wars. Then came the great battle of Haluli by the Tigris, and, most significantly, well within the Assyrian borders. The scribes relate in detail the Assyrian victory, but these details are vague and, without further statement of results, they turn abruptly to an account of the building operations. Thus, even without the statement of the Babylonian Chronicle that the Assyrians were really defeated, we might be sure that it was not a victory for Sennacherib.

Two years of preparation were followed by another capture of Babylonia. At last, Sennacherib decided to adopt a new policy, one of despair. Nearly the whole of his reign and much treasure and blood which could be ill spared had been wasted in the vain attempt to conciliate the fanatic patriotism of the people. It was now clear that Babylonia would never accept Assyrian rule so long as the city of Babylon existed. Furthermore, he had been embittered by the loss of his eldest son, betrayed by his subjects to the enemy. It is no wonder, then, that he determined to solve the problem in the only way still remaining, by the destruction of Babylon. Cruel as it seemed to destroy the city which was the center of the cult and of civilization, it was justified by practical expediency, and, had not his more amiable but far weaker son Esarhaddon reversed his policy and rebuilt the city, the fall of Assyria and the rise of the Chaldean Empire might have been indefinitely postponed. Under similar circumstances the Romans were less sentimental, and the fact that Carthage and Corinth lay waste for over a century resulted in the rapid extension and safe holding of territory, which might have been the lot of Assyria.2

We have thus dealt with the Babylonian question in detail because it dominates the whole reign and because it best allows us to understand the tangle of relations which is again reflected in our sources. With one exception, the other wars are of little importance, save for a minute study of the frontier which we may not here enter upon. It is enough here to mention the fact that there were wars with the Medes and in Asia Minor, and that there was a naval battle off Cilicia in which the Phrygians were defeated and surrendered the leadership in the Mediterranean to the Cypriote allies of the Assyrians.

The only other operations worthy of study are those on the Egyptian frontier whose causes we have already noted. These are of

¹ Annals, V, 5 ff.; Bab. Chron., III, 16 ff. The classical discussion of the battle is that of P. Haupt, Andover Review, V, 542 ff.

² Bavian, 34 ff.; Bab. Chron., III, 22.

⁸ Annals, II, 30.

⁴ Annals, III, 66 ff.

⁶ Berossus, cf. note 3, p. 95.

interest rather because of the fact that they are mentioned in our sacred writings than for their intrinsic importance. The campaign of 701 was only a hurried march. Luli of Tyre was driven to take refuge in Cyprus and a pro-Assyrian monarch placed on the throne. A flying detachment besieged Jerusalem and brought Hezekiah to terms, but the very fact that he was allowed to retain his kingdom is proof enough that he was not so seriously conquered. An Egyptian army was met at Altaqu, and we may accept the word of the scribes when they tell us that the Assyrians were victorious, but the result could hardly have been decisive and it remained for his son Esarhaddon to begin the invasion of Egypt itself.²

For the later years of Sennacherib's reign we have practically no data. We do, indeed, hear of a campaign against the Arabs,³ and with this we may connect the fragments which seem to indicate a second expedition to Syria.⁴ Finally, we know that he was assassinated by one or more of his sons, but as to the cause we are entirely in the dark. We might suspect that religious reasons were at the bottom of this did we not know that the son, Esarhaddon, who reversed his policy in this respect, was also the one who posed as the avenger.⁵

The character of Sennacherib, so far as we are able to make it out, is not much different from that of his father. In both we see the same warlike ability and the same political foresight. The one point in which their policy differs is rather due to changed conditions than to essential difference of character. Sargon gained his throne by the aid of the priesthood and was always their ally. In the time of his son they had gained too much power, and the danger of their constant leaning to the old cult city, Babylon, was clear. Indeed, it was largely as a result of his destruction of Babylon that his memory was so blackened by the priests.⁶

¹ The Beke-Winckler-Cheyne theory which would find an independent and highly important kingdom in the Negeb to which to attribute the bulk of the references in this period belonging to Egypt has been discussed in detail in Sargon 56 ff. It was there shown that the theory was untenable in every respect. No attempt has been made by its advocates to explain away the insuperable objections raised by a consideration of the topographical, archæological, and historical facts whose reality can not be denied. There is therefore no need of reiterating and amplifying these arguments. The only defense has been the statement that the writer has misrepresented Winckler and the others and that Musri was not located in the Negeb; Cheyne, Decline and Fall of the Kingdom of Judah, xiv; Prašek, Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, 1909, 116 ff. It is sufficient to quote the statement of Winckler, Hibbert Journal, II, 576, "the 'Negeb' (i. e., to the region of our Musri)," to show what he thought. Cheyne has quoted my letters of protest in extenso in the Hibbert Journal, VII, 674, and has somewhat modified his theory. For this courtesy of the veteran scholar, I can not be too appreciative, though I believe that he has modified it in the direction of its least defense. I have heard nothing from Prašek. I presume I shall be forced to discuss this again at a later time though I can not but feel it a waste of good time and paper.

²Annals, II, 34 ff. The oracle of Isaiah, XXIII, 1-14, refers to this flight of Luli to Cyprus (Chittim). I hope to study this more fully later.

⁸ Esarhaddon, Prism, II, 56.

⁴ Smith and Sayce, Sennacherib, 137 ff.

⁵ Esarhaddon, Black Stone, passim.

⁶ For literature, cf. Sargon, 173.

For the reign of Sargon we can give much as regards the culture history. There must have been similar development in that of his successor, but our sources give little idea of it. In only one respect do we know of an important change. Nineveh was now made the capital for the first time and elaborate buildings were erected.¹ To this is due the position which it holds in both Biblical and classical literature. But, indeed, we ought not to expect much culture development for his reign. It was the business of Sennacherib to make Assyria dominant politically, not culturally, and if his successors did more to make succeeding nations the debtor of Assyria, from the standpoint of civilization, it is also probable that in so doing they neglected a policy which would have longer preserved Assyrian nationality.

¹The various sections of the inscriptions dealing with building affairs are sufficiently given by Smith and Sayce, Sennacherib, 140 ff., as little of importance can be gleaned from those later discovered. The buildings of Nineveh are described by A. H. Layard, Nineveh and its Remains, and Nineveh and Babylon.

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V. THE TEACHING OF MEDIÆVAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

By CAMILLE ENLART,

Director of the Musée de Sculpture Comparée du Trocadéro, Paris.

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THE TEACHING OF MEDIÆVAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

By CAMILLE ENLART.

It is with reason that classical education in America has adopted the same program as in Europe. The people of the United States is made up of descendants of Europeans, and its civilization is much more the result of European experience since the earliest times than the result of the experience of the two centuries passed on this side of the Atlantic. Thus it is that when American students are taught the ancient and mediæval history of Europe it is really their own history to which they are introduced. As to art, when it wishes to clarify itself with a tradition it should choose that which is appropriate to the environment in which the art must develop. The experience of European art can not, therefore, fail to be of value for American artists. The ethnic types and the aspects of the landscape are here wholly analogous to those of Europe, and the European masters of painting and sculpture can thus furnish an instruction at once practical and easily intelligible. The same is true for architecture; the climatic conditions and the materials with which it must deal in Europe are found repeated in America. From these premises I conclude that it is perfectly reasonable that the history of European art should be taught in America.

But if, as in Europe we have agreed to believe, education in the history of art is worth while, it should, over here, be even more developed than in France, in England, in Italy, in Spain, or in Germany. The reason for this is quite simple. In the countries which I mention the student of art or of history can, and necessarily must, give himself a large part of his education, for he is surrounded with ancient works, and when his instructor refers to these he speaks of things with which the student has been familiar since infancy. Of these original works of art—the veritable titles of nobility of the European races and of their American descendants—America, do what she may, will never have more than specimens, for the best of the transportable objects are permanently located in European

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museums and the works of architecture are, in the nature of things itself, fixed to their places of origin. America should, therefore, more than has as yet been done, compensate for this inferiority by good collections of reproductions and by a serious and adequate program of education in the history of art.

In the organization of this program America will be able to avoid the error which in France has long vitiated all classical instruction. The blind hatred of the Middle Ages, which, since the Renaissance, has held us in its power, has in truth been responsible for many absurdities on our part—absurdities which a progressive return to good sense during the last few years has as yet only partially eradicated. The pupil in the lycée learns the Latin of Livy and Cicero, and then the French of the period since Louis XIV. In my time we were taught that the one came directly from the other; to-day one is indeed told that there has been an intermediate evolution, but one is still left in the dark. When, upon leaving the lycée, the student enters one of the higher schools he finds the same historic system. the École de Droit I was taught the Roman law and then the Code Napoléon, being given to understand that the one was produced by the other. I understood nothing of it until, at the École des Chartes, I discovered the canon law, feudal law, and the law coutumier, as well as the entire transition from the Latin of Cicero to the French of to-day.

As regards the history of art the situation was still worse; at the École des Beaux Arts not only did they deliberately skip over 12 centuries, but the students were warned against everything that had been done during those 12 centuries. The instruction was based upon the study of the ancient period and of the Renaissance; a course in the history of art was given to satisfy the curious, and it was only in that course that French art was taught, receiving the same attention as Assyrian art, but treated rather more summarily than Egyptian art. Even to-day at the École des Beaux Arts one must not present for competition a subject developed in Gothic, but the instruction has been remarkably broadened by reason of the circumstances which I am about to relate.

In 1879 Viollet le Duc, who fought all his life to rehabilitate the art of the Middle Ages, succeeded in having established at the Trocadéro the Musée de Sculpture Comparée, composed entirely of casts. The École des Beaux Arts had had, it is true, since 1838 a very fine museum of this sort, but it was made up almost exclusively of models of Greek and Roman art and of the Italian Renaissance. The idea of Viollet le Duc was to present to the public a selection of works of statuary and of architectural motifs from the finest period of the Middle Ages, together with works from the best period of antiquity, representing evolutions which were parallel although many cen-

turies apart. He wished to secure thus a double demonstration, historic and esthetic, to show that Greek statuary and Gothic statuary had followed the same development, presenting phases of striking similarity, and that in each of these phases French art could stand comparison with that of Greece. The demonstration was so evident that it was needless to carry it further; the Musée de Sculpture Comparée contents itself now with the collection of works of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance, and it is unnecessary henceforth to place antiquities by their side. The prejudice grounded in us since the Renaissance has been extinct since 1882.

The lesson given by Viollet le Duc, dying at the very moment when his idea was about to triumph, was a revelation for the artists. These were in somewhat the situation of the young girl, encountered in various stories, to whom has been forbidden the sight of young men, she having been persuaded that they were all ugly and bad. As soon as she sees one she falls in love with him.

It seemed to the director of the Beaux Arts and to the Commission des Monuments Historiques, which had organized the museum, that the museum should be complemented by the giving of instruction, and in 1889 a chair of history of the architecture of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance was established, its first and present occupant being the most fervent disciple of Viollet le Duc, M. de Baudot. He has undertaken the task of showing that the architecture of the Middle Ages is fertile in practical lessons, and he demonstrates at the same time the advantages in modern construction of the employment of reinforced cement. This second part of the instruction being the more practical seems to him the more useful, and so to-day it constitutes almost the entire course; as to history it has never occupied more than an almost negligible place.

The creation of this course was of great service in that it caused the École des Beaux Arts to realize that, as the representative of art education in France, it was guilty of a singular aberration in excluding French art from its instruction. In the following year the school called an eminent architect, M. Paul Boeswillwald, to teach the history of French art and the art of restoring historic monuments. Soon afterwards M. Lucien Magne, also an architect, was called to a second historical chair where he developed extensively the study of the models of the Middle Ages. The École Spéciale d'Architecture, established by M. Émile Trélat, inaugurated at the same time a chair in the history of art in which I have succeeded M. André Michel. Thus art education in France has been obliged during the last quarter of a century to make room everywhere for historical instruction and for the study of the Middle Ages. The promoter of this movement was the illustrious Viollet le Duc.

As to historical and literary instruction it is more and more penetrated by the same ideas under the salutary influence of Jules Quicherat and of the École des Chartes.

Let us cast a glance over the past of the instruction in the history of French art in France; briefly, for it dates only from yesterday, but it will soon be an integral and necessary part of the instruction in all our higher schools.

The history of the art of the Middle Ages, regarded as barbaric but curious, tempted in the seventeenth century the Benedictine Dom Bernard de Montfaucon who published his Monuments de la Monarchie Françoise, a work very imperfect and without any influence. At the same time two antiquaries, Peiresc and Gaignières, collected drawings of works of Art of the Middle Ages-statues, tombs, stained glass—which interested them as documents of feudal history. The eighteenth century was as disdainful of the Middle Ages as the seventeenth, but at its decline, at the moment when the fury of the Revolution was causing the disappearence of so many of the ancient masterpieces, the painter Doyen, whose place was soon after taken by his pupil. Le Noir, established the Musée des Monuments Français for the purpose of gathering together the works of art coming from abandoned and pillaged edifices. Le Noir rescued, notably, the royal tombs of St. Denis. The collections were dispersed at the Restoration, but a historical museum had become a necessity and those of Versailles and of the Hôtel de Cluny were soon afterwards created. In addition to this Musée des Monuments Français and its catalogue, prepared by Alexandre Le Noir, the end of the eighteenth century saw the work brought out by Millin, Antiquités Nationales. It is the work of an amateur antiquary, very ignorant, like his contemporaries, as regards the Middle Ages, but attracted by them.

An excellent work, astonishing for its time, was written in 1816 by a member of the Institute, Émeric David, whose grandnephew I have the honor to be. It is a Histoire de la Sculpture Française, which has hardly yet become antiquated, but which did not find a publisher until the death of the author in 1850. The first, at Caen in 1830, to give a course in the history of the architecture of the Middle Ages, soon afterwards published under the title of Abécédaire d' Archéologie, was M. Arcisse de Caumont. His work, very clear and convenient by reason of its simplicity, had a marked and continuous success in spite of the double error to which it gave currency in designating the pointed arch as the distinguishing feature of the Gothic style and in applying to this arch the name Ogive, which means quite another thing. At the same time M. de Caumont founded the Société Française d'Archéologie, which still flourishes under the direction of M. Eugène Lefèvre-Pontalis, and which has done more than any other institution to develop in the public an appreciation of our art of the Middle Ages.

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The introduction in education of a veritable historical method dates in France from the establishment of the École des Chartes. It was founded in 1836 and its first director, Jules Quicherat, gave a masterly course in French archæology. In 1880 he was followed by his worthy pupil, the Comte Robert de Lastevrie, who was my teacher and whose substitute I had the honor to be for five years. To-day the chair is worthily filled by my friend, E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, he, too, a pupil of M. de Lastevrie. This instruction has produced many excellent pupils, and among the theses of the École des Chartes an entire series is devoted to archæology, drawing its subjects from the history of romance art in our provinces, or from the monographic history of various notable monuments. It was to follow out the movement started at the École des Chartes that the École du Louvre has maintained since 1880 a course in the history of sculpture and a course in the history of the industrial arts. The chair of the history of sculpture, adorned in the beginning by the lamented Courajod, is to-day occupied by a scholar of no less learning and of greater poise, André Michel. The course in the history of the minor arts was long conducted by the regretted Émile Molinier, and now benefits from the stores of critical learning of MM. Migeon and Marquet de Vasselot. Several good theses have been produced at the École du Louvre, among which may be mentioned those of M. Vitry on Michel Colombe, of Mlle. Pillion on the doorways of Rouen, of M. Boinet on those of Bourges, and of M. Laran on the anthropometry of statuary.1

The Sorbonne in its turn provided for instruction in the history of art, in which that of France has its large part. The courses were organized by a pupil of the École des Chartes, M. Lemonnier, who still carries them on, together with M. Mâle, whose Sorbonne thesis on L'Art religieux en France became from the moment of its publication a classic work. The provincial universities have for 15 years added the history of art to their curricula. I may mention the course of M. Brutails, pupil of Quicherat, at Bordeaux; at Lyon the course of M. Bertaux, pupil of Courajod; at Rennes that of M. Jordan; at Nantes, the course of M. Lécureux; at Clermont that of M. du Ranquet on art in Auvergne; and at Grenoble the course of M. Marcel Raymond.

The American universities should keep in touch with this progress, as with progress in other lines, and it would seem that the courses in the history of art that are taught here should be made more general and regular and equipped with the material for documentation capable of taking the place of the visits to the monuments them-

¹The curriculum of the École des Chartes provides a nine-months' course of two lessons a week confined exclusively to the history of architecture and of costume in France from the sixth to the sixteenth centuries. At the Louvre the instruction in the history of sculpture extends through a period of several years with one lesson a week, and covers France, Italy, and Germany. At the École des Beaux Arts the course of M. Boeswillwald is confined to France; that of M. Magne includes the architecture of all countries.



selves which are the most valuable resource of instruction in the history of art in the courses which I have enumerated.

A course in mediæval archæology is in danger of being incomplete and unintelligible if it is not conducted from an international point of view. In the Middle Ages, as in ancient times, many of the finest monuments were religious and the Church was international and knew no boundaries, whereas in the governments that favored the Reformation the protectionist spirit was strong. As to the civil monuments, the finest belonged to feudal families, which, by bequest, by inheritance, or by marriage, found themselves in possession of territories widely separated. Under a single sovereign were Champagne, Navarre, and Jerusalem; Anjou, Provence, and the two Sicilies; Boulogne and Portugal, later Boulogne and Auvergne; Burgundy and Flanders; Austria and Spain. Inevitably the artists in the employ of the clergy or of the feudal families took long and frequent travels and appropriated the style of the country where art was most advanced.

Let us glance at the outline of the development in France between the sixth and the sixteenth centuries. At the fall of the Roman Empire all civilization took refuge at Byzantium, where a new art developed out of the mingled Roman and Persian traditions. thence that our artists were to draw many of their inspirations, pilgrimages and trade having opened the way. The capitals of the crypt of Jouarre, near Paris, are of Proconesian marble imported, already carved, from the Orient. In the ninth century the Byzantine influence increased, and the churches of Charlemagne at Aix and of Theodulph at Germigny, near Orleans, are only imitations of Byzantine monuments. By the eleventh century a highly homogeneous Roman art had been developed out of the combination of these Byzantine elements with, on the one hand, a minority of purely decorative elements brought in by the barbaric Franks, and on the other a renaissance of the old art. From this new Roman art several schools were formed. Under a single one of these schools may be grouped Germany, the countries of the North, and Italy; but in France the Auvergnian, the Burgundian, the Provencal, the Poitevin, and the Norman art are clearly distinct. The Norman art passed into England and thence into Norway; the art of Languedoc, combining Auvergnian and Poitevin elements, passed into Spain and at times into Italy, thanks to the monks of Cluny. The French-Roman art established itself in Palestine.

At the end of the twelfth century Gothic art showed itself in France, where it was purely original. It had well-defined Burgundian, Provençal, Poitevin, and Norman schools. From France it spread throughout Europe and to the European settlements in Asia, the monks of Cîteaux and the masterpieces of French secular art being the agents of this marvelous expansion. At the end of the

fourteenth century the order of Cîteaux was in decadence, France itself ruined by the Hundred Years War, and foreigners—as in our own times in industrial matters—knew how to assimilate our methods and to create their own types, following out our instruction and our models. Thus there were a Venetian Gothic, a Tuscan Gothic, a Gothic of Aragon, a Portuguese and a German Gothic, and in statuary a Flemish Gothic, where appeared that style, naturalistic and familiar almost to triviality, which remained peculiar to the country. In England originality became apparent during the course of the thirteenth century.

A consequence of this movement was that France, exhausted, renewed her art by the infusion of foreign elements. The flamboyant style was created, not, as the first Gothic, out of original elements. but by combining architectural elements, borrowed from England, with Flemish sculpture. At the end of the fifteenth century France, wearving of this art, monotonous in its extreme complexity, began to look in the direction of the opposite frontier; Italy, earlier than France, wearied of the Gothic style which she had never really understood and, returning to her ancient traditions, produced the Renaissance. France abandoned the English and Flemish imitation for the Italian, and the Renaissance, introduced among us at the end of the fifteenth century, triumphed in the sixteenth. In the other European countries, under English, Flemish, and French influences, the flamboyant style was extended, taking various special forms, notably in Germany and in Portugal. In England a new form of Gothic, the perpendicular style, had developed since the end of the fourteenth century, but did not produce a school. The Renaissance was to spread in the other countries as in France, dethroning the styles it met with, but the Gothic was never completely overthrown in Germany or in England.

Such is, in broad outline, the history of the art of the Middle Ages, and this exposé is sufficient to demonstrate how necessary it is for its comprehension to regard it from the international point of view.

It is in America that instruction from this point of view should encounter the least difficulty. America is not enfeoffed to any European country, and its citizens claim their ancestry in all of Europe. It can not therefore make any mistake in studying the ancient art of all Europe, and it will naturally hold itself aloof from the factions that are met with in the Old World.¹



¹To draw only from my personal experience—when I demonstrated the Burgundian origin of the Gothic style in Italy, the French origin of certain English Gothic monuments, and the English origin of the flamboyant architecture, I encountered, along with the unanimous assent of independent and enlightened minds, certain contradictions, of little consequence, but all the more tenacious because based upon sentiment rather than upon reason. In the same way, although the proof of the Italian origin of the French Renaissance has long been demonstrated, there still remains at least one person who obstinately contests it.

I would arrange as follows a program for instruction in the history of the art of the Middle Ages in American universities:

Sixth to eleventh centuries: History of art in the Byzantine Empire and in Italy; notes on the less important and more mutilated monuments of the other countries of Europe.

Eleventh and twelfth centuries: A word upon Byzantine art, henceforth stationary, and upon Italian art which will progress no further; study of Germanic and French art and of their exterior influence.

Thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: Formation and evolution of Gothic art in France; its spread into the other countries.

Fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: Succinct study of the various schools which formed in Europe, especially in England and Flanders; study of the flamboyant style growing out of the art of these two regions; its flourishing in France, Germany, and Spain.

Fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: The last phase of the Gothic; the perpendicular style in England; the flamboyant in France, Spain, Portugal, Rhodes, and Germany; the Italian origins of the Renaissance and its diffusion in the various countries of Europe.

For the documentation of such a course it would be necessary to accompany it with lantern views and to place at the disposal of the pupils such books, photographs, and casts as should be selected by a commission of competent professors, aided possibly by two or three foreigners. The essential books are already in the libraries of many institutions. They should probably include the following works:

Viollet le Duc, Dictionnaire d'Architecture.
Dehio and von Bezold, Kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes.
André Michel, Histoire de l'Art.
Ventruri, Storia dell' Arte.
Enlart, Manuel d'Archéologie française.
Bond, Gothic Architecture in England.
Street, Gothic Architecture in Spain.
Moore, Gothic Architecture.

As to photographs, a selection made in France from among the negatives of the Monuments Historiques, in Italy from the collection of Alinari, in England from the collections of Frith and Valentine, and in Germany from similar collections would furnish from 1,000 to 1,200 prints of typical monuments.

When it comes to casts, I do not hesitate to say that nearly all should come from France, where are to be found most of the fine works of statuary and of ornament of the Middle Ages. Not enough of these are to be found in American museums, and the collections which one sees in the Metropolitan Museum in New York or in the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburg are in part very badly exhibited. While the institutions of learning in America have good libraries, I doubt if they have enough photographs, and their plaster models are inadequate as regards the Middle Ages. In general, they possess beautiful and excellent series of Greek casts and of casts from the

Italian Renaissance, but the lack which I pointed out in the French instruction of former days still exists in America and is regrettable.

The result of this is evident in modern constructions the ideas of which have been taken from the Middle Ages. The bad proportions of some of these show that the artist was not familiar with the monuments from which he drew his inspiration; in a very large number of others the structure itself is good, but the ornamentation is badly conceived or taken from models not well chosen. At Mount Holyoke College there is a new library, charming in its Gothic architecture and in its Renaissance woodwork, but the sculptured consoles are taken from poor models and have no elegance. The institution has a museum of casts containing fine copies of all the important Greek classics, but only a single Gothic statue, the Christ of Amiens. while there are no models of ornamentation. At Yale there are numerous casts from ancient times and from the Italian Renaissance. but the Gothic is hardly represented. At Harvard it is represented by two fine statues of the twelfth century from the great door of Chartres, but if one wishes to see specimens from later periods one finds only the collection, very rich and beautiful it is true, of casts of German sculpture. Inasmuch as from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries the finest Germanic works are only more or less fortunate imitations of French statuary the true models are lacking; it is like a museum of ancient art which should contain only Roman works to the exclusion of Greek art.

It would appear important, then, that in every university there should be several notable specimens of the best statuary of the Middle Ages, such, for example, as are noted in the following list:

Twelfth century: Statues from the western doorways of Chartres; statues of Corbeil at Saint Denis; tympanum of Moissac.

Thirteenth century: The Beau Dieu of Amiens; the St. Firmin; bas-reliefs from Notre Dame de Paris; statues from the Cathedral of Rheims.

Fourteenth century: Statues from Strasbourg.

Examples of the flamboyant style: The well of Moses at Dijon; details from the tombs of the Dukes of Burgundy; the head of St. Maurice of Orleans; the Virgin of Nuremberg.

Examples of ornamentation: Twelfth century—models from Avallon, Moissac, Toulouse, Châlons, Laon, Dommartin (museum of Amiens), etc. Thirteenth century—models from Notre Dame de Paris. Fourteenth century—models from Saint Urbain de Troyes, from Rheims, etc. Fifteenth century—models from the Cathedral of Troyes, etc.

Finally, a series of architectural models, dismountable reductions in plaster, would certainly be a great aid in instruction. Harvard University has just had such a model made of the Cathedral of Rheims. The Musée du Trocadéro has a series of 10 models which are of the greatest service, but which cost 70,000 francs. It can not be denied

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that this sort of apparatus is expensive. I estimate that to secure the educational equipment corresponding to the program that I have outlined it would be necessary to spend, exclusive of transportation charges and customs duties, a minimum amount of 3,000 francs for books and photographs, and for casts of statues and ornamentation about 6,000 francs. The sum of \$2,000, then, would assure to a course in the history of mediæval art an adequate primary equipment; the addition of architectural models would cost half as much again, or about \$3,000.

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VI. PARADOXES OF GLADSTONE'S POPULARITY.

By EDWARD PORRITT.

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PARADOXES OF GLADSTONE'S POPULARITY.

By EDWARD PORRITT.

It is from two distinct points of view that I approach the paradoxes of Gladstone's popularity. One is the standpoint of a parliamentary reporter, looking from the press gallery of the House of Commons at Gladstone's attitude toward the rank and file of his supporters of the Liberal Party. The other is the standpoint of an English Nonconformist, concerned here exclusively with Gladstone's attitude toward English Free Churchmen—toward that section of the people of England on whom the Whig and Liberal parties were largely dependent for parliamentary support in the enfranchised boroughs from the reform act of 1832 to the disruption of the old Whig and Liberal parties by Gladstone's home rule bill of 1886. From each of these standpoints, it seems to me that there is something in Gladstone's great popularity that calls for a little explanation.

I will touch first on Gladstone's attitude toward the rank and file of the Liberal Party as I observed it from a reporter's box in the House of Commons. It was in 1885 that I first went into the gallery, and I was connected with the gallery from then until 1892. Before I went into the gallery I had had the good fortune to serve for a year on the staff of one of the St. Louis daily newspapers; and that year, fortunately for me, happened to be the year of the Blaine-Cleveland presidential election. I had had a full share in the activities of the presidential campaign of 1884. It was not my fortune to be brought in contact with Cleveland, but I traveled in the train of Blaine and Logan, and with the candidates for the governorships of Missouri and Illinois. Since 1892 I have seen much more of American party activity and of various candidates for the Presidency, and also much of political life at Ottawa.

Looking back on these experiences of American and Canadian politics, and contrasting them with my observations of Gladstone from the reporters' gallery in the House of Commons, it seems to me that Gladstone in his attitude toward the rank and file of his party in the House was poles asunder from the leaders of political parties in this country, or from such leaders in Canadian

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politics as Macdonald and Laurier. No one who has had opportunities of observing political life and political and social conditions at Washington and Ottawa, and who is also familiar with English political history, and with class lines and social conditions in England, would expect that what is known on this side of the Atlantic as a "jollier" could be developed in political life at Westminster. Certainly he would never dream that a "jollier" could become the leader of a great English political party. Life in England, and the pursuit of politics, are taken much too seriously to admit of a "jollier" ever succeeding in getting to the front in English political life. All the traditions and all the existing conditions are against him; and with the seriousness that attaches to political life in England it would seem impossible for a "jollier" ever to secure the confidence of the electorate or the support of any considerable following in the House of Commons.

It is probable that there has been some change in the attitude of Parliamentary leaders toward the rank and file of their parties since my connection with the gallery came to an end 17 years ago. From the newspapers and from an occasional revisit to the press gallery, it is possible to see some little change in this respect in the Parliament that has just come to an end. But Gladstone was of the older era. He was of the era when the Whigs of the great governing families dominated all Liberal administrations, no matter from what class in the constituencies the administration might derive its strength. Like the Whig leaders from Grey to Russell, he seemed to me, looking on from the gallery, to stand aloof from the rank and file of his supporters, to regard many of these men as not of his order, much in the same way as the Whig leaders who had preceded him between 1829 and 1868 had done.

One little attention Gladstone did at times pay to members of the rank and file of his party. My seat in the gallery was on the Government side, and in the years when Gladstone was out of power I faced the front Opposition bench. I often noted the ostentatious attention with which at times he listened to some back-bench member of the Liberal Party who was trying for the ear of the House. At such moments Gladstone would turn around on the bench, and, with his back to the Speaker or the chairman of committees and his hand to his ear, would give the impression to the gallery, and perhaps to the House itself, that every word that was coming from the back-bench member was of the greatest interest to him, and of value as a contribution to the discussion.

In the press gallery in my time, opinion concerning Gladstone and his policies was divided much as it was on the floor of the House. He had his admirers; and there were in the gallery men who, while they held his intellect and his achievements high, had little sympathy with Gladstone as a statesman. These men sometimes suggested that such attention on Gladstone's part was a pose, and although I was among the men who admired Gladstone—with those who at election times supported him with their votes—it was at times a little difficult to maintain that there was no posing when Gladstone thus turned around on the front Opposition bench and gave notice to the House and the gallery that he was settling down to pay the closest attention to the contribution to the debate that was coming from the back benches.

Whether or not Gladstone was sincere in this compliment of ostentatious attention, it was, so far as one could see from the press gallery, about the only personal attention that Gladstone bestowed on those of his political supporters who were not in the immediate neighborhood of the bench on which he happened for the time to be established. My understanding in those days was that the smoke room knew him not; and although my visits to the lobby were only occasional, from what I saw when I did go there I think that there was little social contact between Gladstone and the rank and file of his party, in what, to borrow a phrase from the old Parliament House at Edinburgh, may be described as the "Outer House."

The change from the political England of 1832 to 1867—from the England of the £10 householder voter in boroughs to the political England of to-day when nearly every man with a settled abode may be of the Parliamentary electorate—was only just beginning to show itself when I took my farewell of the reporters' gallery. The extension of the franchise of 1884-85 was then a fact of not more than six or seven years' standing. Gladstone in his attitude to the rank and file of his party, so it seemed to me from the gallery, belonged to the era of Whiggism and Liberalism that lay between 1832 and 1867. In his personal relations with his supporters he apparently came no nearer the men who were not of his order than Melbourne, Palmerston, and Russell had done; for it must be remembered that while Gladstone was born into a family that by its traditions of trade and business was akin to the men whence the rank and file of his supporters were drawn, he himself, early in his political life, had been merged in the governing classes.

It was the school in which he had been trained while, during the period between 1832 and 1865, he was still of the Tory party. All his associations, until after the disruption of the Whig and Liberal parties in 1886, were with the governing classes; and it seemed to me from the distance of the press gallery that his attitude toward the successful manufacturers, merchants, and business men, who were of the rank and file of the Liberal Party, was that of a member of the governing classes who regarded it as natural and as consistent with social usage in England that these men who were not of the govern-

ing classes should give a continuous and loyal support to a leader who was of the old order, with no expectation that adherence to the same political party and devotion to the same causes should carry with them anything in the nature of social contact or interchange.

Not all of Gladstone's followers accepted this view. On the contrary, there is the memorable case of Joseph Cowen, who as a newspaper owner and editor, and also as a platform speaker, between the reform act of 1832 and the third extension of the franchise in 1884, did so much for Liberalism on Tyneside, and in the northern counties of England. The story of the alienation of Cowen has recently been told by Mr. Lucy, in his Sixty Years in the Wilderness—one of the best autobiographies that ever came from the pen of a man long at Westminster, whether of the gallery or of the House of Commons.

Cowen, after his neglect by Gladstone, betook himself in 1884 to a lonely furrow; and the Liberals were left without a morning paper to uphold their cause in the region between York and Berwick-on-Tweed. Political corruption in England survives to-day chiefly at the top. It has almost disappeared from those places in which it got so deep-seated a hold between the Restoration and the corrupt practices act of 1883; and it cost the Liberal Party first a baronetcy and finally a peerage to make good the loss which was entailed when the Newcastle Daily Chronicle could no longer be counted upon to give its old magnificent support to Liberal candidates in Durham and Northumberland.

Why more Liberals did not follow Cowen's example is one of the contributions that I should like to make to this morning's discussion. There are, as I view them, two reasons why Mr. Gladstone's aloofness did not affect the Liberal Party more adversely than it did between 1868 and 1893. The first was the old attitude of Liberals in the constituencies and in the House of Commons toward the leaders of the Whig Party and generally toward the Whig governing classes. Social cleavage and traditions of long standing kept the Whigs and Liberals apart. The Whigs at no time in their history sought to add to their numbers. They were always zealous to add to the number of electors—Liberal or Radical—who could be relied on to support Whig candidates at Parliamentary elections; but this was quite a different matter from adding to their order or impairing their From 1832 to 1867—in some cases until as late as exclusiveness. 1884—Liberals in many constituencies had no option but to support Whig candidates, who had no social sympathy with them, and who regarded them as of another clay. Such aloofness Liberals had been accustomed to between the leadership of Grey and that of Russell; and when Gladstone succeeded Russell as the leader of the Whig and Radical parties aloofness on the part of the leaders had come

to be regarded by the Liberals and Radicals as the natural order of things.

The second reason for Gladstone's hold on the rank and file of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons was, I think, his towering intellectual eminence; his gradual but certain progress to a liberalism much in advance of the liberalism of Melbourne, Palmerston, and Russell; his mastery of parliamentary usages, traditions, and business; his increasing reputation for statesmanship; his sincerity, and, perhaps more than all, the loftiness of his ideals in personal, social, and political life.

Looking now at Gladstone and his great political career from the standpoint of an English Nonconformist I feel that no student of parliamentary history of the nineteenth century will deny that Gladstone, as a leader of the Liberal Party, at times sorely tried the Free Churchmen who formed the majority of the Liberal and Radical parties in the constituencies. His type of churchmanship was not one that could evoke much sympathy from the Free Churchmen who at election after election, from 1832 to 1885, went to the polls to support Whig and Radical candidates. The Whig Party, between the revolution of 1688 and the end of the long Tory régime in 1829, had had the consistent support of the Nonconformists. In matters which affected religious freedom and religious equality the Nonconformists had more to expect from the Whigs than from the Tories. They got little from the Whigs until the test and corporation acts were repealed in 1828; but that Nonconformist sympathies were on the right side in the eighteenth century is shown by the opposition of the Tories to Lord John Russell's successful movement for the repeal of the test act which culminated in 1828.

In the days of the unreformed House of Commons, when there were not more than 150,000 electors in England and Wales, it is difficult to estimate what was the value of the Nonconformist support to the Whig Party. But whatever it was worth it went to the Whigs; and it went increasingly to the Whigs from 1832 to 1867; in many constituencies until as late as 1885. Nonconformists in the struggle for religious equality had nothing to hope from the Tories; and it goes without saying that Free Churchmen who were then and are still struggling for religious equality, were disposed to support the party which had carried the reform act of 1832, and three years later had swept away the corrupt municipalities which for two centuries had buttressed the corrupt system of parliamentary representation.

Keen appreciation of these reforms of the thirties, and an expectation of more help in the struggle for religious equality tied the Nonconformists—Congregationalists, Baptists, Quakers, and Unitarians—to the Whig party from 1832 to 1866, when Gladstone succeeded Russell as the leader of the Whigs and Liberals. It is

scarcely too much to say that without this support and without the aid of the Liberal daily press, which at this time was largely if not exclusively controlled by Free Churchmen, Gladstone could not have been premier in 1868 or again in 1881.

Free Churchmen were conscious of what their support meant for the Liberal Party at election times, and it was this consciousness that made Gladstone's halting support of measures for the repeal of university tests, introduced after 1868, and his attitude on the education question in 1870 the more trying to the Free Church electorate. greatest trial of Free Church loyalty to Gladstone came in 1870. Then the education question could have been settled and an end made to the interweaving of the Established Church and popular education which had been in progress since 1833. But Gladstone's devotion to his church outrivaled his liberalism. A splendid opportunity was lost; and the elementary education question is to-day one of the most contentious questions in English politics. Forster paid a heavy penalty for his part in this failure of liberalism in 1870. It led to his being thrust aside as leader of the Liberal Party when Gladstone temporarily withdrew in 1875 from the lead of the opposition in the House of Commons after the defeat of his party at the general election of 1874.

Gladstone's attitude toward the question of religious equality was the greatest strain he put on the loyalty of the rank and file of the Liberal party in the House of Commons and in the constituencies until he committed himself to Home Rule in 1886. For a time there was some sagging in the loyalty of Free Churchmen. But the recovery began in 1875. It was fully complete by the general election of 1880; and it may be said that no Liberal leader in the nineteenth century enjoyed a more loyal or continuous support from Free Churchmen than Gladstone. Gladstone, in spite of his imperfect sympathy with the cause of religious equality, appealed to Free Churchmen much more than Grey, Melbourne, Palmerston, or even Russell had done. His liberalism as it developed was more robust than the liberalism of any other Whig leader of the nineteenth century. His private life made an appeal to Free Churchmen. His eloquence put him far above his contemporaries in both parties, and in all that goes to statesmanship in a country with representative institutions. Peel alone can be compared with Gladstone.

Conditions which are disappearing helped Gladstone to surmount the disadvantages which arose from his aloofness from the rank and file of his party in the House of Commons and from his lack of full sympathy with the liberalism of which religious equality is an essential element. His great qualities and above all his sincerity and his idealism drew men of liberal convictions to him, in spite of those characteristics which Mr. Lucy describes, and those of which Free Churchmen were wont to complain between 1870 and 1880. But the conditions that favored Gladstone—the veneration in which leaders of the governing classes were popularly regarded, and the eagerness of Free Churchmen to think the best of the Liberal leader—are not continuing; and if any conclusion can be drawn from political tendencies and developments in England since the new century began, it is that no Liberal leader in the future will be able to hold aloof from the rank and file of his party as Gladstone did, or to continue to offer only compromises which settle nothing in matters in which the issue of religious freedom and religious equality is concerned.

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VII. BISMARCK AS HISTORIOGRAPHER.

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By GUY STANTON FORD,

Professor in the University of Illinois.

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BISMARCK AS HISTORIOGRAPHER.

By GUY STANTON FORD.

At the threshold of his diplomatic career, in June, 1850, Bismarck wrote to an intimate friend:

I can not deny that I possess some of the inclinations of Caliph Omar, not only to destroy all books except the Christian Koran, but to annihilate the means for producing new ones; the art of printing is, more than powder, the chosen instrument of the anti-Christ.

There is in this passage just that element of the exaggeration of a passing mood that makes it truly Bismarckian, for no statesman of any time more fully appreciated the power of the press, either when he tried to throttle it or when he forged it into a weapon with which to strike down his enemies or break a way for his own views. One of his earliest acts was to use the press to defend his views on the position of his class and to join with others of the conservatives of 1848 to found an organ for their party. One of his latest was from his retirement at Friedrichsruh from 1890 to 1897, to make the press of Hamburg the mouthpiece of his views of his own and his successor's policy. Throughout the long career that intervenes between these dates he made the press of Germany and of foreign countries the medium through which he paralyzed opposition at its very inception. Sometimes he wrote the articles himself which were published as the editorials of his organs; more frequently he used such agents as Busch and Bucher to draft the expression of the views he outlined to them, or as frequently he trusted to a faithful and subsidized press to defend his cause.

Nor was it the journalist alone to whom Bismarck supplied material. He appreciated fully the value of more sober and substantial presentations of his policy and personality. From his letters and papers and from the records of his office he generously allowed men like Hahn, Kohl, and Poschinger to supply the press and the public with such a mass of material that it is safe to say that no great man ever did his destined work in the daylight of such full publicity as

did Bismarck. He it was who opened the Prussian archives to Sybel 1 to a degree never known before or since, and he probably read the proof of this work which was to record officially the great achievements of Prussia between 1850 and 1870. As has been well said, he surrounded himself with a publicity staff, and to each was assigned a class of the people to whom he was fitted to appeal as the exponent of Bismarckianism. As chief of the staff the great task was reserved to Bismarck himself to marshal the future around his work under general orders transmitted in an autobiography. Such a work would seemingly be a fitting conclusion to the story of Bismarck's career and complete the full measure of the historian's debt.

When after his retirement in 1890 rumors spread that the creator of modern united Germany was at work on his memoirs, the political and scholarly world awaited with intense interest the story of a career without parallel in the history of Germany since Frederick the Great. It was an event of more than literary importance when at 8 o'clock on the 28th of November, 1898, the gates of the great house of Cotta at Stuttgart swung open and the task began of shipping 100,000 copies of the Gedanken und Erinnerungen of Prince Bismarck, orders for which at the end of the week were reported at 318,000—a number triple that recorded for the memoirs of our own Grant. Layman and scholar told stories of devouring them at a single sitting. The chorus of praise was broken only by the feeble voices of those whom the princely hater had not spared even as he stood at the threshold of the tomb.

Gradually as the first strong impression of standing in the presence of a man, not a book, died away, the German critical spirit asserted itself. The discriminating scholarship which ranks with Bismarck himself among the gifts of the gods to the Germans roused itself to the measuring and weighing of Bismarck as a writer of history. Once at the work it proceeded with the same sanity, penetration, and objectiveness that its great master, Ranke, had set it as a model in his discussion of the memoirs of Richelieu.² Chief among those who have contributed to the growing possibility of estimating our debt to Bismarck as an historiographer are the names of Schmoller, Schiemann, Ulmann, Fester, Heigel, Kaemmel, and above all his two biographers, Max Lenz and Erich Marcks.³ The



¹ Cf. Busch, Bismarck: Some Secret Pages, etc., II, 291.

² Ranke, Sämmtliche Werke, XII, 166 ff.

⁸E. Marcks, Fürst Bismarcks Erinnerungen und Gedanken: Versuch einer kritischen Würdigung, Berlin, 1899. The substance of these illuminating studies is contained in Deutsche Rundschau, April and May, 1899. Max Lenz, Zur Kritik der Ged. u. Er. d. F. Bismarck, Berlin, 1899. Lenz's pamphlet is a critical study of the material on the Crimean War and the negotiations at Nikolsburg. The studies first appeared in the Deutsche Rundschau, June and July, 1899. Schlemann in Hist. Zeit., 1899, took exception to some of his colleague's strictures on the trustworthiness of the Ged. u. Er. Lenz defends his position in Hist. Zeit., 1900. The main issue between them is the dating of the interview of Bismarck with the Prince of Prussia, cf. Ged. u. Er. I. 113. The

control material consists in the many volumes of Bismarck's speeches and his correspondence official and private, similar material for many of his contemporaries such as the Gerlachs, Manteuffel, Roon, Moltke, and William I, the personal reminiscences of those who knew him intimately as did Busch and Abeken and the Keudells, or who were witnesses or coadjutors in some of his greatest acts, as Charles, King of Roumania, and the Crown Prince, later Emperor Frederick III. In addition there are the volumes in which the Frenchmen connected with the events leading up to 1870, men like Benedetti, Chaudordy, Grammont, Rothan, Ollivier, and Lebrun, have revealed with amazing free kness their part in the great catastrophe of the Second Empire.

It may be vell to recall briefly how the "Recollections and Reminiscences" were written. The story may be pieced together from the

judgment of Otto Hintze on the matter seems to me sound; cf. Forschungen zur Brand.-Preuss. Gesch., XIII, 271. Further material in criticism or appreciation of the Ged. u. Er. may be found in Otto Kaemmel, Kritische Studien zu Fürst Bismarcks Ged. u. Er., Leipzig, 1899 (reprinted from the Grenzboten); Schiemann, in Titrmer, January, 1899, and Deutsche Rundschau, August, 1899; R. Fester, in Hist. Zeit., 1900, 460-465; Forschungen zur Brand.-Preuss. Gesch., XV, 551-557; Allgemeine Zeitung, Beilage, December 30, 1899, and 1903; Hist. Vierteljahrschrift, 1902, 232 ff.; Meinecke, Hist. Zeit., 1899 and 1901 (on Fester's view of the Olmütz speech cf. Hist. Zeit., 1902, 240); O. Lorenz, in Preuss. Jahrb., 1902, 286 ff.; Heigel, Neue Gesch. Essays, Munich, 1902; H. Ulmann in Hist. Vierteljahrschrift, 1902, 49 ff.; Thimme in Hist. Zeit., vol. 89; W. Busch in Hist. Zeit., vol. 92 (Busch, Die Berliner Märztage, 1848, Munich, 1898, may well be compared with the account given by Bismarck); Delbrück in Preuss. Jahrb., vol. 96, June, 1899; Majunke in Hist.-Pol. Blätter für das katholische Deutschland, 1899, 123, 284, 651; Schmoller, Lens, Marcks, Zu Bismarcks Gedächtnis, Leipzig, 1899 (a very stimulating collection of letters and addresses on Bismarck and his work and memoirs); L. Bamberger, Bismarck Posthumus, Berlin, 1899 (also in Die Nation); Gen. Blume, Die Beschiessung von Paris, Berlin, 1899; E. Berner, Der Regierungsanfang des Prinzregenten, etc., Berlin, 1902, and Oncken's review of it in Forsch. z. Brand-Preuss. Gesch., XV, 299 ff.; Koser, in Hist. Zeit., vol. 83, pp. 43 ff.; Nippold in Deutsche Revue, XXXI, 222-235; Lindau in Deutsche Revue, August, 1899; Petersdorff in Bismarck Jahrb., VI, 71; F. von Bodelschwingh, Betrachtungen eines Patrioten über Bismarck und seine Zeit, Berlin, 1899; Diest-Daber, Berichtigung von Unwahrheiten in den Erinnerungen des Fürsten Bismarcks, Zurich, 1899 (not accessible to me); B. Gebhardt, in Sonntagsbeilage zur Vossischen Zeitung, March 4 and 11, 1900 (a popular summary, chapter by chapter, of some of the results of the criticism of the Ged. u. Er.); Kohl, Wegweiser durch Bismarcks Ged. u. Er., Leipzig, 1899 (practically nothing but a summary of the Ged. u. Er., wholly uncritical; on pp. 13 to 16 he gives what he considers an uncontrovertible example of the accuracy of Bismarck's memory); Kohl, Regesten zu einer wissenschaftlichen Biographie des ersten deutschen Reichskanzlers (to 1890), Leipzig, 1891, 1892 (useful in fixing dates in Bismarck's movements; needs supplementing with Bismarck's Briefe an seine Braut und Gattin, Stuttgart, 1899; cf. H. Grimm in Deutsche Rundschau, April, 1901, for an appreciation of these letters which contains suggestive references to the Ged. u. Er.); Schweninger, Dem Andenken Bismarcks, Leipzig, 1899; Busch, Bismarck: Some Secret Pages of his History, London, 1898 (for critical estimates of Busch's work cf. Kaufmann in Litt. Centralblatt, 1898, no. 46; Lenz in Deutsche Litteraturzeitung, 1900, p. 1513; Brandenburg in Hist. Vierteljahrschrift, III, 573; Grunow, Busch's Tagebuchblätter und die deutsche Presse, Leipzig, 1899; and Marcks, Meinecke, Kaemmel, and Delbrück, sup. cit.). Among the many entries in Dahlmann-Waitz, Quellenkunde zur deutschen Geschichte (7th edition) the following deserve especial mention in this connection: Nos. 9122 (Studt), 9358-9376, 9438, 9442, 9443, 9476, 9505, 9506. Lenz, Geschichte Bismarcks, Leipzig, 1902, and Marcks, Kaiser Wilhelm I. (4th edition), Leipzig, 1900, are both written in such a way as to constitute a critical appreciation of the Ged. u. Er. The first volume of Marcks's biography of Bismarck has appeared (1909), but had not come into my hands at the time this paper was written (December, 1909).

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diary of Busch, who aspired to be the Boswell of Bismarck and from the all too brief memorial of the Prince's physician, Dr. Schweninger.¹

Bismarck first spoke of writing his memoirs in 1877 when he was thinking of retiring. Despite the fact that the matter was several times brought to his attention by Busch and by Lothar Bucher, who was his right-hand man from 1864 to 1886, no effort was made to gather the necessary material. It was not until Bismarck as a fallen minister was leaving the house in the Wilhelmstrasse in March, 1890, that he called Busch to him and instructed him to select and copy such papers as might be useful in the preparation of his memoirs. Later Busch and then Bucher were asked to come to him at Friedrichsruh for the purpose of maturing the project. A competent stenographer was engaged and in the same summer, i. e., of 1890, a contract was signed with the publishing house of Cotta, in Stuttgart. Despite the best efforts of his coadjutors, the work made little substantial progress. Masses of manuscript were accumulated and typewritten from the shorthand notes of Bucher. The publishing house even set up in galley a considerable part of what had been prepared. Despite all this, it was difficult to get the veteran statesman to revise the copy and complete the treatment of any particular topic. Bucher died in 1892, a real loss to the work, for he was the man best qualified to direct and correct Bismarck's dimmed recollection of the events in which they had been associated. In the years just before his death, Bismarck gained some interest and the work proceeded more satisfactorily. More copyists were engaged, and Prof. Horst Kohl was called in to revise and correct the work. Despite all this effort there were, when Bismarck died in July, 1898, but the fragments of the great work which Bucher had hoped would tell to future generations the creator's own story of the making of united Germany.

It is evident from this sketch of their origin that in the Gedanken und Erinnerungen we are not dealing with any serious attempt at history writing. One may go further and say that the two volumes hold in solution but the scattered particles of that which constitute true memoirs. They are what their title indicates—Reflections and Reminiscences—and the reflections are by far the preponderant element.

Bismarck neither attempted nor was he qualified to write history. His lifelong training had expunged from his mind, even if it ever existed for him, that line which separates vigorous partisanship from the search for historical truth. Regardless of his career and its

¹Cf. Busch, Bismarck: Some Secret Pages of His History, II, 175, 363, 439, 443, 513, 546-548, 550, 552, 561-568; Schweninger, op. cit., 8-14. Accounts of the composition of the Ged. u. Er. on the basis of the above material in Kaemmel, Kritische Studien, 5-22, and Marcks, Fürst Bismarcks Ged. u. Er., etc., 27 ff.

effect on his view of his period, he was temperamentally a man who put himself so thoroughly into the cause he espoused that he had no explanation for opposition but blindness and baseness. From such a temperament whose intensity in all things partially explains Bismarck's success, there could come no adequate or objective account of men and measures. Indeed, it may be pointed out in passing that of the scores of men whose pen portraits he has drawn in the Gedanken und Erinnerungen one may count on the fingers of one hand those whom Bismarck has sketched with the lingering touch of loving remembrance. The men who had opposed him grew in his memory to the stature of parties and are preserved to an unearned immortality by a pen which feared and spared none. In the Reflections and Reminiscences, the tame house cat of Sybel's history (the phrase is Hans Delbrück's) becomes the royal Bengal tiger.

Had training and temperament and purpose inclined Bismarck toward a serious effort at writing history, the difficulties which he once stated to Busch would have been enough to deter him from the attempt. "I have," he said, "no documents; and even if I remember the main points quite clearly, one can not, after all, carry in one's head every detail of what has happened in the course of thirty years."

The most and the best that Bismarck could give his public was a disquisition on politics as illustrated in his own career, and this, fundamentally, is what the Reflections and Reminiscences are. They are at bottom interested in two great phases of his activity—foreign relations and his relations with his sovereign. Things that are past and gone have no vital interest for him except as they relate to these two great questions or others more or less connected with them. Controlled by the interests that had dominated his thought for a lifetime, he discoursed to Bucher that his own country and future generations might understand his career and policies as he saw them in the retrospect of old age. The pragmatic and the personal are the hallmark of the Recollections and Reminiscences.

I need not take the time before this audience to estimate the privilege it is to have such a work from such a master of politics. Neither do I need to remind you how much that the historian would gladly know about is passed over in silence in a book composed in the haphazard manner described above and controlled by principles of selection which were far from covering all Bismarck's activity either before or after 1879. It is enough to point out how little logical sequence the parts of many chapters have; the Schleswig-Holstein matter, for example, is scattered through the paragraphs



¹ Busch, op. cit., II, 566.

of several chapters.¹ Seemingly the material has been put together with scissors and paste from the notes Bismarck left. Less logical is the arrangement of the chapters. Most regrettable is the omission of such important topics as the relations with France between 1866 and 1870, and the total neglect of all social and economic matters ² and of that important period in his life between his retirement from the bureaucracy in 1839 and his appearance in the United Diet of 1847. But omissions and inclusions are matters of a writer's own choice, and in an autobiography may have as great a subjective value as long chapters.

Of new raw material in the way of documents and information the book contains surprisingly little. Indeed, it may be said to have contributed principally problems to the difficulties of the historian and biographer. At most points it takes for granted Sybel's account or the Bismarck material already published. I say at most points; for, as readers of the work will recall, the book reprints correspondence and documents known to us before its publication, though some of the letters, such as the Gerlach correspondence, were not printed at the time the book was being prepared. One inclusion, and that a disturbing one (cf. Ged. u. Er., I, 191-195), is the account of the interview between Bismarck and Napoleon III in 1857. The substance of the interview had long been known through a summary in Bulle's Geschichte des Zweiten Kaiserreichs (p. 144). Bulle cites as his authority a popular illustrated biography of the Prince by Köppen. The latter's account, he tells us, was based upon information furnished him by an intimate of Bismarck's, undoubtedly Bucher. to whom Bismarck had related the interview in 1870—that is, thirteen years after it occurred. When the account of the interview of 1857 in Köppen is put in parallel columns beside that given in the Reflections and Reminiscences, it is clear that the latter is but a reproduction of the former with minor stylistic changes. Naturally the earlier version is to be preferred, and the historian is left to wonder at what other points he must guard himself against Bucher's

To the most profoundly interesting question with which the historical biographer approaches the memoirs, namely, when did Bismarck the Prussian become Bismarck the German, the Reflections

² Fester, in Allgemeine Zeitung, Beilage no. 298, December 30, 1899.



¹ Kaemmel, Kritische Studien, 23 ff., discusses Bismarck's account of the Schleswig-Holstein developments with results favorable to the Chancellor's accuracy. Kaemmel's methods do not, it seems to me, show enough penetration to make his discussion final in this matter. To the literature he cites should be added, for purposes of orientation, Fr. Jessen, Manuel historique de la Question du Slesvig, Paris, 1906. This is a translation from a Danish work by a dozen excellent scholars. See also the essay by A. Wahl in Hist. Zeit., volume 95, on Bismarck's interview with the Duke of Augustenburg.

²On the almost total omission of social and economic matters cf. Schmoller in Schmoller, Lenz, Marcks, Zu Bismarck's Gedächtnis. The four lines at the top of page 198 in volume 2 of the Ged. u. Er. are practically the only allusion to this phase of his activity.

and Reminiscences have no answer. Indeed through the haze of later years, Bismarck, who was no more conscious than are most of us of the stages by which we become what we are, seems to himself to have been if not a German, at least something more than a Prussian much earlier than 1866. The triology with which the student of personality is forever interested, "das Ererbte, das Erlebte, das Erlernte," have here all fused in the white heat of "das Erstrebte."

Despite the master touch of the few sentences with which Bismarck sketches his youth and in the succeeding chapters displays the inimitable power of the born raconteur, it is fortunate for us that our knowledge of his early political views rests upon the more substantial grounds of contemporary material. The Bismarck of the Reflections and Reminiscences is a Bismarck free from the prejudices of the landed nobility from which he sprang, even touched in his youth with liberalism to the point of a theoretic belief in republicanism. It is a Bismarck whose last word is not the Prussian monarchy in its absolutism. It is a Bismarck so different from his class and age that he stands above parties. The Bismarck revealed in his speeches and letters to the newspapers between 1847 and 1850 is a Bismarck fresh from eight years as a Pomeranian country noble, full of faith in his class as the true conservers of political and social order, a champion of the monarchy by the grace of God, looking askance at parliaments and free press, anxious to revive the guild system, contending for the exclusion of the Jews from high office in a Christian state and firmly opposing civil marriage.1 It is a Bismarck so true to the heritage of his class, so close to the soil he tills, so filled with the religious spirit of the group with whom he has neighbored that he seems more mediæval than the Romanticism whose language sometimes echoes in the early speeches of this greatest of modern "Realpolitiker." 2

It would take me too far afield to indicate those views expressed in his earlier speeches which pertained only to the Bismarck of 1847 to 1850, and were later to be sloughed off. It would be interesting but beyond the province of this paper to push the analysis of speeches and autobiography to that point where the same man appeared in both and the subjective truth of the memoirs would appear despite the errors of positive statement. My intention is simply to point out that Bismarck's reminiscences, like all others,



¹Cf. Böhm und Dove, Fürst Bismarck als Redner, v. I, passim, or Kohl's edition, Die politischen Reden des Fürsten Bismarck, v. I, passim.

²Cf. an essay by Max Lenz, "Bismarck's Religion," in Deutsche Bücherei, vol. 18 (reprinted from Die Woche, April 6, 13, and 27, 1901). Most suggestive material on this point is to be found in Reuss, Adolph von Thadden-Trieglaff, Berlin, 1894. Meinecke has an interesting essay on Bismarck's relations to the religious group represented by Thadden in Hist. Zeit., vol. 90. Baumgarten, Bismarck's Stellung zur Religion, Tübingen, 1900, is a little work of merit, but needs to be supplemented by Bismarck's Briefe an seine Braut und Gattin.

tend to read later views into earlier ones, and they are therefore to be used with the same caution that we apply to all works of this type. Time and strife against the prejudices of his own class had changed his views of the Prussian nobility and his feelings toward monarchy were modified by the years of troubled service during which, as he said, he had seen three emperors naked and found himself now pushed aside in his old age. Naturally enough, the Bismarck of 1891 was unable to reconstruct the outworn shell of his beliefs before 1850.

What has thus far been presented makes evident, it seems to me, at least four limitations on the direct use of the Reflections and Reminiscences as an historical source. To recapitulate, they are its point of view which is political and personal and often polemic, and not at all historical. In brief, it is subjective and not objective in its treatment of men and movements. Second, its arrangement is confused and bears, with the exception of a few sweeping chapters surveying German politics since 1795 and the virility of the dynastic element in German history, the impress of its origin in scattered monologues later arranged as best the editors might. Third, its omissions of important matters are as striking as its inclusion of the trivial and anecdotal. Lastly, it is the work of an aged and world-weary statesman little interested in the past and his own development out of its limitations.

It remains to consider more directly some of the specific results of the critical study to which the Reflections and Reminiscences have been subjected. These results may be considered under three headings: Errors of fact, errors of confusion in the general surveys of a period or policy, and errors of presentation and interpretation in important matters where our sources are adequate to control the Bismarckian account. These groups mutually overlap and some of the material included in them might serve as readily to illustrate the limitations suggested above.

In the matter of errors of statement considered apart from the presentation of larger matters the results are not noteworthy. It is a minor matter to point out that Bismarck did not, as he states, travel 2,000 miles in 1854. The account he gives of his letter to King Louis of Bavaria on the matter of the imperial title makes Bismarck allude to the relations of vassal and suzerain, which his family had sustained to the Wittelsbachs when they ruled in the Mark. No such allusion occurs in the concept of the letter which Bismarck himself gives in another chapter (Ged. u. Er., I, 353), nor

¹As a brief but pertinent illustration of this point the passage in the Ged. u. Er., I, 42, on the weakness of Frederick William IV in 1848 should be compared with the opinion expressed in a letter to his brother, December 9, 1848. See Marcks, pp. 60-61.

²The proper evaluation of many of the views expressed in the memoirs would be much furthered by a careful comparison of their content with the speeches and interviews of Bismarck after his retirement.

is it in the full text which is given by Madame Kobell in her König Ludwig II und Fürst Bismarck. In the chapter on the Kulturkampf, Bismarck states that Falk, the minister of worship, was not forced out of office, but resigned in 1879 largely because of the difficulties which arose from his attitude in matters relating to the Lutheran Church.² Bismarck concludes this statement with an expression of surprise that Falk had never come to his rescue and made public the true situation. Two months after the publication of the Reflections and Reminiscences, Falk, who was still living, published a copy of his letter of resignation and a copy of a letter he placed in Bismarck's hands at that time, which Bismarck and not Falk was to make public at such a time as Bismarck thought proper.3 From these communications it appears that policies at the basis of the May laws to which Falk rigidly adhered were at the bottom of his resignation, although differences with the superior consistory of the Lutheran Church are made unduly prominent. It further appears that though his resignation was not technically a forced one, it was not unwelcome to Bismarck.

This is only one point from the chapters of which Bucher said when he was receiving them from Bismarck's dictation: "It is not alone that his memory is defective * * * but he begins also intentionally to misrepresent even plain and well-established facts and occurrences. He will not admit his own share in anything that has failed. * * * He insists that he is in no way responsible for the Kulturkampf, that he did nothing to oppose Pio Nono's views respecting the infallibility * * * although everybody knows the contrary to be the fact." 4

Of the errors arising from confusion in an attempt to survey a general situation, the chapter on the Crimean War and the parties at the court of Frederick William IV may be taken as an example.⁵ The chapter represents Bismarck, then at Frankfort as Prussia's representative to the Diet of the Confederation, standing above the parties at court. One of these parties was favorable to an alliance with the western powers against Russia and the second wanted neutrality and in a general way favored Russia. Bismarck, according to his account, is frequently summoned by the King as a referee between the contending factions. He dates and locates several interviews with the King and the Prince of Prussia who was inclined toward the western powers. Lenz has subjected the chapter to a thorough examination.⁶ He is able to show that Bismarck was not above parties, but

¹ Page 45; cf. Kaemmel, Kritische Studien, 97 ff.

² Ged. u. Er., II, 131-132.

² Deutsche Revue, January, 1899. Reprinted by Kohl in his Wegweiser durch die Ged. u. Er., 133 ff.

⁴ Busch, II, 566.

⁵Ged. u. Er., I, ch. V, and last pages of ch. VI.

Lenz, Zur Kritik d. Ged. u. Er., ch. I.

a member of the group headed by Gerlach, the King's adjutant general, who favored neutrality; that he was not summoned to Berlin, but brought about his own visits through Gerlach that he might lay his views before the King, not as an arbitrator but as an advocate.¹ The conversations he details may have as a basis the general views of those participating. They could not have taken place, however, at the date Bismarck sets, or if they did they are not only incorrectly located, but we must reject their substance, for they contain views upon events before the events had happened.²

Of the third class of errors to be found in the incorrect presentation of large matters of policy subjected at that time and since to the fierce attacks of partisanship, the illustrations are numerous and striking. They increase, as might be expected from the limitations of Bismarck's intense nature and his point of view as a politician and a diplomat, as we approach the latter part of his career—that is, in the chapters dealing with events since 1864.

I shall pass over the chapter on Versailles which, as it involves a military question, namely, the bombardment of Paris, has given rise in Germany to a lively controversy. Bismarck's assumption that the women at the court held back the King and Crown Prince from approving the bombardment which he and Roon were advocating is without proof and as an explanation is hardly consistent with the readiness shown by these soldiers to act from military considerations alone.²

The chapter on the Ems telegram treats the Hohenzollern candidature as a minor matter relating principally to the interests of Spain and the House of Hohenzollern which might have economic advantages for Germany. His own part in the affair is suppressed and the more authentic material in the memoirs of the King of Roumania is flatly contradicted. It was of this chapter that Bucher said in his complaint to Busch already quoted: "Even in cases where his policy was brilliantly successful he will not hear of acknowledging anything, as, for instance, the trap which he set for Napoleon in the Spanish affair. He denied the letter to Prim until I reminded him that I

¹ Cf. Meinecke's discriminating discussion of the relations between Bismarck and Leopold von Gerlach in Hist. Zeit., vol. 72, pp. 44 ff. A careful reading of the excerpts from their correspondence given in the Ged. u. Er., I, ch. VIII, will reveal not only how much they differed in method and point of view, but also the profounder fact that in these letters we have the contrast and conflict between two epochs in Prussian history.

 $^{^2}$ Cf. note 3, p. 128, for material on the Lenz-Schlemann controversy over one of the interviews in ch. V.

³ Cf. Delbrück in Preuss. Jahrb., June, 1899, on basis of Gen. Blume, Die Beschiessung von Paris, and of conversations with Gen. Blumenthal. See also Delbrück, Erinnerungen, Aufsätze und Reden, Berlin, 1905, pp. 159–166, 619–621.

^{&#}x27;Besides Sybel and the general literature on Bismarck and the period which deal also with the Hohenzollern candidature and Bucher's mission to Madrid, see the entries in Dahlmann-Waitz, Nos. 9442 and 9443. To these should be added Ollivier, L'Empire liberal, Paris, 1895. The writer does not mean by this citation to approve all that is implied in the designation of the Hohenzollern candidature as "a trap."

myself handed it to the general in Madrid and that the world is now well aware of it through Rothan (Grammont). * * * The whole candidature of the Prince of Hohenzollern is now represented by Bismarck as having been purely a private affair of the court, a mere family matter, although he was obliged to confess that it was discussed at a sitting of the ministry." In the Reflections and Reminiscences Bismarck does, however, deny the ministerial session and doubts whether he really drew up the letter to Prim. This is, of course, simply taking advantage of technicalities and maintaining the fiction set up by Bismarck at the time, namely, that the whole matter as far as the Prussian Government was concerned had no official character.²

Passing over these chapters and others on the period after 1870 with similar limitations, I want, in conclusion, to summarize briefly the results of the criticism of the chapter on Nikolsburg (Chapter XX), to which Lenz, Marcks, Thimme, Busch, and Fester have devoted their attention.³ Omitting the errors in dating interviews and conferences and other minor matter, we have in this chapter Bismarck's own account, sketchy and very incomplete, of the negotiations with Austria in 1866. In its large outlines it represents Bismarck clear in his mind as to the future combinations by which Germany, including even Austria, might be (as it was, in fact, later) rallied around Prussia in union or alliance. From this Germannational standpoint he is more interested in the possibilities of a north German confederation than in annexations. In formulating the program of annexations he is obliged to restrain the King's cupidity and the enthusiasm of the military staff. Benedetti, the envoy of Napoleon, is represented as immediately approving the extensive series of annexations which Bismarck outlined to him in their first interview at midnight, July 11-12. Later, when he is negotiating with Karolyi, the Austrian envoy, Benedetti is represented as a factor, and a disturbing one, though Bismarck gives us to understand that he is simply playing with Napoleon. It is in this situation that he places the dramatic account of the interview of July 23 on the question of concluding peace as Bismarck advocated it, or of pushing on to Vienna and dictating the harsher terms which the King and military are represented as



¹Busch, II, 586. After Bucher's death Busch, who was fearful that his aged chief would persist in denying the Prim letter, took occasion to let him know that Bucher had told him the whole story. Cf. Busch, II, 588. A bolder denial of the ministerial sitting was made by Bismarck in the Hamburger Nachrichten, Feb. 20, 1895. See Penzler, Bismarck nach seiner Entlassung, Leipzig, 1897, VI, 22, and Bismarck Jahrb., II, 638.

²Bismarck's account of the Ems telegram nullifies Sybel's apologetic account completely. For discussion of the Ems telegram cf. Bahlef, in Bismarck Jahrb., VI, 343; also Kaemmel, op. cit., 47–70, and Marcks, 92–94.

^{*}Lenz, Zur Kritik, etc., 58 ff.; Marcks, 89-91; Fester, in Hist .Zeit., 1900, 45 ff.; Thimme, ibid., 89, 401 ff.; Busch, Ibid., 92, 401 ff.

advocating. Driven beyond his powers of control by this opposition, Bismarck retires from the room and breaks into a paroxysm of weeping. Mastering himself, he reduces his views to writing and presents them to the King, who is still firm. The crown prince mediates and the King scribbles on the margin of the memorandum submitted by Bismarck the famous note which, in the version in the Reflections and Reminiscences, refers in bitterness to his minister's desertion of him in a crisis, adding that as his son, the Crown Prince, supports Bismarck and he can not in the situation find another minister, he is compelled to accept "so disgraceful a peace."

Taking in hand Benedetti's dispatches ² written at that time (1866) and Bismarck's own correspondence with the Prussian envoy in Paris, von der Goltz, which Sybel has transcribed with considerable fullness, and other contemporary material, such as Moltke's and Roon's letters, Lenz, more efficiently and fully than any other critic, has pieced together an account of these days which effectively undermines the chapter just outlined.³

Stated briefly, the contemporary sources show that Bismarck wanted as the result of the war everything possible that would strengthen Prussia and yet find no opposition in France. The annexation plans were more distinctly Bismarckian than Hohenzollern,4 and he held the hope of obtaining Saxony, up at least to the beginning of the conferences with Karolyi, July 22 and following. True, he had no fixed plan for the annexations, but that was largely because he did not know just how palatable extensive plans would be to Napoleon. When, on the night of July 12, he outlined the Prussian demands to Benedetti, the latter did not approve them. How could he, when he had arrived on the battlefield without plans and without instructions? On the contrary, the French ambassador reminded Bismarck that they were not living in the age of Frederick the Great. Bismarck, who was then under a very potent misapprehension as to the vigor and plans of Napoleon, scarcely dared authorize Goltz to reveal the full extent of the Prussian demands. But by the 22d of July he knew from Goltz that Napoleon was giving him a free hand even to the inclusion of parts of Saxony and of Thuringia in the Prussian territorial acquisitions, although he may not have known that it was

¹ Ged. u. Er., II, 47.

² Benedetti, Ma mission en Prusse, Paris, 1871. Lenz makes use also of Rothan, La Politique française en 1866, Paris, 1879, and material in Lettow-Vorbeck, Geschichte des Krieges von 1866 in Deutschland, Berlin, 1896 ff.

Lenz, Zur Kritik, etc., 58 ff.

^{*}Marcks in this connection says, "Ich habe den Eindruck, dass Bismarck die norddeutschen Annexionen doch nicht nur widerstrebend, sondern äusserst activ aufgefasst
und durchgesetzt habe." See his Bismarck's Ged. u. Erinn.: ein Versuch, etc., p. 90.
See also his Kaiser Wilhelm I. An opinion as to which one, the King or Bismarck, had
the more extensive program of annexation depends upon the choice between a large
number of territorial accessions made up of parts of various German states (the King's
idea) and the total absorption of a selected list of these states (Bismarck's plan).

⁵ Cf. Sybel, Begründung, etc. (Volksausgabe), V, 220-221.

from weakness rather than as a cover for more extensive readjustments in favor of France.1 Further, Benedetti was at this time under instructions from Paris to refrain from all active participation in the negotiations.2 It was under these conditions, then, that Bismarck must have entered the conference which he dates in the Reflections and Reminiscences as of July 23—the conference in which the King and the rapacious military overbore him and drove him to a breakdown in weeping. The situation, as Lenz points out, does not correspond at all with such a dramatic conflict. This is further evident when it is added that we have on this very same date. July 23, letters from Moltke and Roon to their wives, letters which reveal the most pacific inclinations and hopes. We know also that the Crown Prince was at no time in favor of a policy of ruthless aggression. Of Bismarck's memorandum to the King, prepared on the 24th and supposedly the one referred to by Bismarck in his account of the conference, which he dates on the 23d, Sybel prints most if not all.⁸ It contains no allusion to any intention to desert the King in any crisis then existing. Of the King's marginal comment we have two other versions—one from Sybel,4 who saw the original in the archives and may have discreetly softened his version, and another from Bismarck's own lips.⁵ Both differ essentially from the wording in the Reflections and Reminiscences, and may be held fully as trustworthy until the archives are opened and we know the truth.6

In concluding the first section of this paper, devoted to certain general limitations on the historical value of Bismarck's Reflections and Reminiscences, I said that they were to be used with the same caution which is applicable to this class of literature as a whole. In concluding this survey of certain of the critical studies of specific chapters, I think I may go further and say that they are to be used with more caution than most memoir literature. We may well agree, it seems to me, with Busch's remark to Bucher when the latter was uttering the complaints quoted above as to Bismarck's methods in preparing his memoirs: "He was not qualified to be a historian. He was to such a large extent the author of the history of the past decades that it might be called his history, but he did not understand how to relate it."7

¹ Sybel, op. cit., V, 208–209. ² Ibid., V, 216–217.

^{*} Ibid., V, 223-226.

⁴ Ibid., V, 226.

⁵ Poschinger, Bismarck und die Parlamentarier, Vol. I, 282. Cited by Lenz, p. 123.

In two frequently expressed wishes of those who have dealt with the topic of this paper I most heartily concur, namely, that the Prussian Government may soon see its way clear to open archives now closed to scholars and that we may soon have a critical edition of Bismarck's Gedanken und Erinnerungen which will show us its genesis more clearly by giving the various versions upon which the final readings are based.

⁷ Busch, II, 566.

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VIII. SOME ASPECTS OF POSTAL EXTENSION INTO THE WEST.

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SOME ASPECTS OF POSTAL EXTENSION INTO THE WEST.

By Julian P. Bretz.

It is not easy to overemphasize the difficulty of transmitting news and information throughout the United States in the years immediately following the adoption of the Constitution. The necessity of providing means of communication in the older districts, east of the Alleghenv Mountains, for purposes of business and social convenience, was but one phase of the problem. Thousands had migrated to the interior, far from the customary route of trade and travel through the seaboard cities, and to bring these interior districts into communication with the older areas of settlement was a political as well as a social and economic necessity. This was especially true of the region west of the mountains, where the people were thought to be wavering in their loyalty to the new Government. It was understood that without public and regular means of conveyance newspapers could not penetrate that distant region nor could a local press develop there. Without this aid in bringing about a better understanding of the purposes of the National Government it was feared that the people of the West would be influenced by intriguers and demagogues and that tendencies toward separation might be increased rather than diminished.1

It is the purpose of this paper to point out the political services of the posts in the early years of the constitutional period with special reference to the assistance rendered in the circulation of newspapers and in the development of a local press in the western States and Territories.

Prior to the Revolution the post roads were limited in extent and importance. The post office was regarded as a source of revenue to the Crown, and in accordance with this theory post roads had been established only where they were profitable.² At the close of the colonial period, therefore, they extended from Maine to Georgia, connecting the principal commercial centers on the Atlantic sea-

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¹ Memoirs of Rufus Putnam, 394. Putnam's letter to Pickering, Aug. 30, 1794, illustrates the point.

²Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, in Works, ed. Bigelow, I, 241-242; A. M. Ogilvie, "The rise of the English post office," in Economic Journal, III, 443. The net revenues of the British post office from 1754 to 1773 amounted to about £250,000. Of this sum about £3,000 a year was contributed by the American posts.

board.¹ Little had been done toward establishing cross posts to the interior, and until 1788 no cross post was extended beyond the mountains for the accommodation of the settlers in the western country.²

With the inauguration of the new Government, in 1789, the post office almost immediately assumed a larger importance. It was understood that the success of the Union would depend in some measure upon the spread of information throughout the land. An interest in the new Government was to be created and maintained, and to this end there was a desire to encourage newspapers and to facilitate correspondence in every direction. The situation is well described by Postmaster General Pickering in his observations on the post office, in 1793, when he states:

Our fellow citizens in the remote parts of the Union seem entitled to some indulgence. Their great distances from the seats of government and principal commercial towns subject them to peculiar difficulties in their correspondence. They have also few or no printing presses among them. Hence without the aid of public post roads they will not only be embarrassed in their correspondence, but remain destitute of every necessary information.²

The National Government entered immediately upon the solution of this problem with the only means at hand, the post office. The day of turnpikes, stages, canals, and railways had not yet come,4 but an effort was made at once to establish regular lines of postal communication with the West, and thus to do whatever was possible to awaken an interest in the affairs of the Nation. Washington had realized, at a much earlier time, the advantages of communication between the seaboard States and the interior, and in his first annual address, January 8, 1790, he urged the expediency of "facilitating the intercourse between the distant parts of our country by a due attention to the post office and post roads.6 In his opening address to the first session of the Second Congress, October 25, 1791, he again referred to the posts, pointing out "their instrumentality in diffusing a knowledge of the laws and proceedings of the Government" and urging the establishment of additional cross posts, "especially to some of the important points in the western and northern parts of the Union."7

The opinion of Washington as to the political usefulness of the posts was shared by the early Postmasters General. Samuel Osgood, the first incumbent under the Constitution, favored a reduction in the



¹ Hugh Finlay's Journal . . . 1773-1774, 16 ff.

² Journal and letters of Col. John May, of Boston, 141, note. A post road from Philadelphia to Pittsburg was authorized in 1786, but a contractor was not found until 1788.

³Archives of United States Post Office Department, Letter books of the Postmaster General, Book "C" (1793), 54 ff.

⁴ Exception should be made of certain State enterprises, but the act authorizing the National Road was approved Mar. 29, 1806, U. S. Statutes at Large, II, 357-359.

⁵ Marshall, Life of Washington, V, 9-17; also J. H. U. Studies, series III, pp. 79-91, "Washington's Interest in the Potomac Company."

Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, I, 66.

⁷ Ibid., 107.

rates of postage to facilitate correspondence between "the extremes" and the National Capital. Although not entirely converted from the notion that the post office should yield a surplus for the benefit of the Treasury, Osgood realized that the accommodation of 3,000,000 people settled over so great an extent of territory would necessitate giving up a large proportion of the revenue. His successor, Pickering, urged, with still less respect for a surplus, that all measures possible should be taken to promote the circulation of "useful information concerning the great interests of the Union."

Of similar import were the utterances in Congress. It was stated, in 1791, that "the establishment of the post office is agreed to be for no other purpose than the conveyance of information into every part of the Union." It was maintained that information conveyed by newspapers sent by members of the House had proved highly serviceable to the Government; that wherever the newspapers had extended, or even the correspondence of the members, no opposition had been made to the laws; and that the contrary was experienced in those parts to which information had not penetrated, and even there the opposition ceased as soon as the principles on which the laws had been passed were made known to the people.⁸ So, in 1797, on the suggestion of the Postmaster General that it might have "a happy tendency to counteract prejudices and inspire confidence in the Government," in the region recently affected by the Whisky Rebellion, Congress extended a post road to the back country of Virginia.4 Again, in 1797, it was said that "no estimate could be formed of the produce and advantage of roads in some situations;" that it was much to the credit of the United States that information was sent by newspapers into obscure parts. It was maintained that while the receipts of the post office met the expenses every post road in existence should be continued and as many new ones established as the receipts would support, "as it was not proper that any money, on such a laudable establishment, should be put into the Treasury."5 Instead, therefore, of abolishing unproductive post roads in the western country, Congress adopted the suggestion of Postmaster General Habersham, who, in reporting the deficits on certain roads, remarked as follows:

The unproductive routes in distant parts of the Union are not noticed, as those who are remotely situated appear to have a just claim to that liberal establishment of post roads which has been extended in every direction through

¹ American State Papers, Post Office, 5-7.

² Letter books of the Postmaster General, Book "C" (1793), 54 ff.

Annals of Congress, 1st sess. 2d Cong., December 16, 1791, pp. 253-354.

⁴This was recommended in 1796. The road was extended to Clarksburg, Harrison County, Va. U. S. Statutes at Large, I, 509 ff.

⁵ Annals of Congress. House, 2d sess. 4th Cong., February 1, 1797, pp. 2058-2059.

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this great and flourishing country. It has been a wise policy to open this useful source of information to the settlers of a new country, and the expense will not be considered where the object is so important.¹

These facts indicate the attitude adopted by the new Government toward the posts, and they show how completely the production of revenue had been abandoned in favor of the political services which the posts were now called upon to render.

The necessity of providing public means for the transmission of newspapers was obvious at the opening of the constitutional period. The newspapers were not regarded as postal matter, but the post riders were permitted to carry them under private arrangements with publisher or subscriber.2 Their circulation was thus largely confined to their immediate localities, and news of one district with difficulty reached another.3 So keen, moreover, was the desire for news that a newspaper was frequently delayed by being read and reread in transit, and too often it was appropriated outright.4 These were some of the limitations upon the circulation of news and information in the older and better settled districts, and west of the Allegheny Mountains, where there were no post riders, the limitations were obviously greater. Another consideration was the desirability of bringing about the development of a local press in the interior. It was believed that the newspapers of the interior would exert a patriotic nationalizing influence and that they would be less likely to be affected by political error than those of the larger cities in the Eastern States.⁵ These were some of the considerations which urged upon Congress the necessity of providing postal facilities for the West and of assuming the carriage of the newspapers under such conditions as would secure the most extensive circulation of news and promote, as far as possible, the growth of a local press in every part of the Union.7

The provisions of the postal legislation affecting newspapers between 1792 and 1836 had to do, therefore, with the admission of news-

¹Letter books of the Postmaster General, Habersham to Thatcher, February 10, 1796. See also American State Papers, Post Office, p. 48, showing that in 1815 the entire revenue from the posts in the Western States and Territories did not exceed two-fifths of the cost of transporting the mails in that region.

³Letterbooks of the Postmaster General, Pickering to Thomas Hamilton, October 20, 1791; Hugh Finlay's Journal, xix; Journals of Hugh Gaine, Printer, I, 38-39.

⁸ McMaster, History of the People of the United States, II, 59.

⁴This is evident from the legislation in respect to theft and delay of newspapers. It was a source of frequent complaint at all times before and after the newspapers were admitted to the mails.

⁵ This is frequently indicated in the discussions in regard to franking and to other matters in which the newspapers were discussed. See also American State Papers, Post Office, 347, showing solicitude for the press of the interior.

Without post roads the publishers relied on private riders. See Ramsey, Annals of Tennessee, 687; Kentucky Palladium, Frankfort, Ky., December 25, 1798, and October 3, 1799; Lexington Reporter, Lexington, Ky., September 18, 1813.

⁷ It was thought at first that the newspapers would yield a considerable revenue, American State Papers, Post Office, 6, but this does not appear to have had much weight with Congress. The postage from newspapers was always less than the cost of carriage, ibid., 347, and the collection of it was imperfect, ibid., 118–119.

papers to the mails, fixing a reasonable rate of postage, providing for the security of the papers during transmission, authorizing free exchange of papers among all editors or publishers, and, lastly, providing an "express service" between the eastern cities and the principal place in the West.¹

The most notable feature of this legislation, aside from the admission of the newspapers to the mails, was the provision for free carriage of exchanges between publishers. This provision applied, as did the others, to the entire country, but in no other part of the Union were the results more interesting and noteworthy than in the Western States and Territories. Free exchanges were to the publishers of the interior what the various news services are to the press of to-day. From the exchanges were clipped the items which filled the columns of the local publications. If the exchanges failed to arrive the editor was forced to glean those already clipped for a previous issue, or resort was had to other expedients for filling the columns of his paper. Thus the editor of the Palladium (Frankfort, Kv.), March 13, 1800, states that as the mail of yesterday brought nothing of importance he has decided to publish George Washington's will. For similar reasons the editor of the Alabama Republican, December 6, 1822, fills his columns with an article from the Edinburgh Review on the African slave trade.

But this is not all; it is difficult to see how the western papers, above all others, could have existed without free exchanges. Not only were they more dependent on them, owing to their distance from the sources of information in the older districts, but the slender resources of most western papers would have been seriously taxed had the exchanges been subjected to postage. It was proposed in 1822 to subject all newspapers to postage, exchanges included, but the measure was opposed with great vigor, and it was stoutly maintained that such a measure would crush one-half of the newspapers of the country. Congress was advised by the editors not to resort to "unconstitutional means of stopping in any degree the sources of that information which distinguishes Americans from the people of all other countries." 2 A proposal to reduce the number of free exchanges for each publisher to 50 met with an equally unfavorable reception, being denounced as absurd, preposterous, and unlucky, and as aiming a "direct blow at the strongest bulwark of free government." 3

It may be worth while to mention briefly the influence, although indirect, of the system of exchanges upon problems of transportation in the early West. Almost immediately after the passage of the act



¹The first important measure was the act of Feb. 20, 1792, U.S. Stat. L., I. 232 ff. The last mentioned was that of July 2, 1836, establishing, among other things, an express service mentioned above, V, 80.

See, for example, the Detroit Gazette, Apr. 5, 1822; Arkansas Gazette, May 7, 1822.
 The National Republican and Ohio Political Register, Cincinnati, Ohio, Feb. 25, 1825.

of 1792, admitting newspapers to the mails, large numbers of eastern papers were offered for carriage to the West. Horseback service soon became inadequate on the principal routes across the mountains. and the newspapers, exchanges included, were frequently left behind. It was to this point that the complaints of the western editors were almost always directed, and a demand arose for stage carriage which would accommodate all the papers, and eventually for improved highways to accommodate the stages.1 Postmaster General Granger referred, in 1803, to the "constantly increasing and enormous size of many of the mails on the great post roads, owing to an extended and extending circulation of newspapers," and on this ground, and others, he recommended the establishment of mail stages on the principal post roads through Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee.² Such a service was established in the years 1806 and 1807, with financial aid from the post office, and in this way a valuable service was rendered in the development of the western country.3

Reference has been made to the "express service" which was authorized by Congress in the year 1836.4 This service, which was to be introduced on the principal post roads at the discretion of the Postmaster General, was due to the desire to reduce the volume of free exchange matter, as well as to expedite news to the more distant parts of the Union.⁵ It was hoped also that by this means unfair speculation based upon previous knowledge of a change in the market, especially in that of cotton, might be prevented. The express mails were to consist of newspaper slips in place of exchanges, stock quotations, ship news, letters at triple rates of postage, and public dispatches. The carriage was by horseback, at the rate of 11 or 12 miles an hour, night and day, with the briefest possible pauses, in the manner of the pony express of later days. It was hoped that the mails might be carried in this way from the seaboard to St. Louis in from seven to nine days, and from New York to New Orleans in six days.6 The service was installed to St. Louis, New Orleans, and Nashville during 1836 and 1837,7 and constituted the last notable change in the postal service to the interior before the coming of the railway.

[.]¹The Western American, Bardstown, Ky., Mar. 8, 1805, points out that only one-half of the papers can be carried on horseback, while stages would not only afford a safer conveyance, but the hardships of travel would be reduced in the West and intercourse greatly facilitated between East and West.

² American State Papers, Post Office, 29.

² Letter book of the Postmaster General, Feb. 6, 1806, Aug. 15, 1806, Mar. 11, 1807. The practice was to grant a largely increased allowance to the contractor on condition that stage service be employed.

⁴ U. S. Statutes at Large, V, 80 ff.

⁵ Letter books of the Postmaster General, Amos Kendall to H. W. Connor, House, and Felix Grundy, Senate, Mar. 16, 1836.

Cincinnati Mirror and C., Aug. 6, 1836. The usual time from New York to New Orleans was 13 days.

Wisconsin Territorial Gazette and Burlington Advertiser, Sept. 7, 1837, quoting the St. Louis Republican. See also the same paper, Oct. 19, 1837.

It has been suggested that the encouragement of a local press in the interior was one of the objects sought by the legislation of 1792 and subsequent years. It remains, therefore, to discuss briefly the development of a western press, since by this the political services rendered by the posts may, in part, be estimated. There were few papers west of the mountains before the year 1800,1 and in this respect the growth of the western press corresponds closely to the growth of the postal service in the same area. Several acts had been passed affecting the posts in the West, but they dealt more particularly with the problem of finding available routes across the mountains to Ohio, Kentucky, and western Tennessee.² At the opening of the year 1800 the postal establishment in the West consisted. therefore, of but two important post roads: one from Wheeling, passing over Zane's Road to Limestone or Maysville, Ky., and thence to the more important places in the northern and central part of the State. The other descended the Shenandoah Valley, in Virginia, and passing through Knoxville extended as far as Nashville, Tenn.³ A variety of causes had operated to prevent the sending off of any considerable number of cross posts,4 and the entire postal establishment fell far short of accommodating the settled portions of the West.⁵

In 1800 large additions were made to the mileage of the post roads in the West and many important postal connections were established, especially between the National Capital at Washington and the seats of government for the States and organized Territories in the West. Numerous local cross posts were created connecting the county towns with the State capitals, while connections were also established between Kentucky, Tennessee, and the districts north of the Ohio River. So extensive were these additions that in 1801 the Postmaster General described the situation in these words: "The crossroads are now established so extensively that there is scarcely a village courthouse or public place of any consequence but is accommodated with the mail." From this time postal extensions in the West were more frequent and maintained a more nearly even pace with the extension of the frontier.

Corresponding to this increase in postal facilities, the growth of the western press was more rapid from the opening of the nineteenth century. The additional cross posts greatly facilitated circulation while the improved service with the Eastern States rendered the

¹ See a good account of the early press in the Ohio Valley, by Reuben Gold Thwaites, in Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, Apr., 1909.

² U. S. Statutes at Large, I, 232 ff., 354 ff., 509 ff., 733 ff.

^{*}Based upon a map prepared from a number of sources. There is no official map of the post roads for the early constitutional period.

⁴The principal reason was the decline in the receipts of the post office, owing chiefly to the unsettled condition of foreign affairs. The prospect of a readjustment of the post roads following the removal of the capital to Washington was also a cause of delay.

⁵ See Statistical Atlas, Twelfth Census, Plate 3.

^{*}U. S. Statutes at Large, II, 42.

Letter book of the Postmaster General, Habersham to Col. John Holmes, Apr. 17, 1801.

supply of news less uncertain. Thus the Palladium, of Frankfort, Ky., of August 4, 1801, announces that it is issued "from a press erected at the seat of government where the post roads make (as it were) a common centre," and has, therefore, as many sources of information as any newspaper in the State. Everywhere the posts went newspapers sprang into existence, and by the time of the second war with Great Britain 33 had appeared in Kentucky and 31 in Ohio,¹ while elsewhere the development was proportionate to the extent of settlement.² After the war the increase is still more noteworthy, while the area of publication was rapidly enlarged.³ By the end of the period under consideration, 1836, the whole number of newspapers in the West is supposed to have been more than 300, with a circulation which has been estimated at nearly 13,000,000 copies annually.4

It is not necessary to discuss here the extent of the influence actually exerted by the press. It may be safely assumed, however, that this influence was on the side of the Union and that it contributed to the growth of the national sentiment which presently appeared in the West. The loyalty of the western press to the interests of the Union has frequently been praised, and certainly the absence of separatist teachings is worthy of notice.

From the foregoing account it will be seen that a policy for the conduct of a popular and important department of the National Government was laid down at an early date and has been consistently followed. The policy, as suggested in this paper, goes far to explain all of our postal history, since it reveals the reasons for the well-known postal deficits as well as the readiness with which the posts have at all times been made to respond to the needs of the people.

In the second place, we see that in the first years of the new Government the problem of transportation, even the transportation of news, was appreciated; and we see that efforts were made at once by means of the posts to bind together the different parts of the Nation. No apology can be necessary for emphasizing the working of any force, however small, in those days of small beginnings, that contributed to the development of a sense of unity and assisted in founding the State.

¹Thwaites, loc. cit., 48-62; Frederick Hudson, History of Journalism in the United States, 195 ff. The receipts of newspaper postage in the Western States and Territories increased 43 per cent from 1801 to 1803. Elsewhere the increase was 8 per cent.

The Arkansas Gazette, Sept. 19, 1826, gives the whole number of newspapers in the United States at that time as 350 or more. Of these one-fourth were in the West.

A weekly paper was begun in Arkansas in 1819: the first daily was established at

⁸A weekly paper was begun in Arkansas in 1819; the first daily was established at Cincinnati in 1826; and in 1831 was recorded the appearance of the seventeenth newspaper at that place alone (see Cincinnati Mirror and Ladies Parterre, Oct. 29, 1831). In 1833 the Chicago Democrat was established (see Chicago Democrat, Apr. 13, 1842), and in 1835 Illinois was said to have 17 newspapers. There were two papers in Wisconsin Territory by 1836 (see the Green Bay Intelligencer and Democrat, Jan. 20, 1836).

⁴Hudson, Journalism in the United States, 770. The actual figures given are 321 papers, Jan. 1, 1835, with an annual circulation of 12,787,200 copies. No basis for this estimate is given.

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IX. SIDE LIGHTS ON THE MISSOURI COMPROMISES.

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SIDE LIGHTS ON THE MISSOURI COMPROMISES.

By Frank Heywood Hodder.

The Missouri compromises have been fully exploited on the Federal side, but from the standpoint of the Territory little or nothing has been written respecting them. Missouri newspapers drew their reports of the progress of events from their eastern exchanges and from occasional private letters. The mails required from four to five weeks in transmission, and when they failed, as they frequently did, the Missouri editor filled his columns with "elegant extracts" from British classics. Proceedings in Congress were reprinted from the National Intelligencer, but on one occasion "Mr. Gales was indisposed" and the debates were unreported for a week. There was great disappointment in the Territory when the Fifteenth Congress adjourned without agreeing upon an enabling act, and indignation meetings were held in several counties. A meeting in Montgomery County, April 28, 1819,

Resolved, That the restriction attempted to be imposed upon the people of this Territory as a condition of their admission into the Union is a daring stretch of power, an usurpation of our sacred rights, unprecedented, unconstitutional, and in open violation of the third article of the treaty of cession entered into with France.²

Similar resolutions were passed in Boone's Lick County in June, in Washington County in July, and on September 14 the inhabitants of New Madrid County declared that they would be admitted to the Union on an equal footing with the original States or not at all.³ Later in the month a petition was gotten up, which proposed to solve the difficulty by dividing the Territory by the line of the Missouri River and erecting the northern part into a free and the southern part into a slave State, but the suggestion found little favor.

Editorial comment varied with the point of view. The Missouri Intelligencer, published at Boone's Lick, attributed the failure of

¹ Missouri Enquirer. Feb. 26, 1820.

² Missouri Gazette. May 19, 1819.

St. Louis Enquirer. Oct. 6, 1819.

the Missouri bill to eastern jealousy of western development, as follows:

The restriction attempted to be imposed upon us by the eighty-seven members of the House of Representatives who voted for it, were those exclusively of the eastern states. They view with a jealous eye the march of power westward, and are well aware the preponderance will soon be against them; therefore they have combined against us; but let them pause before they proceed further, or the grave they are preparing for us, may be their own sepulchre. As well might they arrest the course of the ocean that washes their barren shores, as to check our future growth. Emigration will continue with a jiant stride until the wilderness shall be a wilderness no more; but in its stead will arise flourishing towns, cultivated farms, & peace, plenty and happiness smile on the land. Let those who are raised by the voice of the people to watch over and protect their rights and liberties, beware how they abuse so sacred a trust, lest they find in every injured freeman the spirit of a Hampden rise and hurl them from their posts.¹

The editor of the St. Louis Enquirer emphasized the element of sectional rivalry and State rights. He said:

No people ever understood a political question better than the people of Missouri understand this. They know that, as it affects the Slaves, it is only a question of the place in which they shall live and can neither diminish their numbers nor better their condition; as it affects the Republic, it is a question of political power between the Northern and Southern interests; and as it affects the State of Missouri, it is simply and nakedly a question of state sover-eignty, an experiment on the part of Congress to commence the business of making constitutions for the states, after having selzed upon the power of making Presidents for the people.³

As the struggle was more and more protracted, public opinion became more and more excited. January 26, 1820, the St. Louis Enquirer charged that the postponement of the Missouri question until after the holidays was a "trick to delay the decision until the Northern States could 'lash into the ranks' such of their members as would not vote with them last year," particularly Holmes and Shaw, of Massachusetts; Storrs, of New York; Baldwin, of Pennsylvania; McLane, of Delaware; and Bloomfield, of New Jersey. When by the 25th of March no report of the passage of the Missouri bill was received, the editor of the Enquirer became hysterical. He said:

If Missouri is conquered by the people of the North, no matter whether it be done by votes at Washington or by intrigues at home . . . the result will be the same and the consequences equally calamitous to the territory and the Union. The balance of power will be overturned; all check to the criminal designs of these men will be removed; and their desperate designs will be as readily executed as they are now openly avowed. The Louisiana treaty will be a nullity and its territory sold out to some foreign bidder or held and governed at will as a conquered dominion. The liberty of the blacks will be proclaimed: lighted torches will be put into the hands of slaves to rouse their sleep-



¹ Missouri Intelligencer. May 17, 1819.

² St. Louis Enquirer. Nov. 10, 1819.

ing masters from their beds amid the flames of their houses and the cries of their slaughtered children.

It was darkest before the dawn. Four days later the news came that the Missouri bill had passed without restriction as to slavery nearly a month before. The transition from despair to ecstacy was instant. The Southern members had stood "united as a Spartan band, forty days in the pass of Thermopylæ, defending the People of Missouri, the Treaty of Cession, and the Constitution of the Republic." To the Northern members, who had voted against restriction, there should, in the language of Barbour, "be erected an imperishable monument of everlasting fame." April 30 the town of St. Louis was illuminated and transparencies displayed the names of the Northern men who had voted against restriction. The name of Senator Lanman, of Connecticut, who had been burned in effigy at Hartford, was most conspicuous. Some proposed to burn an effigy of Senator King, of New York, by way of retaliation, but better counsels prevailed.²

In the ensuing constitutional election slavery was the paramount issue. In St. Louis Judge John B. C. Lucas, whose son Benton had killed in a duel, headed an independent ticket "opposed to the further introduction of slaves into Missouri." Rector, Sullivan, Pratte, Barton, McNair, Bates, Pierre Chouteau, jr., and Riddick, nominated by the "lawyer junto," made up the opposing ticket. Benton aspired to an election, but, failing of a regular nomination, withdrew from the contest.3 The Missouri Gazette and the St. Louis Enquirer were the respective organs of the two factions. Among the workers on the antislavery side was Benjamin Lundy. The election was held from the 1st to the 3d of May. In St. Louis the proslavery vote was double that of the restrictionists. Of the 39 delegates elected to the convention in the whole Territory, only one was opposed to slavery.4 The result seems to have been due not so much to any very strong sentiment in favor of slavery as to a fierce resentment bred by the congressional attempt at dictation.

The constitutional convention met in St. Louis June 12, the day prescribed by the enabling act, and organized by the election of David Barton as president. It "has passed into history" that the constitution was chiefly the work of Barton. Darby says that "the most

¹ Six Senators and 14 Representatives from Northern States voted against restriction. The Senators were Hunter, of Rhode Island; Lanman, of Connecticut; Parrott, of New Hampshire; Palmer, of Vermont; and Edwards and Thomas, of Illinois. The Representatives were Hill, Holmes, Mason, and Shaw, of Massachusetts; Eddy, of Rhode Island; Foot and Stevens, of Connecticut; Meigs and Storrs, of New York; Bloomfield, Kinsey, and Smith, of New Jersey; and Baldwin and Fullerton, of Pennsylvania. Adding the two Senators and one Representative from Delaware, increases the number to 8 and 15, respectively.

² Missouri Enquirer, Mar. 29, Apr. 1, 1820.

³ Missouri Enquirer, Apr. 26, 1820.

⁴ Benjamin Emmons, of St. Charles, who had come to Missouri from Vermont.

important provisions were framed by him, and from that day to the present it has been known as the Barton constitution," 1 and this statement is repeated in nearly every history of Missouri. The meager record of the Journal 2 furnishes no support for it. It would seem to be the result of confusing the authorship of the constitution with the name given to the convention by reason of Barton's having been its presiding officer. As far as one can judge from the Journal, Edward Bates, afterwards Attorney General in Lincoln's Cabinet, was the leading spirit in the convention. He took the first step toward framing a constitution by moving the appointment of a committee for the purpose. It was decided to divide the work between four committees, which reported to a central one, and the resulting document was referred for final revision to a committee of which Mr. Bates was chairman, so that Mr. Bates occupies, with reference to the first constitution of Missouri, the position which Gouverneur Morris occupies with reference to the Constitution of the United States.

There can be little pride of authorship in the first constitution of Missouri. Although Hildreth a noted that it was copied in most respects from the constitution of Kentucky, the extent to which that was the case has been lost sight of. Its most original provision was a defiant preamble, which declared that—

We, the people of Missouri, * * * by our representatives in convention assembled, * * * do mutually agree to form and establish a free and independent republic, by the name of the "State of Missouri," and for the government thereof do ordain and establish this constitution.

The exclusion of the clergy from the general assembly, although favored by local conditions, was taken from the constitution of Kentucky. The article respecting the power of the general assembly over slavery was the same as Article VII of the constitution of Kentucky, except for the addition:

It shall be their duty to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to and settling in the State on any pretext whatever.

With the exception of an enlargement of the judiciary by the addition of a court of chancery, the constitution of Missouri was practically the same as that of Kentucky.

In his speech at Jefferson City 29 years afterwards, in his Thirty Years View, and repeatedly in private letters during his later life, Benton claimed to have secured, although not a member of the con-



¹ Personal Recollections, p. 28.

² Journal of the Missouri State Convention. St. Louis, 1820. Photo-facsimile reprint, by Theodore L. Cole. Washington, D. C., 1905. Only three copies of the original edition are extent

^{*} History of the United States, VI, 703.

⁴ Sixteen members of the convention were Virginians and eight, the next largest number from a single State, were born in Kentucky. Missouri Enquirer. June 17, 1820.

vention, the adoption of the clause which prohibited the legislative emancipation of slaves without the consent of their owners and without compensation. It was Benton's greatest foible that he came to think that he had originated nearly every important measure of American history. Bagehot remarks that Gibbon was unable to tell the difference between himself and the Roman Empire. Still less was Benton able to distinguish between himself and the United States. Inasmuch as the constitutional limitation upon legislative emancipation was a part of Article VII of the Kentucky constitution, which the Missouri convention borrowed en bloc, it is scarcely possible that Benton could have had anything to do with its adoption.

The Missouri constitution was enacted without being referred to a popular vote, a State Government and a Representative in Congress were elected and the legislature chose Barton and Benton United States Senators, the former unanimously and the latter after a violent contest. Both Senators-elect repaired to Washington and, in frequent letters to the Missouri newspapers, set forth their view of the animus of the renewed opposition to the admission of the State. These letters are perhaps a safer guide to the course of events than the speeches reported in the Annals of Congress, inasmuch as Niles's Register complains at this time that it is "notorious that many speeches are made only for the newspapers and are hardly listened to by half a dozen in either House." ²

November 22 Benton wrote to the editor of the Missouri Intelligencer:

The committees appointed to examine the Missouri constitution will report to-morrow. Both committees will report in favor of admitting the State. In the Senate we apprehend no difficulty. In the House of Representatives the struggle of last winter will be renewed, and it is apprehended that the restrictionists will predominate. The vote was very close last winter, and since then we have lost several friends from the North, who have been constrained by their constituents to abandon their seats. They make a pretext of that part of our constitution which provided for keeping out free negroes and mulattoes, when almost every State in the Union, even the free States themselves, have the same provision, as will be fully shewn in the course of the debates here.

December 12 the Senate resolution for the admission of Missouri was passed, and on the next day the House resolution for the same purpose was rejected. December 25 one of the Missouri Senators,



¹ In a remarkable passage in the autobiographical sketch, prefixed to some editions of his Thirty Years View, Benton said of himself:

[&]quot;The bare enumeration of the measures of which he was the author and the prime mover would be almost a history of Congress legislation—the enumeration is unnecessary; the long list is known throughout the length and breadth of the land—repeated with the familiarity of household words from the great cities on the seaboard to the lonely cabins on the frontier—and studied by the little boys who feel an honorable ambition beginning to stir within their bosoms and a laudable desire to learn something of the history of their country."

^{*}Niles's Register. Oct. 21, 1820.

³ Missouri Intelligencer. Jan. 1, 1821.

apparently Barton, wrote the following analysis of the situation "to a gentleman" at home:

When we arrived here a copy of our Constitution was presented in each House of Congress, and their committees made separate reports, both in favor of our admission as a State. The resolution of the Senate passed, ayes 26, noes 18. The resolution of the House of Representatives was rejected, ayes 79, noes 93-14 majority against us. At this vote Clay, of Kentucky, and 5 other southern friends were absent, so that the Nation seems to be almost equally divided on this question. Some of the Northern States have instructed their members to vote against us: in these instructions they go back to their old ground of restriction, and some even take the ground of universal emancipation. They also make a pretext of the clause of our constitution to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming and settling among us, although every State in the Union has taken the same precaution to keep out the refuse and dangerous population of their neighboring States. This, however, is pretty clearly only a disguise for the iniquity of their real motives. * * * truth is that the Northern States have a small majority in the National Councils, and they wish to preserve it by crippling the growth of the West and preventing the increase of new States, unless like Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, they will become mere appendages to the North; and by their institutions virtually exclude the immigration of their brethren and friends from the Southern and Western States.

I think, however, their courage will not equal their villainy, and that we shall yet be admitted; probably not until another object is effected by getting the treaty of Mr. Adams with Spain ratified by our Senate. This treaty proposes to give off of our southern border country enough to form several new States at a future day, by thus curtailing the outlet of the South and West and by excluding them from the countries west and north of Missouri by the odious restriction of last session, the preponderance of the North is to be perpetuated. This may be considered a twin brother to the opposition to Missouri, both having the same object. A few votes in such a case might turn a national scale.¹

The Senate resolution was not taken up in the House until January 12, 1821. On the 16th Clay returned to Congress and essayed the rôle of peacemaker. February 2 he secured the reference of the Senate resolution to a committee of 13, which on the 10th reported a compromise resolution for the admission of Missouri on the condition that the State should never pass any law preventing any persons who were citizens of other States from settling within her limits and that the State legislature by a solemn public act should give its assent to this condition. On the following day, February 11, Senator Barton wrote to his constituents:

On the last discussion of this subject Mr. Sergeant, of Philadelphia, who has attempted to be a leader of the anti-Missourians, drew aside the veil and gave us a glimpse of "Hartford Convention," revised and corrected. He declared that he would vote against the resolution, however it might be amended; that he thought nothing ought to be done on the subject at this session, but left to a new Congress to determine how far they were bound by the act of the last session.



¹ Missouri Intelligencer. Jan. 29, 1821. The letter is erroneously dated January instead of December.

sion, and whether Missouri should be admitted at all without a prohibition of slavery in her constitution. He suggested as a new reason for such a course that Florida would probably soon apply for admission under infinitely stronger claims for admitting slave-holding population than Missouri can urge, and that a just "balance of power" ought to be preserved.

These free-negro apostles indulge the delusive hope that a revolution of sentiment can be effected in Missouri. They are led to the belief (probably by one of those foreigners, both by birth and principle, or one of those political preachers who have done so much to injure our character and State) that large minorities in favor of restriction exist in each county. Encouraged by such hopes, and being wholly free from the embarrassments of political honesty and public faith, the leaders in the House of Representatives are endeavoring to secure themselves the benefits of an open question and a new struggle in the succeeding Congress. It is not believed, however, that the honest Republicans of the North, thus advised of their ultimate objects, will go with them through their criminal course.

The compromise resolutions were, however, defeated in the House on February 12 by a vote of 80 to 83 and upon reconsideration on the next day thereafter by a vote of 82 to 88.2 The defeat of the resolutions was due to the opposition of John Randolph and his adherents, who refused to assent to the imposition of any condition, however meaningless, upon the admission of a State. February 21 the situation was brought to a crisis by the motion of Brown, of Kentucky, to repeal the first compromise—a motion which he consented to postpone at the request of Baldwin, of Pennsylvania. On the next day the President announced the exchange of ratifications of the Florida treaty, whereupon Clay judged that the moment was opportune for a motion for a joint committee of the two Houses to consider whether or not it was expedient to make provision for the admission of Missouri. February 26 the joint committee reported a resolution substantially equivalent to the resolution of the House committee of thirteen, and the resolution was immediately agreed to by a vote of 86 to 82. Every southern Member voted in the affirmative, with the exception of Randolph, who voted "no" to the last, and of the Members from Delaware, who refrained from voting at all. Eighteen northern votes made up the majority.8

The result was accomplished by the change of 4 votes, those of Edwards, of North Carolina, and of Samuel Moore, Rogers, and Udree, of Pennsylvania. Edwards deserted Randolph, doubtless convinced that the substance was more important than the form, although he



¹ Missouri Intelligencer. Apr. 16, 1821.

² In the vote upon reconsideration 4 new names were recorded in the affirmative and 5 new ones in the negative, one Member upon each side did not vote, and Garnett, of Virginia, changed from the affirmative to the negative.

³The northern votes were those of Hill and Shaw, of Massachusetts; Eddy, of Rhode Island; Stevens, of Connecticut; Clark, Ford, Guyon, Hackley, Meigs, and Storrs, of New York; Bateman, Bloomfield, Smith, £nd Southard, of New Jersey; Baldwin, Samuel Moore, Rogers, and Udree, of Pennsylvania. McLane, of Delaware, did not vote. The vote upon final passage stood 87 to 81. Garnett, of Virginia, refrained from voting in the negative, and the vote of Hall, of North Carolina, was added to the affirmative.

had declared in the House that he would never consent to establish the principle of imposing a condition upon the admission of a State. Moore, Rogers, and Baldwin were all members of the joint committee. Circumstances point to Baldwin as having secured the Pennsylvania votes. He was immediately thereafter appointed a Justice of the United States Supreme Court, possibly as a reward for having "saved the country." How far the ratification of the Florida treaty contributed to the result must be a matter of conjecture, but it is rather remarkable that the turn in the tide, as predicted by Barton, came with its announcement.

A special session of the Missouri Legislature was called at St. Charles to consider "great and weighty matters," and this session passed an extraordinary act, which declared that the act was itself unnecessary, that Congress had no right to require it, but that, as it would not be binding, they would nevertheless declare that the clause of the State constitution, designated by Congress, would never be construed to authorize the passage of any law by which any citizen of any of the United States would ever be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities to which he was entitled under the Constitution of the United States. Immediately upon the receipt of this act the President proclaimed the admission of Missouri.

But slight attention has been directed to the fact that the resolution of the joint committee, which Congress had adopted, did not correctly designate the clause in the constitution of Missouri to which exception had been taken, which, instead of being the fourth clause of the twenty-sixth section of the third article, was properly the first clause of the third subdivision of the section. This erroneous designation was the result of the fact that, in the peculiar form in which the constitution was printed for the use of Congress,2 the objectionable clause was marked by the fourth indentation in the margin of this section. The discrepancy would be of no importance had there not grown up in Missouri a tradition that it was noticed in the State legislature and that the declaratory act was passed as a result of it. The only evidence in support of this tradition is a letter written in 1892 by Judge Samuel Treat, in which he said that the declaratory act was drawn by Henry S. Gever, who stated to him "that the strange misrecital was observed by the general assembly and that it materially aided in securing the passage of the act."3 The supposition that the act was intended to be an evasion of this sort is unsupported by any contemporary evidence and is distinctly

¹The possibility of his appointment to succeed Gallatin in Paris was discussed in the newspapers.

² S. Doc. 1 and H. Doc. 2, 2d sess. 60th Cong.

³ Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society for Feb., 1900. 2d series, XIII, 454. Geyer in 1851 succeeded Benton in the United States Senate.

negatived by the report 1 that accompanied the act, which speaks of "the fourth clause of the twenty-sixth section of the third article * * * upon the subject of prohibiting the emigration of free negroes and mulattoes into the State." It must therefore be concluded either that the Missouri Legislature, in common with nearly all writers on the subject of the Missouri Compromise ever since, failed to notice the inaccuracy in the act of Congress, or that, if they noticed it, they took no account of it.

It remains only to be said that Missouri accomplished her purpose in spite of the act of Congress. A State act of 1825 ² "concerning negroes and mulattoes" excluded such persons from the State, unless citizens of another State, in which case they were required to prove their citizenship by presenting naturalization papers. While such persons were regarded as citizens in some States, they were never naturalized, and therefore could not present naturalization papers. In 1847 it was more positively provided that "No free negro nor mulatto shall under any pretext emigrate into this State from any State or Territory," ³ and this act remained upon the statute book until the Civil War drew to a close.⁴

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¹ Printed in Missouri Intelligencer, June 18, 1821.

² R. L. Mo., 1825, p. 600.

²R. S. Mo., 1855, p. 1101. ⁴Repealed Feb. 20, 1865. Laws of Mo., 1865, p. 66.

X. TWO STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST.

- 1. THE TOWNS OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST WERE NOT FOUNDED ON THE FUR TRADE.
- 2. MORTON MATTHEW MCCARVER, FRONTIER CITY BUILDER.

By EDMOND S. MEANY,
Professor in the University of Washington.

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1. THE TOWNS OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST WERE NOT FOUNDED ON THE FUR TRADE.

By Edmond S. Meany.

At the meeting of the American Historical Association in 1893 Prof. Frederick J. Turner, of the University of Wisconsin, read a paper on "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," which has exercised a profound influence on subsequent students and writers. In that paper Prof. Turner says:

The trading posts reached by these trails were on the sites of Indian villages which had been placed in positions suggested by nature; and these trading posts, situated so as to command the water systems of the country, have grown into such cities as Albany, Pittsburg, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Council Bluffs, and Kansas City. Thus civilization in America has followed the arteries made by geology, pouring an ever richer tide through them, until at last the slender paths of aboriginal intercourse have been broadened and interwoven into the complex mazes of modern commercial lines.¹

In a more recent publication the same distinguished author expands his thesis and uses these words:

Practically all of the Indian villages of the tributaries of the Great Lakes and of the upper Mississippi were regularly visited by the trader. The trading posts became the nuclei of later settlements; the traders' trails grew into the early roads, and their portages marked out the location for canals. Little by little the fur trade was undermining the Indian society and paving the way for the entrance of civilization.²

While conceding the full value and validity of the thesis as applied to that portion of the United States lying east of the Rocky Mountains, it is the purpose of this present paper to demonstrate that west of those mountains, in the Pacific Northwest, or the old Oregon country, the evolution of civilization did not follow the lines so successfully elaborated by Prof. Turner.

It should be stated at once that the quest for furs and the primitive trading posts have important places in the history of old Oregon, but

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¹ American Historical Association, Annual Report, 1893, p. 210. ² Frederick J. Turner, Rise of the New West (in "The American Nation, a History," ed. Hart, Vol. XIV), 113-114.

much of the charm of that history lies in the fact that it was not the trading posts that became the towns.

The area in question was first observed from the sea by the Spaniard, Bartolomé Ferrelo, in 1543, and by the English captain, Drake, in 1579, but civilized man did not touch foot on that soil until the famous landing by Bruno Heceta, in 1775. Fur traders and explorers of different nationalities skirted the shores from that date until the crucial year of 1792 saw the discovery and exploration of Puget Sound by the Englishman, Capt. George Vancouver, and the discovery and naming of the Columbia River by the American, Capt. Robert Gray. It was inevitable that fur trade in such a wilderness, participated in by representatives of different nations, should arouse international contentions. And it is certain that from Gray's discoveries, in 1792, the new Republic of the United States was destined to have an interest in the long-drawn battle of diplomacy.

France, though represented among the explorers, did not gain a foothold. Spain finally abandoned her little fort at Nootka in 1795 and withdrew south of the forty-second parallel. Russia, in a treaty with the United States in 1824 and in another with Great Britain in 1825, fixed the southern boundary of her claims at 54° 40′. It remained for Great Britain and the United States to determine which should acquire sovereignty in the area thus limited. Each nation recognized in the contention the three necessary fundamentals of discovery, exploration, and occupation.

The American cause, starting with Gray's discovery of the Columbia River in 1792, was strengthened by the explorations of the Lewis and Clark expedition in 1805-6, and by the Winships' attempt in 1809 and the Astorians' success in 1811 in planting a fort at the mouth of the great river. American possession of a large part of Oregon appeared secure up to this point, when suddenly all seemed abandoned or destroyed in the War of 1812. Astor's partners treacherously sold the fort to British rivals, representatives of the Northwest Co., and while the transfer was being made the British sloop of war Raccoon entered the river and anchored before the fort, the name of which was promptly changed from Astoria to Fort George.

During those same years the British cause was even stronger than the American, especially in the northern part of old Oregon. Vancouver's discovery and exploration of Puget Sound, Vancouver Island, and the adjacent shores, were followed by Mackenzie's overland exploration in 1793, a dozen years before the arrival of the Lewis and Clark expedition. From 1805 on the representatives of the Northwest Co. were planting trading posts on the Fraser, Okanogan, Spokane, and other rivers. The purchase of Astoria carried with it the three interior posts on tributaries of the Columbia, thus

erasing the last vestige of American occupation. The British fur traders were in complete possession.

But possession by fur traders did not carry with it British sovereignty. In fact, when the War of 1812 was terminated by the Treaty of Ghent, the antebellum condition as to territory was interpreted to include Astoria, probably because of the presence of the sloop of war at the time of the transfer. In October, 1818, an American agent, J. B. Prevost, arrived at the mouth of the Columbia, and this lone citizen, representing the American Government, saw the British flag lowered from Fort George and the Stars and Stripes raised in its place over Astoria. In a few days he left and the British fur traders resumed sway. At that time, and for more than a dozen years thereafter, there was not a single American citizen in Oregon to represent his country's supposed share in the sovereignty over any part of the region.

In that same month of October, 1818, when the American agent participated in the interesting ceremonies of temporarily restoring the Stars and Stripes at Astoria, there was concluded in London a treaty relating to boundaries in America. Article III of that treaty provided that any country claimed by either party on the northwest coast of America westward of the Stony Mountains should—

be free and open, for the term of 10 years from the date of the signature of the present convention, to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of the two powers; it being well understood that this agreement is not to be construed to the prejudice of any claim which either of the two high contracting parties may have to any part of said country, nor shall it be taken to affect the claims of any other power or State to any part of the said country; the only object of the high contracting parties in that respect being to prevent disputes and differences amongst themselves.¹

This was the famous treaty of joint occupancy, and as the 10-year period drew to a close in 1827 a special treaty was concluded at London extending indefinitely the joint occupancy feature, and adding the provision that either party could terminate that agreement by giving to the other party due notice of 12 months.²

It is worth while to note here how three great Americans were continued in contact with the diplomacy of this Oregon question. Three of the five American commissioners who concluded the treaty of peace at Ghent on December 24, 1814, were John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and Albert Gallatin. In 1818, when the treaty of joint occupancy was signed, Adams was Secretary of State, Clay was Speaker of the House, and Gallatin was minister to France, but was ordered to London to assist Richard Rush in making that treaty. In 1827,



¹Treaties and Conventions between the United States and other Powers, 1776-1887, 416-417.

^{*} Ibid., 426-427.

when the joint occupancy feature was renewed, Adams was President, Clay was Secretary of State, and Gallatin was minister to Great Britain. The interest of Adams in the question was certainly persistent, for his faithful diary shows that on March 25, 1843, he called on Secretary of State Daniel Webster after the conclusion of the Webster-Ashburton treaty, and had three hours of consultation in which Oregon was considered.¹

There is every reason why the British should have been perfectly complaisant in signing those two treaties of joint occupancy in 1818 and 1827, for in the region affected there was not one single American trader or settler, while there were many successful British trading posts. Bancroft cites a House of Commons report on the Hudson's Bay Co., dated 1857, locating 30 posts, nearly all of which were within the region under discussion, and many of them were in successful operation when the joint occupancy treaties were negotiated.2 The Northwest Co. and the Hudson's Bay Co. were united in 1821, and in 1825 headquarters were moved from Fort George to the newly established Fort Vancouver, which became the capital of the British fur traders' dominion over the vast area between Spanish territory on the south and Russian territory on the north, and between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean. A few American fur traders visited the Indians along the coasts, and a few even crossed the mountain barriers and attempted to get a portion of the trade by land routes, notably Jedediah S. Smith, in 1828, and Capt. B. L. E. Bonneville and Nathaniel J. Wyeth, from 1832 to 1836. Wyeth had the foresight to attempt the addition of fish packing to the industry of fur trading. But the Hudson's Bay Co., with its immense resources and its generations of trained officers and men, easily overcame such efforts at competition.

The development of the country was proceeding along the traditional lines of expanding the fur-trading posts into villages and towns. There is no doubt that, if that development had not been interrupted, the map of the Pacific Northwest would now show many examples of the evolution pointed out by Prof. Turner. As it is, but 4 of the 30 posts mentioned by the House of Commons report have continued as settlements of white men. These are Fort Vancouver, now the seat of Clark County, Wash; Fort Walla Walla, now Wallula, Wash.; Boise, now the capital of Idaho; and Victoria, now the capital of British Columbia; and Astoria, Oreg., which was not included in that list of 1857. The other posts have declined or disappeared, some of them being identified by interesting survivals of ruined log houses or blockhouse forts.



¹ Charles Francis Adams, Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, XI, 344-347.

² Hubert Howe Bancroft, Works, XXVII, 448.

There is no desire to minimize the great influence of the fur trade in extending the white man's civilization in wild territory. We are interested here in but one phase of that influence in a particular region. The present writer has said elsewhere:

As the ermine drew the Russian eastward to the Pacific, so the beaver drew the American westward to the same ocean. In that ocean were found furs much more valuable than the beaver. However, the deck of the vessel was the trading post, and profits were counted in Boston, London, or St. Petersburg. But the beaver was by no means to be despised.

For centuries the fur of the beaver had been highly prized and extensively used, especially for hats. In Chaucer's Canterbury Tales is the line—

On his head a Flaundrish bever hat,

and "hattes of biever" were recorded as early as the twelfth century.² A sudden and extensive change in the world-wide fashion of wearing beaver hats would certainly affect the trade in beaver skins and arrest the development of posts engaged in that trade into villages and cities. That kind of a change took place with the result indicated when the silk hat supplanted that of beaver. The silk hat was made in Florence late in the eighteenth century and was introduced into France about 1825, after which it speedily became the vogue. That this new fashion in hats had a profound effect on the theme before us is made apparent by two letters written by John Jacob Astor from Europe in 1830. One letter was to St. Louis withdrawing his partnership in a fur-trading company and the other was to a friend in New York saying:

I very much fear beaver will not sell well very soon unless very fine. It appears that they make hats of silk in place of beaver.*

The date of those letters and the practical prophecy they contain are both important.

It now remains to trace a change more potential and more farreaching than the one just indicated. During the decade from 1835 to 1845 there arose, in some way, between Great Britain and the United States an understanding that when the joint occupancy treaty should be finally interpreted on the fundamentals of discovery, exploration, and occupation, the quality of the occupation should govern. The trapper or fur trader would not count as against the actual settler or farmer; the trading post was not to be weighed in the same balance as the village of the true pioneer. We have a fine piece of evidence on this point from one whose words have a peculiar and pertinent authority. Dr. William Fraser Tolmie arrived at

¹ Meany, History of the State of Washington, 55-56.

^{*} Encyclopædia Britannica, article Hat.

^{*}H. M. Chittenden, History of the American Fur Trade, I, 364.

Fort George (Astoria) in 1833, to serve as Hudson's Bay Co. physician. He rose in rank until he was the company's chief representative on Puget Sound at the time of the settlement between Great Britain and the United States. He then removed to Victoria, British Columbia, where he lived the rest of his long life, an honored pioneer of the Pacific Northwest. After he had completed a half century of experiences on the coast, this loyal subject of Great Britain was invited by the president of the Oregon Pioneer Association to participate in the annual meeting of 1884 at Salem, which he did by sending a lengthy letter. In this letter he says:

Had they [Hudson's Bay Co.] promptly adopted my suggestion, in 1844, their flocks of sheep might have overspread the unoccupied prairies between Nisqually and Cowlitz ere the 15th of June, 1846, in which case their rights would have been confirmed to these lands by the treaty.

Here we have a British recognition of the fact that in 1844 sheep and potatoes would count for more than beaver and mink in the diplomacy of Oregon. Continuing, the Doctor's letter says:

But, in that time, there was a general British supineness, in retrospect strongly contrasting with the enlightened, thoughtful energy of the natural leaders of the American pioneers, and the intelligent readiness of all for self-government. * * * True, most part of the country sought for was lost, but it must be remembered that, between 1834 and 1846, the United Kingdom had—besides several fighting and other troubles in various parts of the world—great embarrassment in regard to Canada, during 1837–38 in a state of open rebellion. What seems more natural in such a case than that apathy as to further acquisition of territory in North America should have prevailed in British councils?

When the War of 1812 was declared the Oregon case may be said to have rested on an even basis as far as are concerned the claims of Great Britain and the United States. During the three decades following that war there was a perfect sequence of events that in an unusually fortunate, though now apparently natural, way worked to the advantage of the American cause. These were the recognition of the American claim to Astoria in the Treaty of Ghent, the joint occupancy treaties of 1818 and 1827, the purchase of Florida in 1819, which included a quitclaim deed to any Spanish claims that might remain in the Northwest,² the treaty with Russia in 1824, the injury to the beaver trade through the development of the silk hat, the Canadian rebellion of 1837, which created an apathy on the part of the British Government toward extending territory in America, and the success of the Hudson's Bay Co. in holding Oregon as a game preserve until the time was ripe for a race toward actual settlement.

Geography and geology contributed no small share to this solution. St. Louis was the metropolis of the western American fur trade.

*Treaties and Conventions, 1776-1887, 1016-1021.



¹ Transactions of the Twelfth Annual Reunion of the Oregon Pioneer Association for 1884. Salem. Oreg., 1885, pp. 25-37.

Between St. Louis and the barrier of the Rocky Mountains lay vast plains, part of which were known as the "Great American Desert." This double barrier checked the westward movement for a time, crucial for our theme, until conditions could mature for the great migrations between 1840 and 1860. That critical time is thus stated by Prof. F. G. Young:

The vanguard of the pioneers had reached the western limits of Iowa, Missouri, and Arkansas. Settlement of the plains beyond before the age of railroads was out of the question. The next move, then, must be, as it were, a flight to the Pacific coast, where communication with the civilized world would again be open by the sea.

To the northward, however, the system of rivers permitted the British fur traders to extend their chain of posts on into Oregon, giving them a kind of possession, which subsequently proved a hindrance rather than a help when it was concluded to consider the quality of occupation.

The first actual occupation by the Americans was made when the bands of missionaries sent by the Methodist Episcopal Church and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions from 1834 to 1844 planted in Oregon their missions and their homes. In 1842 and more especially in 1843 the regular stream of American immigration into Oregon began. The question of actual occupation was then taking on a meaning which the British fur traders were quick to discern. They had already allowed some of their retired servants to settle on farms, and in 1839 had begun a systematic development along this line through the agency of their subsidiary Puget Sound Agricultural Co. In 1841 they imported a number of British settlers from the Red River territory. Though abundantly successful in establishing trading posts and in ruling a wild territory from their stockaded forts, their efforts at establishing agricultural settlements or securing actual occupation were feeble indeed as compared with those of the onrushing trains of American immigants.

However, this last stage of the race for sovereignty was perfectly fair. The treaty of joint occupancy was still in effect. It was April, 1846, when the American Government gave Great Britain notice that that treaty would be abrogated at the end of the stipulated 12 months. Matters had come to such a pass at that time that, instead of waiting for the lapse of 12 months, the treaty fixing the boundary was concluded on June 15, 1846, less than 2 months from the date of the notice. A recent Canadian writer has gone so far as to say that had the joint occupancy continued another dozen years, until the Fraser River gold excitement of 1857–58, the Americans



¹ F. G. Young, ed., The Correspondence and Journals of Capt. Nathaniel J. Wyeth, in Sources of the History of Oregon, I, xili-xiv.

would have wrested what is now the Province of British Columbia from the British Crown.¹

Though the treaty of boundaries was concluded in 1846, a final adjustment between the United States and the Hudson's Bay Co. was not reached until September 10, 1869. During that score of years the stations were held by representatives of the Hudson's Bay Co., but the posts dwindled away in power and importance. At the last many of them became the homesteads of the British caretakers, who became American citizens to acquire title. The present writer has visited Nisqually, once the chief settlement of white men on Puget Sound, and on the homestead of Edward Huggins, the last Hudson's Bay clerk at the fort, found many ruins and relics of the old days. Likewise a visit to Colville, the old capital of the upper Columbia trade, disclosed the fact that the McDonald family maintained there a farm, using the old blockhouse fort for a henhouse.

The American settlers built for themselves fresh new towns, the nuclei being usually a sawmill, a water power, a mine, or a convenient crossroads in the farming districts. Many of the pioneers had to build forts and stockades to protect their homes from Indians, but the dramatic life of the fur trade had vanished before the dawn of the real era of town building in old Oregon.

¹ James White, "British Diplomacy and Canada," in University Magazine, VII (October, 1908), 398-414.

2. MORTON MATTHEW McCARVER, FRONTIER CITY BUILDER.

By EDMOND S. MEANY.

The westward movement in American history is well exemplified in the life of Morton Matthew McCarver, whose career deserves more attention than it has hitherto received. He was one of those keen, brave, mentally alert Kentuckians, whose deeds have enlivened and enriched so many pages of western annals.

His parents, Joseph McCarver and Betsey Morton McCarver, moved, in 1799, from the woods of southwestern North Carolina into the wilderness of Kentucky and settled in Madison County near the new town of Lexington. There on January 14, 1807, was born to them the son who received the name of Morton Matthew. The mother was a leader in the sect of Shakers, and as such maintained a rule of the home that became irksome to the restless boy who eagerly fed upon stories of the rivers and a farther west. At the age of 14 the lad left his home, and by that act became "dead" to his strict Shaker mother, who ever after refused to see him again. Like Lincoln, who was born in the same region two years later than he, this boy received his introduction to the great outside world by a flatboat trip down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. For a few years in Louisiana and Texas he acquired many rough experiences, the bitter lesson most thoroughly learned being that a poor white boy had small chance for advancement in that region at that time.

He returned to Kentucky, obtained employment and proceeded vigorously with his self-education. In 1829 he moved into the newer State of Illinois, and on May 6, 1830, married Mary Ann Jennings, of Monmouth. He moved about from place to place, worked and traded, accumulating experience and property. He desired to cross the Mississippi River and secure a foothold in the wild Indian lands of the western banks. He picked out a place on which to build a new town. The Black Hawk War broke out and young McCarver fought with the Illinois troops. He was present when Black Hawk's

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beaten tribe signed the treaty with Gen. Winfield Scott, by which the Indians gave up the lands that later became eastern Iowa.

The site that he wanted for a town was a rocky bluff which the Indians called Shokoquon and which the white men called Flint Hill. There were then associated with McCarver two kinsmen, Simpson S. White, who had married Mrs. McCarver's sister, and Amzi Doolittle, who had married Mr. White's sister. When the treaty was signed in 1832 these three men were the first to cross the river and take possession of that coveted hill. But the treaty had stipulated that the lands should not be opened to settlement until June 1, 1833. Soldiers came and drove the town builders away. They returned to the claim, and again the soldiers drove them off and burned their cabins. When the legal date arrived the three determined men crossed the river at daybreak, and this time they were not disturbed. They were joined by a Vermonter named John B. Gray, who urged the case so strongly that the town builders consented to call the new place Burlington, though for several years the local name of Flint Hill persisted, and, in fact, the post office was so called at first. A flat-bottomed ferryboat propelled by oars was maintained by McCarver and associates to give Burlington its first transportation facilities.

In September, 1834, McCarver, in the presence of citizens and soldiers at Montrose, read a proclamation by Gov. Stevens T. Mason, of Michigan Territory, declaring that the laws of the United States and of Michigan had been extended over the country in the "Black Hawk Purchase." Two years later, when Iowa had been transferred to the care of Wisconsin Territory, Congress enacted a law donating 640 acres for town purposes to each of the towns of Burlington, Fort Madison, Bellevue, Dubuque, Peru, and Mineral Point. McCarver, George Cubbage, and W. A. Corell were appointed commissioners to carry out the provisions of this law. McCarver devoted himself earnestly to this task, though the beneficent plan worked against the ready sale of his own town lots.

Iowa became a Territory in 1838, and on January 7, 1839, the first governor, Robert Lucas, as commander in chief of the Iowa military forces, issued an order appointing Morton M. McCarver to the position of commissary general. He took much interest in the office. The title of general clung to him through life. He saw active service in a similar office during Indian wars in Oregon. For a time McCarver prospered in Iowa. He did not confine himself to the expansion of his town of Burlington, but took part in the development of lead mines near Dubuque and traveled about the Territory. The widespread panic of 1837 seriously affected western interests. McCarver began to fear that Burlington could not hold its own in the race with such cities as Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis,

and New Orleans. The settlers of Iowa were spreading out into agricultural communities. He was hearing of a land of promise much farther to the westward. American missionaries had gone there and planted homes as well as missions. American settlers began to cross the plains for Oregon. It was highly desirable that settlers should go there. The joint occupancy treaty of 1827 was still in force between Great Britain and the United States. British fur traders were in possession, and some retired employees of the Hudson's Bay Co. had taken up homes. Prior to the arrival of the missionaries there were no American homes in Oregon, and now there was beginning the race toward a settlement of the sovereignty of that region by actual occupation by either British subjects or American citizens. To encourage American effort in this race, Senator Linn, of Missouri, was passing through Congress a law granting 640 acres to each family and 160 additional acres to each minor child.

Here was a combination of conditions that presented an irresistible lure to the venturesome spirit of Gen. McCarver. It was with difficulty that he resisted the temptation to join the migration of 1842 consisting of 111 persons, headed by Dr. Elijah White, Medorem Crawford, L. W. Hastings, A. L. Lovejov, and Columbia Lancaster. His ardor had no chance of being weakened during the succeeding 12 months, as there were agitations and public meetings in his neighborhood at which the Oregon question was discussed in all its phases. He joined the great Oregon caravan of 1843. There were nearly 1,000 persons in this migration. Peter H. Burnett, who later became the first governor of California, was made captain and Mc-Carver was one of the council of nine. This migration was one of the crucial events in American history on the Pacific coast. It gave the Americans a real standing in that region, it solved the main portion of the problem of the joint occupancy treaty, many men of the party took active parts in the struggling provisional government, and from that time there was no more of doubt as to whether Oregon could or would be peopled by actual settlers.

McCarver had joined the party without cattle or household impedimenta. True to his town-building instinct, he formed, on the trail, an agreement with Burnett, and when they had crossed the Rocky Mountains, he pushed on ahead of the party and selected a place for a town on the Willamette River. In honor of Missouri's Senator and Oregon's friend, he called the place Linnton. By the time his partner Burnett and the other immigrants arrived he was ready to expand and build up his new city. In this he failed. Oregon City, at the falls of the Willamette, in addition to the adjacent water power, was nearer the farming lands, and between Oregon City and Linnton, Portland arose and overshadowed both. McCarver after-

wards claimed that the real reason for his failure at Linnton was a lack of nails. They did not have enough of these useful articles for the commonest needs, and a new town on rush orders could not be built without nails.

He had left his family in Iowa, but he promptly sent for them. His letter, going by way of Hawaii, England, and the Atlantic States to Iowa, took 10 months in passage. His family, therefore, did not arrive until 1845. Finding his town venture unpromising he secured a farm and began work there with his characteristic energy. Retaining, however, his faith in the future commercial and industrial growth of the region, he acquired property in the new towns and was keenly alive to all development. It is worth noting that while crossing the mountains to Oregon he wrote that it would be perfectly feasible to construct a railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific, thus becoming one of the earliest prophets of a transcontinental railroad.

The first legislative committee chosen for the reorganized provisional government included the newly arrived McCarver, and, on assembling at Oregon City, on June 18, 1844, the committee elected him speaker. He must have felt much at home, for on July 5, 1843, the legislative committee's report had been approved by the people, adopting as the law of the land almost the entire body of laws enacted by the legislature of Iowa Territory in Burlington, at its first session in 1838–39. The McCarver committee enacted a number of wholesome measures, including a stringent prohibition law for the protection of the primitive settlement and a law prohibiting slavery. Ardent Kentuckian and Democrat as he was, McCarver gave earnest support to both these measures.

While apparently a plunger in business, McCarver was an honorable man. The panic of 1837 had left him with \$10,000 of debts in Iowa. These he paid with money acquired on the Pacific coast. He gave full credit to Dr. Marcus Whitman for that missionary's help in guiding the immigration of 1843. Though anxious to do all he could to strengthen the American claims to all of Oregon, he gave abundant praise to Dr. John McLoughlin and James Douglas, of the Hudson's Bay Co., for their many kindnesses to needy American immigrants. He was grievously disappointed when the treaty of 1846 gave the British part of old Oregon, but he at once became active toward securing congressional and executive action for the regular government of what was then American territory beyond further dispute.

While these questions were absorbing the attention of the pioneer legislators, there came the startling announcement that gold had been discovered in California. There was a stampede from Oregon, and McCarver was one of the first to go, hurrying, as was his invariable

custom, on horseback. He secured a claim on Feather River. Again he believed he could do better at town building. He entered into an agreement with the Sutters, father and son, to build a town on their land, and in the autumn of 1848 William H. Warner was hired to survey and plat the town, which they called Sacramento. All was going well when, to McCarver's great chagrin, he was supplanted by his old partner, Peter H. Burnett, in the management of the enterprise. He then bought some of the lots, became a landlord and merchant, and operated a schooner in trade with the bay. Sacramento. needing local government, elected 11 men to what was called a legislature. McCarver was one of these. When Gen. Rilev, the military governor, called for a convention to devise a plan for a Territorial government or adopt a State constitution, a meeting was held in Sacramento, over which Gen. McCarver presided. Gen. Riley's call was approved, and later McCarver was elected one of the delegates to the convention, which met at Monterey on September 1, 1849. He was one of the men who worked effectively toward framing that famous document so that California would be admitted a "free" and not a "slave" State.

A flood at Sacramento discouraged McCarver. He sold his interests, speculated awhile in San Francisco, became interested in schooners plying between Hawaiian and Pacific coast points, and then settled down as a farmer near Oregon City. He became a model agriculturist, originating three new varieties of apples and obtaining a medal as a special prize for the best display of fruits in the Agricultural and Horticultural Fair in San Francisco in 1853.

When the Methodist missionaries began to close some of their stations, they transferred the one at The Dalles to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (known as the Whitman Missions in Oregon). McCarver negotiated to secure possession of the site, intending to build a town there, but finding the title entangled, he abandoned the plan.

He participated in three Indian wars in Oregon, most of the time in his familiar, though arduous, work as commissary general. When the Fraser River gold excitement broke out in 1857 he hastened to the scene, but contented himself with buying a few lots in Victoria, British Columbia, which he subsequently sold at a profit.

In 1862 he joined another stampede to the newly discovered gold fields of Idaho. He organized the firm of McCarver, Clark & Townsend and did a thriving business in Bannock City, since called Idaho City. Crime was rampant in Idaho then. Hasty justice was sometimes meted out by committees of vigilantes. While sojourning in Auburn, Idaho, Gen. McCarver was called on to preside over one of these popular tribunals. Not long after this he left his business to

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the care of his two partners while he went to New York to sell stock in some quartz mines. The Civil War had just ended, business was disturbed, and he failed. While he was gone Idaho City was burned and McCarver returned to Portland.

His first wife had died in 1846, and in 1848 he had married Mrs. Julia A. Buckalew, a widow. Two children had survived their mother and to this second union had come five children. While always a generous provider, it would seem in all reason that he would now seek to give them a permanent home, but such was not to be. His family and friends were unable to restrain him when he became imbued with the idea that he could build a city on Puget Sound that would be all ready for the coming of the promised railroad.

Obtaining financial support from business friends in Portland, he saddled his horse and started alone for Puget Sound. This was late in March, 1868. He had studied all available maps, and by a singular foresight analyzed the problems of commerce by sea in contact with transportation by rail through adjacent mountain passes. He selected Commencement Bay, so named by the Wilkes expedition in 1841, and soon began to build there his last city. The place was at first known as Commencement City and sometimes as Puyallup, for a river of that name that flows into the bay. When McCarver heard that a book called "The Canoe and the Saddle," by Theodore Winthrop, contained the statement that the Indians had called the great snow-crowned mountain "Tacoma," he at once chose that as the name for his city. His letters of this period reveal a wonderful hope and energy. In platting the town he used the ideas obtained at Sacramento. He immediately urged and aided in the building of a sawmill. He explored and exploited the adjacent and tributary agricultural lands. He was one of the first discoverers of coal in that vicinity and frequently sought aid in bringing that product to market through his loved town. While speculation was rife as to what point the Northern Pacific Railroad Co. would select for its western terminus, he was confident that Tacoma would be chosen. He finally realized this hope in 1873, and he felt content that he had achieved the founding of a great city.

He had selected a cemetery for the new city, and his was the first adult body laid away there in a grave of his own choosing. The whole community mourned the death of the "Old General," who departed this life on April 17, 1875.

In one aspect of the westward movement Morton Matthew McCarver was but a fleck of foam on the great human wave that swept irresistibly over the plains and mountains from the Mississippi to the sea, but it must be acknowledged that that fleck of foam was frequently on the crest of the surging wave and was often first to splash itself on the inundated wilderness. He was a many-sided leader

whose far-seeing plans have aided thousands of American citizens, who cherish his memory with affectionate regard.

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Gen. McCarver's daughter Virginia became the wife of Thomas W. Prosch, whose home has been in Seattle for many years. The material for this paper has been derived from conversations with Mrs. Prosch and her daughters, Edith and Beatrice, who have been members of my history classes; from family records in this home, and especially from the little book privately published in Seattle in 1906 by Mr. Prosch, entitled "McCarver and Tacoma."

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XI. THE PLACE OF THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

By JULIUS GOEBEL,

Professor in the University of Illinois.

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THE PLACE OF THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

By Julius Goebel.

Permit me to preface this paper with a few remarks of a reminiscent nature, which may, perhaps, serve as the most suitable introduction to my subject.

It was in October, 1883, when the bicentenary of the founding of Germantown, the first permanent German settlement in America, was celebrated. I still have a vivid remembrance of the marvelous effect of this celebration upon my own historical thinking and that of German-Americans in general. Although traditions of previous generations of German colonists had never been wanting, the American-Germans suddenly discovered themselves in the line of a historical development of their nationality upon American soil, the beginnings of which coincided with the founding of the present State of Pennsylvania, the very colony that had first proclaimed the principle of religious freedom.

A few weeks after the Germantown celebration the five hundredth birthday of Luther, the champion of liberty of thought and conscience, was commemorated, adding depth to the widening of the psychological horizon, produced by the former event. For who could have failed to recognize the causal relation between Luther's great deed and the planting of Penn's colony, the prototype of all the modern polities in which liberty of thought and conscience, originally unknown to the New England theocracy, is the animating soul? Indeed, the little band of modest German colonists who shared as faithful helpers in Penn's immortal creation, and who, moreover, filled with the true spirit of liberty, uttered the first protest against slavery in America, thus appeared among the first representatives of historical ideas which have since revolutionized all modern States.

The remarkable awakening of interest among German-Americans in the history of their American past, which I have briefly described, was due chiefly to the labors of the late Prof. Seidensticker. His papers on the early history of the Germans in Pennsylvania, pub-

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lished during the seventies, may still be considered as unsurpassed models of scholarly accuracy and thoroughness, behind which there can be felt the pulse of a strong patriotic feeling that easily communicates itself to the reader. And this feeling, I may say here at the outset, has a tone and a ring so peculiarly its own that its characteristic quality may escape the ear of the American as easily as it is generally misunderstood by the occasional visitor from Germany. While its keynote is an ardent American patriotism, it is mingled at the same time with the strains of an equally fervent love for the ideal cultural heritage from the Fatherland and with proud sounds reverberating the consciousness of racial achievements. Despite the denunciation hurled against the hyphenated American by one of our famous public men in the days of his youth—he has learned better now—there is such a thing as a distinct German-American spirit.

It was soon remembered that Prof. Seidensticker's historical work had been preceded by the researches of other men, scholars and antiquarians, in various periods of German-American history. As early as 1847 Franz Löher, the historian, during his visit to the United States had made the bold attempt to write a history of the Germans in America based on the limited source material then available. It is worth mentioning that he undertook the attempt because as an historian he keenly felt even at that time the gap caused by the failure to do justice to the German population in American histories of that time.

Twenty years later Friedrich Kapp, perhaps the most distinguished of the refugees of 1848, following a suggestion of J. R. Brodhead, wrote his history of the Germans in the State of New York.² Though the author is somewhat prejudiced with regard to the causes of the great Palatine immigration of 1710, his book is, nevertheless, "one of the best social historical studies of which our literature can boast," as Prof. Osgood says in Larned's Literature of American History.³

No less a contribution to the history of the German element in America was Gustav Körner's book on the Immigration of the Period between 1818 and 1848, published in 1879. Written by an eyewitness, and the most distinguished figure among the German-Americans of his generation, his work was justly called by Friedrich Kapp, in a lenghty review in the Deutsche Rundschau (1881), "a storehouse of facts, equally valuable to the historian, the political economist, and the novelist."

Another storehouse of historical facts from which recent writers on German-American history have taken almost all their material is

* Page 95.



¹ For articles by Seidensticker, see Griffin, Bibliography of American Historical Societies (Am. Hist. Assoc. report, 1905, II), index.

^{*} Friedrich Kapp, Geschichte der Deutschen im Staate New York, New York, 1867.

the periodical Der Deutsche Pionier, published under great difficulties and with great personal sacrifices by H. A. Rattermann, the veteran historian and antiquarian.¹

Although the books I have mentioned covered only certain periods or episodes of German-American history, they nevertheless pointed to a strong historical continuity of a nationality held together by the bonds of a highly developed civilization, such as language, customs, religious and ethical ideas; bonds, moreover, that were strengthened continuously by the perpetual influx of immigration, contributing from 30 to 40 per cent to the present population of the United States. And it was but natural that the cultural ties uniting them were felt so strongly by German-Americans, for the great majority of them had emigrated from the fatherland when the latter was still what E. Meinicke calls a "culture state"—that is, lacking the political and constitutional organization which came only with the unification of Germany in 1870.

As a matter of course the question suggests itself: To what extent has American historiography recognized this powerful ethnic element which to-day constitutes at least one-third of our population, which has participated so conspicuously in the founding and upbuilding of the American commonwealth and which, while thoroughly American in spirit, still presents a cultural unity that makes itself felt in our national life? I am not asking this question in order to see exploited in our histories the special virtues of the German immigrant. I am asking it for the sake of American historiography, which, in my opinion, has, strange to say, almost utterly failed to perceive one of the most vital problems which the history of our Nation presents to the historical student. The very fact that in a decade or two societies have sprung up among us which have for their object the investigation of the history of particular races points to serious errors in the traditional conception and method of our science of history. Instinctively or consciously, it was felt in those quarters that our American histories were concerned really with only a section of the Nation that they mistook for the whole; that they were operating with a fictitious type of man, whom they called the American; that, in short, they were far from the truth of historic reality. Instead of frowning upon these criticisms as being untrue or even un-American, as some historians have done, we had better ask to what extent they are justified. Besides, have not my children the same right as the offspring of the Puritan or of the Hollander to find recorded in our histories what their forefathers did for our country?

Since the social historical reality which the historian desires to comprehend is, in the last analysis, composed of individuals, it can



¹ Cincinnati, 1869-1887 (18 vols.).

be easily understood how a certain preconceived type of man may steal between the student and his historical sources. To the writer of the history of a people, presenting a racial unity, this may be of the greatest advantage; to the historian of a composite nation such as ours it means misapprehension, if not failure. Not only will he mistake the anthropological and psychological qualities of his preconceived sectional type, say the "Puritan," or the "Cavalier," for the national type, but he will also substitute the sectional form of certain ideals of life, the forms of intellectual and moral civilization, in fact even the outward forms of customs and habits, developed by his fictitious type, for the general national type of American civilization.

This is, in my opinion, the most fundamental and serious mistake of American historiography, not only because it is the result of one of those fallacious abstractions against which the historian, more than any other scholar, must be on his guard, but also because it assumes the existence of a unity of national culture, definitely shaped and distinctly pronounced, which has no correspondence in the reality. We are a national unity with regard to our political institutions and the constitutional forms of our Government; we have developed also certain national ideals, but, as a nation, in the highest sense of the word, we are still in the process of formation. What really constitutes a nation in the highest sense of the word is not its political or social organizations which furnish the mere body, but the animating soul of a higher culture, the creation of original imperishable values in the highest spheres of human activity. It is this higher national culture which is still in the process of formation, and it is at this point that in my opinion the study of the ethnic elements out of which this composite nation is built should enter. Among nations which are racial units, such as the Greeks or the Germans, the formation of a higher culture may be described as the unconscious unfolding of their very soul, the documents of which we possess in their literature, their art, their music, their philosophy, and their scientific efforts. With a composite nation such as ours the same process of creating a higher national culture is to a large extent a conscious one, dirigible in a certain way, and, therefore, depending for its success on the quality of our intellectual leaders and their ideals.

Viewed in this light, the task set before the American historian, difficult as it is, can not be imagined more fascinating and inspiring. And how little has been done toward the solution of the multitude of problems which it suggests. True, we have political and constitutional histories of the United States; we have also tried the sociological and evolutional fad of writing history, and we have even attempted to see in our history the realization of metaphysical phan-

toms, such as a divine plan or certain philosophical ideas of the Hegel type. But we scarcely have the beginnings of a history of American civilization; in fact we have not even coined a term which would correspond fully to the German "Kulturgeschichte." Nor has the ethnic problem thus far received any other but superficial attention. The only history which considers the coming of almost a quarter of a million Germans during the eighteenth century worth more than a passing notice heads the chapter in question, "The coming of the foreigners," and tries to justify the title by the usage of the term foreigner for European immigrants during the eighteenth century.

Aside from the fact that it illustrates the sectionalism of our historiography to describe the beginnings of a constituent part of the American Nation in this manner, the question may well be asked: What is a "foreigner"? Has not every element of our composite Nation once been a "foreigner" in this country? Moreover, no attempt is made in the chapter to which I allude to penetrate into the final causes which brought the Anglo-Saxons and the Germans together for the purpose of shaping jointly the destinies of a new world after a separation of more than a thousand years. For these causes were not merely economic and political. Behind them stands the gigantic intellectual and spiritual movement emanating from Germany during the early part of the sixteenth century. These convulsions created a feeling of brotherhood and solidarity among the champions of the new ideas in the various countries of Europe, which we of to-day seldom realize. The shelter and protection which Germany, and afterwards Holland, then a part of Germany, gave the Puritans and other English separatists was not forgotten by England when, a century later, she invited the suffering German Protestants to her American colonies. Nor had it been forgotten then that Germany was after all the fatherland of the new ideas. Owing to the bonds of racial kinship uniting the purely English stock and the German element of this country, owing, moreover, to the numerous spiritual and intellectual relations existing between these two numerically equal elements, the ethnic problem presented by the German element resolves itself essentially into the question concerning the relative value and merit of the contributions of these elements to the higher civilization of our country.

The historic analogy of the settlement of large Germanic tribes such as the Franks, the Goths, the Langobards, and others among the Gauls and Latin races will, therefore, apply to our question only to a certain degree. We may, however, learn from the history of these settlements the biological fact that race mingling does not mean race chaos, or a new mongrel type, as some people innocently suppose, but that the admixture of races follows the strict laws of heredity, fre-

quently showing the continuity of the original types of the various races. And what is true of the physiology of race admixture is true no less of the survival and continuity of the original traits of character and intellect. Since all historical knowledge is based on anthropology and psychology, the method of handling the ethnic problem seems clearly defined from the outset.

In order to establish as exactly as possible the contributions to American civilization made by the various German settlements from the time of their first appearance on this continent it will be necessary to make a careful study of the cultural status of the various generations of German immigrants. This will imply not only an intimate acquaintance with the history of German civilization and a knowledge of the spirit and characteristic traits of the German national character as revealed in its literature, its art, and science, but also an investigation into the various causes of immigration. A comparison of the results gained by these investigations with the result obtained from a similar study of the cultural conditions of other settlements, such as the English, the Scotch, the Dutch, and the Irish, will be of the greatest help in determining the relative value of the cultural possessions of these ethnic elements at the time of their arrival. I venture to assert on the basis of documents in my possession, that owing to the superior school system of Protestant Germany during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the educational standard among the German separatists of Pennsylvania was as high, if not higher, than that among the English separatists of this period. Much of the reckless sentimental embellishing in which some of our historians indulge when speaking of colonial conditions must, I am afraid, be abandoned in the face of historical truth.

We have thus far only the beginnings of exact researches into the geographical distribution of the German element in this country. This question is fundamental and one of the first requiring an answer, because on it the solution of numerous other problems is dependent; above all the solution of the problem of the psychic changes which the colonists undergo in their new surroundings. Some writers, like Ratzel and others, assert that these changes are due chiefly to the changes of locality, landscape, etc. While there may be some truth in this, the real causes must be sought deeper. Only those who have experienced what it means to exchange the surroundings of a highly developed civilization for the less advanced or primitive cultural environment of a new country will understand fully the psychic processes in question. Despondency, homesickness, and a general lowering of all the higher aspirations and ideals seem the inevitable result until the psychic transformation has taken place, from which the energetic personality emerges with a resolution to create a new world of his own out of the new surroundings. A

careful study of German-American poetry with its deeply touching strains of homesickness will throw much light on the process I have in mind. And it is from this point that the efforts of the German-Americans to preserve their language, their love of music, their customs, in fact the best of their cultural heritage, must be viewed. In the preservation and cultivation of these ideal values, in the contribution of his artistic, his ethical, his religious, his philosophic ideals—in fact of his whole conception of life—to the future higher civilization of America, the German-American has seen and does see his mission.

Are not these efforts, their history and their achievements worthy of the most careful attention of the American historian, of the historian who looks upon the development of a higher national culture as the central idea of American historiography of the future? To consider our present forms of civilization as permanently given factors that should not be changed or disturbed would be mediæval thinking and contrary to the progressive spirit of American life. If the drama of history has any sense at all it is to be found in the seeking for and in the unfolding of our true being, whether individual or national. Or as Goethe puts it:

"Im Weiterschreiten find' er Qual und Glück, Er, unbefriedigt jeden Augenblick."

The process of the development of our higher civilization will, as far as the German is concerned, be one of amalgamation rather than of assimilation.

When I published, 25 years ago, my little book on the future of the German element in America, one of Germany's greatest scholars and true national prophets wrote me:

I consider it more than probable that during the coming century the best of the German spirit and the best of the American spirit will unite to bring forth a new world in the higher spheres of human life, for the realization of which we Germans have furnished in modern times perhaps more and better champions than any other nation.

May this meeting be the first step toward the realization of this prophecy.

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XII. THE DUTCH ELEMENT IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

By H. T. COLENBRANDER,

Secretary of the Commission of Advice of the Netherlands for National Historical Publications.

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THE DUTCH ELEMENT IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

By H. T. COLENBRANDER.

Jealous as I may be upon the point of my little country's honor, much has been written about Dutch influence in American history to which I do not feel at liberty to subscribe. Though not very well known perhaps in professional circles it can not be denied that Douglas Campbell's book has been widely read, that it has inspired many second-hand authors, and that it is still a factor to be reckoned with. In my opinion, it has been useful in combating the great error of considering American history principally as a kind of prolongation of English history, but it has propagated a great many new errors as well.

It would be impossible, and of course even Douglas Campbell does not even try to proclaim Holland the mother of the great American nation as far as blood is concerned, but he proclaims her America's mother in spirit. He does so in two large volumes, mainly filled up with imprecations against everything English and praise of everything Dutch, in which argument holds only a very small place. The argument, as far as it goes, runs as follows:

Look, says the author, at England and at America in their present state. The corner stone of the political institutions of America is the principle laid down in the Declaration of Independence: "All men are created equal." Now look at England. "No one could persuade the Queen of England and Empress of India that any of her subjects is by birth her equal. Coming down the list to the pettiest baronet, the same feeling exists * * *." In ascending from the foundation to the superstructure, you will find no less difference. The Union and its composite States have written constitutions, fixing the limits of the executive, legislative, and judicial powers. England's "so-called constitution is a thing of tradition, sentiment, theory, abstraction, anything except organic, supreme, settled law." In the social structure, the difference is not less evident. In England half of the soil is owned by 150 persons, in Scotland by 75, in Ireland by 35; all

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¹ Douglas Campbell, The Puritan in England, Holland, and America, 2 vols., New York, 1892.

over the United Kingdom four-fifths of the soil is in possession of no more than 7,000 individuals. In America the census of 1880 showed that out of 4,000,000 farms only 25,000 had more than 1,000 acres, and that three-fourths of the whole number were worked by the proprietors themselves. Free schools? In America they flourish as nowhere else on earth; in England the public instruction, only a short time ago, was monopolized by the church. This proves the absolute impossibility of America's having derived its free-school system from England. Local self-government? "Ask the average Englishman to explain how local affairs are managed in England, and he will look at you with wonder. * * * Of local self-government by the people themselves almost nothing exists except in the cities and larger towns." In America vou have everywhere, one above each other, the self-governing township, the self-governing county, the self-governing State, a system perfectly clear and popular, the authority at every degree being derived directly from the inhabitants. Equality of religious denominations before the law? In England the emancipation of Unitarians dates from the year 1813 only, that of the Catholics from 1829, that of the Jews from 1858, while the test remained in use at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge till the vear 1871. In America a perfect equality was established a century earlier, if not more. Popular elections? In England the written ballot has been in use since the year 1872 only, America having set the example centuries before.

From these facts the author draws the consequence that England is in nowise the mother country of the American Union. America has been made by Holland, in part directly (in New Netherland), in part indirectly, through the medium of the Pilgrims, who had resided 12 years in Holland before settling New England. In the beginning of the seventeenth century Holland, not England, was the leading representative of Puritanism in Europe, and England, as far as it was Puritan, had been formed by Dutch influence. origin of American institutions should be sought in Holland. Union of Utrecht is the prototype of the Federal Constitution of America; the local and provincial self-government in Holland the prototype of American self-government in township, county, and State; Dutch religious toleration the prototype of American toleration. "To trace the origin of these institutions is to tell the story of Puritanism in the Netherlands; to show how they came to America is to tell the story of the English Puritan." There you have the title as well as the tendency of the book: The Puritan in Holland, England, and America; an introduction to American History. The emphasis is laid on Holland, the humble origin, and on America, the glorious result of the Puritan movement, the English Puritan only having served as the connecting link between these two.

Having thus given a fair amount of attention to Douglas Campbell's book, it will be unnecessary to speak of the second-hand writings that have disseminated his views abroad in a popular fashion. It is only just to acknowledge that the books I allude to speak of my country with much kindness, even tenderness, somewhat in the tone one uses for children and pet dogs. But we don't care to be anybody's pet dog, and to civility, prefer truth.

The capital fault of Douglas Campbell's construction seems to me to reside in the absolutely arbitrary use he makes of the word Puritan. Puritanism as a historical phenomenon has until now been generally understood to be essentially English. Whoever ventures to assert that England got its Puritanism from Holland will have to prove that the characteristics of English Puritanism as everybody knows them have presented themselves at an earlier date and even more strongly in Holland. To any Dutchman who knows the character and history of his own people this proof will appear very difficult, if not impossible. Dutch society of the beginning of the seventeenth century was anything but Puritan; it was hardly a Calvinistic society, and Calvinistic only in a lenient, peculiarly Dutch sense of the word. In a Dutch play of the time, an elderly woman friend is advising a young profligate to take to marriage, and details to him the advantages of several Amsterdam girls of their acquaintance. The youngster answers with different remarks on the candidates, but one is peremptorily rejected by him, because (he says)—

She is a Puritan,
As if she had fled from England for religion's sake.

In truth, the characteristics of English Puritanism have not been utterly unknown in Holland, but they have appeared at a relatively late period, have been limited to a small minority amongst the numbers of Dutch Protestants, and have been generally felt and spoken of by contemporaries as an exception, as something contrary to the character of the nation.

Of course I do not in the least deny that in Elizabethan times the Dutch were ahead of the English in almost every respect except in literature, and that colonies of Dutch refugees in London and Norwich greatly influenced the development of English industry and propagated, by the simple fact of their presence, religious ideas inconsistent with Anglicanism. But the manner in which a part of the English nation appropriated these ideas and developed them into something quite different from continental Calvinism belongs to England and to England alone.

It is true that the Pilgrim Fathers of 1620 had lived 10 years in Holland as refugees. That they ever really felt at home in the country which, in Douglas Campbell's views, must have appeared to them

to be the focus of Puritanism, is not proved by anything; their eagerness to leave it at the first opportunity is surely strong proof to the contrary. Now fancy these men, left to themselves at last, free to build their own home and to worship their own God on a virgin soil; do you think it likely that they would have copied the institutions of a country where they had been treated as strangers and which they had been only too happy to leave? It would be a psychological enigma. But why put questions like these? The institutions of New Plymouth are well known, even to the minutest details; so are the institutions of the Dutch cities the Pilgrim Fathers had lived in—Amsterdam and Leyden. I am curious to see produced a single instance of manifest imitation of what they had had before their eyes in either of these two cities; for my part I must confess to have found none.

The total number of Pilgrims on the Mayflower was 102 men, women, and children. Nearly half of them died on the voyage or immediately after their arrival. This has been the only immigration to New England that departed from Holland; the thousands that came over in later years all came from England directly, and for the most part they did not settle at New Plymouth, but formed new settlements entirely independent of New Plymouth, so that their institutions can not have been influenced by those of the elder sister. Nevertheless the institutions of New Plymouth and those of the later settlements are in all essentials the same and developed on essentially the same lines. The natural explanation is that the several colonists, whether they had embarked at Delfshaven or from an English seaport, brought with them the same recollections, had the same religious and political program, and tried to carry it out under the same outward circumstances.

This simple truth saps the foundation of Douglas Campbell's theory. The abode of the small party of refugees in Holland was an incident and nothing more.

The elaboration of Douglas Campbell's theory does not stand the test much better than does its basis. The origin of the American written ballot, for instance, he places at Emden, not a Dutch but nearly a Dutch town, and in the last half of the sixteenth century one of the strongholds of Calvinism. By some chance he had collected many particulars about the way in which the election of the magistrates had been regulated in this town in the year 1595. If he had searched a little bit further, he would have found that the written ballot, or what in his argument, which opposes secret to oral vote, amounts to the same, the ballot by beans, was, in the towns of northern Germany, Holland, and England, by no means an exception. As far as regards English towns, this has been put beyond any doubt

by Charles Gross in an article in the American Historical Review.¹ Douglas Campbell connects two totally different things, the nomination of town magistrates and the vote for the English House of Commons.

The Union of Utrecht, for the sake of his argument, is elevated to the rank of "a written constitution, pure and simple," and by "constitution" he understands, as we have seen, an instrument presenting the advantages of "organic, supreme, settled law" above "tradition and sentiment." Now, everybody who has the slightest knowledge of Dutch constitutional history knows very well that the Union of Utrecht was no constitution at all, but a confederation of sovereign States for the purposes of war. The general government of the Dutch provinces, as far as it has come into being, was not modeled upon the articles of the Union of Utrecht, but was simply the modified general government of the Burgundian period.

Is the principle "all men are created equal" expressed anywhere in Dutch political literature of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries? Can the fact that the large estates of England do not occur in America be the consequence of imitation of things in Holland (where large estates, though on a smaller scale than in England, are by no means an exception), or is it the natural outcome of circumstances peculiar to America itself? Is not the common school a natural phenomenon in every Calvinistic community, where everyone is expected to read his Bible? Are the townships of New England anything else than the natural product of the circumstances under which a homogeneous group of men disembarked on a virgin coast, with full liberty to shape their own local government? Douglas Campbell points to the absence of squire and clergyman as a remarkable fact. I wonder where they could have taken the squire and clergyman from, even if they would have liked to have them? Ridiculous, perhaps, above all is the idea of Dutch toleration being brought to America by the English Puritans—the English Puritans, who in Massachusetts hanged the Quakers, when they got hold of them, without mercv!

If we must disclaim the honor of having influenced American history through the medium of the settlers of New England, what of the claim derived from our settling New Netherland?

As far as numbers go, the Dutch in America were in a very decided minority. When New Netherland changed its allegiance, it had a population of 10,000 souls (a few thousand of the number being Englishmen), whereas New England, Virginia, and Maryland together had already an English population of 100,000.

¹Charles Gross, The Early History of the Ballot in England, Am. Hist. Rev., III, 456-468.

But this is not all. It is impossible to deny that the characteristics which have become typical of the political and social life of America have for the most part produced themselves at an earlier date and in a higher degree in the English colonies than in New Netherland.

The view of Douglas Campbell was not shared by the people of New Amsterdam themselves, when they complained in 1649 to the States-General, asking for the same civil rights that were enjoyed by their neighbors in New England, where, as they expressed it, the word "patroon," "lord," or "prince" is not heard, and "the people" is all in all.

New England was settled by men who came over to realize a religious and political ideal; New Netherland was a post of Amsterdam fur dealers. Agriculture developed rapidly in New England, as the natural means of subsistence for colonists on a remote, virgin soil; in New Netherland it remained at a low mark, not because the soil was less fertile, but because men willing and able to till the soil did not come over from Holland in sufficient numbers. The West India Company could not be expected to care for the future of a not yet existing America; it cared for the interests of its shareholders in Holland and for nothing else. What the company wanted was cargoes of beaver skins, and only such agricultural products as were necessary for its own little trading station and for the crews of its ships. After it had become clear that even the small number of peasants needed to produce this limited supply did not emigrate by their own choice, the company tried the patroon system. Of all the patroonships, however, only that of Kiliaen van Rensselaer proved a success. mediately the company suspected its own creation; an independent civil society in New Netherland would endanger its monopoly. Individually, the Dutchmen of that period were in no wise inferior to the English, but the very conditions of their presence on the American soil put them, as builders of a nation, at a great disadvantage when compared with their competitors. The Dutch community would have had a future only if it could have thrown off the company's voke and directed its own business in accordance with its own interests. But to try anything of the kind the colonists were far too few; the company, bankrupt as it might appear in Holland, was still strong enough to man a fort and maintain artillery, and it meant to the inhabitants of New Netherland the only means of communication with Europe; it was vital to the life of the colony. As long as the company stood well with the home Government all thoughts of rebellion were perfectly idle.

Thus New Netherland, as long as it existed, remained a curious, anemic middle thing between a mere possession and a real colony. Only a large and free immigration from Holland could have made it

a real colony. The home Government was not absolutely blind to the shortcomings of the West India Company: the granting of municipal government to New Amsterdam, in consequence of the complaint of 1649, gives a fairly strong proof of it. But the question of promoting free emigration on an extended scale did not arise; it could not arise, because a real rush for settlement on foreign coasts was utterly unthinkable in the Holland of the seventeenth century. Why have others settled in America? For the sake of religion, like the Puritans of Massachusetts, the Catholics of Maryland, or the Dutch Separatists, who went to Michigan in the forties of the last century; because they were driven out of their own country by force, like the Huguenots; because they had been robbed of everything, like the people of the Palatinate after the devastations of Louvois: to escape from injustice and damage, like the Ulstermen; to better their conditions of life, like the German immigrants of the eighteenth century, and the Irish, Germans, Hebrews, and many others of the nineteenth century and of to-day. Which out of these various motives could possibly operate in the Holland of the seventeenth century. Even the few score colonists sent out by the Amsterdam patroons could not be got together without enlisting foreigners from everywhere. Rensselaer, under special circumstances, had not been able to impress a relatively large number of peasants from his own possessions and those of his family in Guelderland, his colony would in all probability have shared the fate of the others.

It is impossible to settle a real colony without the spontaneous help of the people, or at least of part of the people, of the mother country itself. The Dutchmen of the seventeenth century went everywhere—but for trade, not settlement. They went for gain; they often got it, but they had no reason to spend their earnings elsewhere than in what seemed to them a country favored above all others. Holland then was a land where hands were insufficient to grasp the opportunities that offered themselves; it had no colonists to spare.

If we have found the story of Dutch influence in the making of America, as told by Douglas Campbell and his followers, devoid of foundation, must we conclude that such an influence did not exist at all? By no means. Though at the moment of its overthrow the Dutch colony was still in its infancy, it was nevertheless of much consequence that a place like the mouth of the Hudson River had been occupied by such a people as the Dutch. It is not true that the American Republic is the daughter of the Dutch Republic, for it is not the daughter of any single European state, but it may at least be safely said that New York is the offspring of Amsterdam.

It is very remarkable that at the moment of its overthrow the colony of New Netherland had already lost much more of its original Dutch character than had the town of New Amsterdam. On the ter-

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ritory claimed by the West India Company the English had trespassed from different parts. Not by armed expeditions, but little by little, in the natural course of their agricultural expansion. Thus on the banks of the Connecticut, where once a little Dutch fort had pretended to express the allegiance of all the land around, the fort was left to itself, but all about it the English had laid out their farms, and the result was a new English colony. On Long Island towns like Flushing or Hempstead, originally named by the Dutch, had had for years an entirely English population. But New Amsterdam remained comparatively intact. The tongues of nearly every European nation were heard in the place, thus increasing its resemblance to old Amsterdam. There, as here, by hospitality to strangers the Dutch character was not in the least impaired.

New Amsterdam had been founded on a spot favored by nature. Compared with its large hinterland, which unfolds itself in the form of a fan, New England is only a narrow strip of land along the coast. It is closed toward the west by the same ridge of mountains that is split by the Hudson before it reaches the sea. Thus, for communicating with the inland, New Amsterdam had better opportunities than any New England seaport. Secondly, New Amsterdam lay halfway between New England and Virginia, two countries so widely different in products that an intercolonial traffic was the natural consequence, a traffic which as naturally took the sea route and in which New Amsterdam was the go-between. The passages from its harbor, both to the north and to the south, were easy, and the harbor itself had a splendid natural protection. A third circumstance to be noticed is that the Dutch West India Company provided by far the most regular and adequate shipping facilities to Europe that were to be had on the American coast. In spite of Cromwell's act of navigation a considerable part of the imports and exports of Virginia, and especially of New England, took their way through New Amsterdam.

The three colonies—Virginia, New Netherland, and New England—formed in many respects an economic whole long before they were subjects of one and the same crown. This was so true that the war between England and Holland from 1652 to 1654 was entirely disregarded in America. No squadrons from Europe brought it over to this side, and the colonies themselves did not attack each other and did not stop for a moment their common intercourse. The attack of 1664 was the deed, not of New England, but of the British Government. It is very true that the New Englanders regarded the Dutch of New Amsterdam as intruders, but they would have been content with outnumbering them, little by little, in the great province which the latter claimed, but could not people. And this was the very process which in the years just before the fall of New Amsterdam was in full operation and likely to continue.

The economic part played by New Amsterdam in consequence of its location and surroundings determined the business and character of its inhabitants. It was a town of shipowners and ship agents, of sailors and innkeepers, of exchange and intercourse, of fluctuation in market prices, and of eagerness for news of every description. All this on a very small scale indeed, but as determining the interests and habits of the place it was nevertheless decisive. New Amsterdam as early as 1664 had a physiognomy and a mentality altogether different from those of any New England town. It was already the most worldly, the most cosmopolitan place in all North America, and so it is to-day.

Destined by nature to play so important a part in the history of the American Continent, the place had the good fortune to be settled by the people perhaps the best fitted to aid it in playing that part. Had it been possible (as we have shown it was not) to send out Dutchmen by thousands instead of by parties of 20 or 30, it may be asked whether the Dutch element, so much more advantageously situated than the people of New England, might not have had a fair chance of taking the leadership in American history. As things have turned out, however, it is only just to say it has no such claim. New Netherland was soon a lost cause. At least New Amsterdam remained, not impaired in its real character by the change of its old name into that of New York. The Dutch element, abandoning forever the hope of dominating America, has been conspicuous in serving it. As widely different from the stiff puritanism of New England as from the feudal characteristics of Virginian society, it has been a mediator between the two. It has not so much a motor as a regulating force. In great national concerns it seldom provides the motto, but the side on which New York throws itself has a fair chance to be victorious.

The Dutch of the seventeenth century were good Europeans; the Dutchmen of New York are not less good Americans. In his attractive, well-written book, The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America, John Fiske concludes with the following judgment:

In the cosmopolitanism which showed itself so early in New Amsterdam and has ever since been fully maintained, there was added to American national life the variety, the flexibility, the generous breadth of view, the spirit of compromise and conciliation needful to save the nation from rigid provincialism. Among the circumstances which prepared the way for a rich and varied American nation, the preliminary settlement of the geographical center by Dutchmen was certainly one of the most fortunate.

A conclusion with which even the most scrupulous Dutchman of to-day will readily agree without giving up his right of waiving compliments he can not in good conscience admit to be due to him. To occupy forever, by our settlement of New Amsterdam, a central place in American history, is a great and sufficient honor.

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XIII. THE DUTCH ELEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

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THE DUTCH ELEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

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Statistics of the numbers of persons embarking at Queenstown or Messina on vessels bound for New York or other American seaports would show, with a fair degree of accuracy, the numerical contribution of Ireland or Sicily toward the United States population. No parallel deduction can be drawn as regards the individuals sailing westward from the Texel, Amsterdam, or Rotterdam. From the beginning of these trans-Atlantic voyages a Dutch flag at the masthead was no criterion that the outward-bound passengers over whom it floated came from any section of the United Netherlands. It was long before the name of the discoverer of the Hudson River was divested of the Dutch guise, and the same hidden unconscious influence that turned "Henry" into "Hendrick" because his enterprising little Half Moon was built of Dutch timber, carried Dutch colors, and was financed by Dutch capital, has affected succeeding groups of home seekers coming hither on the long line of Holland-American shipping from 1623 to 1909, or at least down to the issue of our latest official emigration reports. The true lineage of many of these immigrants, early and late alike, certainly had its roots in other soil than Dutch. It is therefore a remarkable fact that, in spite of the small number of the veritable Dutch among the early colonists, their influence has determined the character of the colony and has set the aristocratic standard for New York.

Past and present together, what proportion of Dutch blood can accurately be estimated as existing among the millions of Americans? Their beginnings in the Dutch-American possessions have not even yet been perfectly deciphered, although we are now well on the road to knowledge of what can and what can not be known. The difference between accessible material pertaining to this period in 1909 and in 1896 is certainly encouraging. When the "Half Moon Papers" were in progress (1896–1898) under the auspices of the infant New York City History Club, the editors became appalled

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¹City History Club of New York City, Historic New York: Half Moon Papers, Series I and II, 2 vols., New York and London, 1897-1899.

at the difficulty of verifying the simplest statement from the chaff floating about throughout irresponsible but accepted narratives, and one of them suggested that the volumes should be called "Unhistoric New York." But the writers who generously gave their contributions to this effort to clarify local knowledge were not responsible for the errors that crept into their text. There was comparatively little material to be had. The Records of New Amsterdam 1 lay in crabbed manuscript in the City Hall Library, the Van Rensselaer papers were hiding in a chest in Amsterdam and went through an adventurous career before they emerged from Albany in 1908 excellently translated by Mr. van Laer.2 During the last few years various societies have had splendid work done in editing and printing valuable registers of marriages and baptisms as well as the records of orphan masters, etc. The latest history of New York 3 is facile princeps of the legion at its back, while Dr. Jameson's Narratives of New Netherland is a delightful volume of reliable contemporaneous material presented in an available form.

It is now possible to cull certain data at least approximately trustworthy about the personality of the earliest European founders of American families in Manhattan and in the Hudson River Valley, although much remains misty.

The Half Moon, the Orange Tree, the Eagle, and the Love left no one behind them, except possibly a very small group of Walloons, but they took back to the Netherlands such excellent reports of the land they saw that the first colonization was finally initiated after several abortive attempts on the West India Co.'s part to encourage emigration. In 1624 the New Netherland arrived at Manhattan with 30 Walloons, and this may be rated as the first passenger ship to this port. Virginia had heard of the intention of these immigrants, but missed the opportunity of securing them much as New Netherland lost her chance to secure the 400 English families suggested as settlers in 1620 by the "preacher versed in the Dutch language residing at Leyden." 5 When Plymouth was founded by some of this 400, New York was deprived of the magic number at her inception, and the 30 French-speaking people on the New Netherland, four years later than the New England Pilgrims, were her first real inhabitants come to stay. For a long time the tradition prevailed that the name "Wallabogt" was "Walloon Bay," from these people. That theory

¹ Records of New Amsterdam, 7 vols., New York, 1897.

²A. J. F. van Laer, ed., Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts, being the letters of Kiliaen van Rensselaer, 1639–1643, and other documents relating to the colony of Rensselaerswyck. Albany, 1908.

² Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, History of the City of New York in the Seventeenth Century, 2 vols., New York, 1909.

⁴J. F. Jameson, ed., Narratives of New Netherland, New York, 1909. In series "Original Narratives of Early American History," published under the auspices of the American Historical Association, J. F. Jameson, general editor.

Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York, I, 264.

seems to be disproved now (Wallabogt is simply the "inner bay"), but the fact that the first European children born within the limits of the Dutch grant were Walloons is fairly well established. The title of Jean Vigne and Sara Rapalye to that honor is still allowed. It seems that these French-speaking colonists were little affiliated with the Dutch who followed them under the same management during the next five years, although the increase in the total number was slow, both by birth and immigration.

In 1628, when Domine Michaëlius sent off his vivid first impressions of America to his friend Van Foreest in Heiloo and to the classis of Amsterdam, there were still but 270 souls in New Netherland. Out of the 50 communicants there were French who could not understand Dutch, and the domine held a separate service for their benefit, writing out the discourse; he did not trust himself to speak extempore. The exact proportion of the two nations can not be gauged, but it is worth noting the statement that many of the French were to return to Fatherland at the expiration of their service, so that their permanent legacy to the population remains a doubtful quantity.

As to the immigration setting in after 1630 the Van Rensselaer papers furnish the earliest specific data. The names of the indentured servants and employees of the patroon are all given with the year of their arrival at the estates near Fort Orange.2 At the end of their terms these people were free to go elsewhere, and many came to Manhattan and in time were prominent citizens of the little metropolis. The whole tale of these Rensselaerwyck colonists is 243. Of these, about 37 names may be considered as patronymics (surnames proper shared by all members of one family and passed on to the children of the males), 31 are certainly foreign—Scandinavian, English, German, and French-while the remainder are baptismal names alone of father and child, showing that the owners thereof were simple peasants; Jan, the son of Teunis, and so on. While the majority of this last group are Dutch, many having been drafted into the patroon's service from the vicinity of his own estates near Utrecht, others are probably non-Netherlanders picked up from anywhere. It is this group of immigrants who have contributed a large proportion of "vans" to be found in our directories. The name of the village of origin was used to distinguish Pieter Jans of Aalst, from Pieter Jans of Eysden; the preposition was not translated, and Van Aalst and Van Eysden soon received a dignity in the New World never enjoved in the Old. The story of the family of one of these Rensselaerwyck Jans is a curious bit of New York history. Roelof Jans, or Jansen, came out on the Eendracht, or Unity, with the first con-



^{1 &}quot;Manhattan in 1628," by Dingman Versteeg, p. 4, and Narratives of New Netherland, ed. Jameson, p. 117.

² Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts, ed. van Laer, pp. 805-846.

signment of workers destined to exploit Kiliaen van Rensselaer's new estate (1630). His wife, Annetic, or Anneke, Jans, and three children accompanied him. On the list he is recorded as coming from "Maasterlandt." The identity of this place has been a puzzle for many years. I was inclined to think it was simply on the Maas-possibly a house lying between two villages. Mr. van Laer has come to the conclusion, after collating the manuscript with others, that it is Marstrand on the coast of Sweden, and that Roelof, his wife, his motherin-law, Tryn Jonas, his sister-in-law, Marritze Tymens, one and all, were Swedes. This is peculiarly amusing, because Anneke Jans's descendants are legion in and beyond the boundaries of New York State and are well known to fame from their connection with a notorious and recurrent lawsuit about a portion of Trinity Church property. There is, moreover, a legend existing among some branches of the Jans posterity that their distant grandmother was a grandchild of William the Silent, and among all branches there is a conviction that each and every one of her heirs is assuredly pure Dutch. Mr. van Laer's theory about the Swedish origin does not seem to me perfectly proven. His conclusion may be half true. Roelof might have been a Swede and his wife Dutch. Two other Scandinavians were undoubtedly his fellow-passengers on the Eendracht, and he might have been the link to induce their coming, and yet have been some time in Holland. He was undeniably of peasant origin—Roelof, the son of Jan. His children became Jan Roelofs, Sara Roelofs, etc. But the son was killed in the Schenectady massacre; his daughters took their husbands' names, so that no present-day descendants carry on his name. Other Roelof Jansens appear in the early records, but circumstantial evidence shows that they were different men.

Names were acquired in other fashions, too, than from the town of origin or the paternal baptismal designation. There were "De Normans" in New York descended from Paulus Jansz de Noorman-Paul the son of John the Norwegian. Again, Pieter Jansz de Boer (Pieter, John's son, the farmer) handed down his agricultural pursuit as a family name to his heirs. In both cases Scandinavian and industrial origin of the name are forgotten, the article was taken as a preposition, and a French touch was bestowed on "De Norman" and "De Boer." Pieter Bronck is on the Van Rensselaer lists. His kinsman left his name in our "Bronx," and the probable Danish origin of the family is forgotten. Other familiar names that became well known occur in these lists. Philip Pieterse Schuyler (Scheuler, Scheuller, Schujler) joined the colony in 1650, probably, and certainly he married Margareta van Slichtenhorst in that year. She was the daughter of Kiliaen's director. Jan Baptist van Rensselaer and Adrian van der Donck brought patronymics with them across the

¹ Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts, ed. van Laer, p. 56.

sea, and the latter left proof that he was a noble in the name of Yonkers, which was part of the Jonkheer's estate. There is doubt, however, about Adrian Teunisz van der Bilt and Jacob van Schermerhoorn, as both might have tagged on the villages' names to their undistinguished "Adrian" and "Jacob" after their arrival.

In New Amsterdam there were conditions of imported contract labor similar to those of Rensselaerwyck, but the West India Company were less executive than the jeweler of Amsterdam and probably less successful in transplanting good material. In 1645 a memorial was sent to the Netherlands describing the state of affairs, which gives some idea of the population.

In the beginning their honors had sent a certain number of settlers thither, . . . but it [New Netherland] never began to be settled until every one had liberty to trade with the Indians, inasmuch as up to this time no one calculated to remain there longer than the expiration of his bounden time, and therefore they did not apply themselves to agriculture. Yea, even the colony of Renselaerwyck was of little consequence; but as soon as it was permitted, many servants, who had some money coming to them from the company, applied for their discharge, built houses, and formed plantations . . . On the other hand the English came also . . . firstly, many servants . . . [others] to escape from the insupportable government of New England, . . . so that in place of 7 farms and 3 plantations which were here, one saw 30 farms, as well cultivated and stocked with cattle as in Europe, and a hundred plantations which in two or three years would have become well arranged farms.

This change of policy marks a period of a fresh impetus of settlement, but one, to the mind of the above writer, still fraught with danger. He thought it eminently unfair for irresponsible traders to have the same privileges as burghers. "They reap immense profit and exhaust the country without adding to its population or its security, but if they skim a little fat from the fire they take to their heels."

In 1649 this statement appears in one of the later petitions to home authorities: "Were there 1,000 or 1,500 inhabitants in New Netherland, the Indians and Swedes would never dare to offer us any insult." It is followed by an earnest appeal for emigrants: "Were those in New Netherland who sit down in poverty at home they could honestly earn their living." The cheapness of transport is urged, as 30 to 40 guilden will pay for a full-grown man or women according as they eat in the "between decks" or cabin. The following remark is thrown in as an additional argument for aiding emigration: "Then too people are bound to pray for their benefactors and if they fail to why virtue is its own reward."

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¹ "Journal of New Netherlands," in Narratives of New Netherland, ed. Jameson, p. 271.

Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York, I, 264.

^{*} Ibid., 265.

⁴ Ibid.

But every word proves how all immigration that took place was stimulated by the management of company or patroon and never by the spontaneous enterprising energy of the colonists themselves.

For personal information next in date to the lists in the Van Rensselaer papers come the entries of marriages and baptisms preserved in the books of the Dutch Reformed Church in New Amsterdam. The early originals are not extant, but there is a copy of the entries from 1639 to 1682 made by Domine Selyns probably soon after his installation as minister in 1682. This copy and the succeeding registers of the church in New York down to 1801 have been published by the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, and the information given therein may be counted as accurate. An examination of the marriages recorded between 1639 and 1689, taking successive groups of 100, shows the following results, which, however, must be considered as suggestive rather than as accurate statistics. Many names have undergone a sea change and the conclusions are approximate, not final.

The first 100 individuals married, 1639-1643, are divided as follows:

Dutch from Holland	38
Dutch from New Netherland	3
English (several mixed marriages)	23
German	16
Scandinavian	8
Blacks	12
Second hundred, 1643-1647:	
Dutch from Holland	52
Dutch from New Netherland	6
English	16
German	9
Scandinavian	2
French	3
Blacks	12
Third hundred, 1647-1652:	
Dutch	73
American	4
English	11
German	9
Scandinavian	1
Blacks	2

In 1652 the register begins to contain names of those married elsewhere and affiliating with the New Amsterdam church.

The fourth hundred show 56 Dutch, 6 New Netherland born, 10 Germans, 10 blacks, a few each of English and Scandinavian, and a few from Batavia.

¹ Collections of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, I-III, New York, 1890, 1901, 1902.

The fifth hundred show 70 Dutch, 6 or 8 each of Scandinavian, German, and French, and as many blacks.

The sixth hundred show 68 Dutch and the others scattered in groups of 5 and 6 and smaller numbers. Thus in 20 years, from 1639 to 1659, the Dutch persons married annually varied from 38 to 72 in an uneven line—38, 52, 72, 56, 70, 68—out of the successive groups of 100 each, making about 59 per cent of the whole list. Taking the 20 years from 1679 to 1699 (to finish the seventeenth century), out of 274 marriages registered, 548 persons, 25 are registered from England and 10 from places in the Netherlands. Dutch immigration was at an end for the time being.

The nationalities mentioned in the church register do not, of course, include all comprised within the city. It is simply the most Dutch section. There were others beyond the pale of the Dutch Church. The statement that 14 languages were spoken on the island before 1664 may be taken at its worth, but undoubtedly there were many varieties in race and theology in spite of religious restrictions. Domine Megapolensis says 1 (1655) that with the "Papists, Mennonites, and Lutherans among the Dutch, Puritans, or Independents and many atheists and various other servants of Baal among the English, it would create a still greater confusion if the obstinate and immovable Jews came to settle here." He characterizes the latter as people who "have no other god than the Mammon of unrighteousness and no other aim than to get possession of Christian property and to overcome all other merchants by drawing all trade toward themselves." An accusation that seems like the pot calling the kettle black, when the company's motives are considered. But undoubtedly these merchants came and must be reckoned as part of the composite community.

Returning to the story of the marriage register, it must be noted that the figures as between the nationalities may be uncertain, as the Dutch clerk makes strange work with some of their names. Steven Jong van Oosterscheer could hardly be recognized as Young of Oxfordshire were not his bride, Dorothea, from Kent, with her Hill masquerading as "Hyls."

It is amusing to mark that Knickerbocker, now so firmly stamped on Dutch New York, only accurs, even in a pristine form, as Knickerbaker (a baker of fancy cakes), in 1754, when Abraham Knickebakker was married to Geertruich v. Deurser, and again, in 1757, when Elizabet Knickerbacker married William Pasman. The registers are intensely interesting—a veritable quarry for nuggets of truth, but more time can not be given to them here. In addition to published data, I was fortunate in obtaining specific information from one descendant of a true Dutch family whose experience is a

¹ Narratives of New Netherland, ed. Jameson, p. 392.



perfect illustration of the process often undergone by the settlers' names. The first American progenitor of this family came out in the Bonte Koe, in April, 1663, to Bergen, N. J., part of the grant to Michael Pauw. His name was Juriaen Tomassen, from R-. a little village in Friesland. The second generation took the name of Juriaensen (son of Juriaen). The third generation dropped both Juriaen and Tomas and assumed van R- (from R-) as a patronymic, and have borne the name ever since. The homestead in which they were established became their own at an early date, and is now held by one of the seventh generation from Juriaen, the son of Thomas. This van R---'s mother (born 1816) was descended from Dericka Knickerbacker, of Schaghticoke, N. Y. One of her ancestors, Herman Knickerbacker, Member of Congress in 1809-1811, was a friend of Washington Irving and introduced the young author to the President. He was known as "the prince of Schaghticoke," from his liberality. Admiral van R- has inherited the old Representative's watch fob and a chair from his homestead, as well as the surname for his Christian name in the form into which it shifted during Herman's life, and has remained ever since-Knickerbocker.

Very slight and accidental were the beginnings of the Knickerbocker myth in comparison with the mighty proportions it has assumed. And no one was more amazed at the unexpected vitality of his own creation than the author whose pen gave the magic touch of life to a pleasant figment of the imagination. In the present month of December, 1909, it is just a century since Washington Irving published his veracious chronicle. In 1849 he wrote a preface to a new edition and therein expressed his surprise that in 40 years the semifabricated name of Knickerbocker had taken deep root in the State and stood sponsor to so many godchildren-Knickerbocker ice companies, banks, stages, etc. What was true as well as surprising then is tenfold more true now in 1909. Old New Amsterdam, little thought of in mid-nineteenth, asserts herself boldly in the twentieth century, and the personal claims are many for a fragmentary share of that small quota of Dutch blood that flowed into American veins. In regard to the proportion of that blood it is noteworthy that from 1624 and the first Walloons down to 1689, when French Huguenots, banished by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, founded New Rochelle, the French fraction of the non-Dutch emigration was especially large, but their own identity has been, to a marked degree, submerged in that of the Dutch, a phenomenon that has been repeated at the Cape of Good Hope.

Now, as to the status and ultimate effect of the old colony in our body politic, certain statements of the extent of culture and luxury existing in New Amsterdam seem to me exaggerated, certainly as regards the rank and file of the colonists, whose humble origin in general seems fairly clear. For instance, in one list of 49 burghers petitioning the home government there are 19 who had to put their mark instead of their name. At the same time among the few educated men that did come over there was a high degree of intelligence and fair scholarship. An extraordinary gift of expression is manifest in the letters and appeals to Patria. The statements are racy and eloquent although they failed to produce the effect desired. Adrian Van Der Donck's style is quite delightful and his exposition of his thesis logical, forcible, and intelligent. His quotations, Latin and other, are apt and so are Peter Stuyvesant's, who also expressed himself very well. Jacob Steendam, the poet, gives the same picture of the colony's needs as the petitioners, but his rhymes fall far below the standard of the prose in letter and document.

The political effect seems to have been in certain local color here and there rather than in any structural contribution. In the latest book on the "American People" the chapter, "How the Dutch came and went," implies that not a trace was left behind. Between the claims of Maurice Low and the flights of Douglas Campbell's all-embracing assertions of Dutch influence there may be a middle truth. If not through New Netherland there may be more theoretic gift from Holland through New England—in spite of the fewness of the Puritan fathers who knew Leyden—than has been conceded, since the reaction against Campbell. For instance there is the celebration of the earliest wedding in Plymouth colony:

May 12, [1621], was the first marriage in this place [Edward Winslow to Susanna White] which according to the laudable custome of the Low-Cuuntries in which they had lived was thought most requisite to be performed by the magistrate as being a civil thing, upon which many questions of inheritance depend with other things most proper to their cognizans and most consonante to the scripturs, Ruth 4. and nowhere found in the gospel to be layed on the ministers as a part of their office. This decree or law about mariage was published by the Stats of the Low-Cuntries An. 1590. That those of any religion after lawfull and open publication coming before the magistrats in the Town or Stathouse were to be orderly by them maried one to another. And this practiss hath continued amongst not only them but hath been followed by all the famous churches of Christ in these parts to this time An. 1646. [Edward Winslow testified in a commission presided over by Archbishop Laud that as magistrate he had married some.] They were necessitated so to doe, having for a long time togeather at first no minister; besids it was no new thing for he had been so maried himselfe in Holland by the magistrats in their Statt-house.3

It was not till 1692 that Massachusetts laws provided that marriages might be performed by ministers.



¹ A. Maurice Low, The American People: A Study in National Psychology, Boston, 1909. ² Douglas Campbell, The Puritan in Holland, England, and America, New York, 1892.

^{*}Bradford, pp. 117, 316. See introduction by S. S. Purple to marriage records of the New York Reformed Dutch Church Collections of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, I.

Here, therefore, is one authentic instance of acknowledged imitation of a "laudable custom of the Low Countries." And more may yet be found before the last word be spoken. It seems almost impossible that a sentimental feeling between two countries should be as strong as any traveler feels it if some sturdy links were not behind it all.

From the end of the seventeenth century there came a long space of time when only a stray Hollander here and there crossed the ocean to America. Then, in the last decade of the eighteenth century, a few Netherlanders, dissatisfied with French influence at home, emigrated to New York. Francis van der Kemp, Gerrit Boon, Adam Gerard Mappa, Henry de Clerco were all notable men who made personal contributions toward the character of the State. Harm Jan Huidekoper was another newcomer of this period who was connected with an emigration project on a large scale in the early part and with a notable theological movement at the end of his life. An association called "The Holland Land Company" was organized by certain Dutch financiers who had furnished large sums to the American Revolution. When they were repaid they were tempted by the confused condition of European politics to invest their money in America. In 1791 Robert Morris bought 3,800,000 acres west of the Genesee River, in New York and Pennsylvania, and then tried to exploit it for the benefit of the foreign capitalists, but his efforts were not crowned with success. The company left a history of much effort and little result. It was finally dissolved in 1812. The land was then thrown open for private speculation, and Harm Jan Huidekoper acted as agent in its disposal, finally buying outright the unsold remainder in Pennsylvania (1837). Little Dutch trace is left on the scene of this enterprise bearing a Holland title, only a few names here and there in the two States that it touched. But Huidekoper himself is gratefully remembered in the Meadville School for Unitarians that he founded at an epoch when liberal thought in theological matters was just beginning to push its way through the New England crust of puritanism. At the end of his life Harm Jan Huidekoper is described by a visitor to his house as "an ideally beautiful old man, his hair snowy white, his figure elastically graceful as a willow wand, and a wonderful pair of blue eyes." He gathered around him all converts to Unitarianism, and gave welcome to them and their thought. "He was the simple, kindly Hollander, the successful American pioneer, the indomitable subduer of the wilderness, the eager, enlightened student of advanced Biblical criticism; the practical Christian, with a trace yet lingering in him of the old fire, and yet, above and beyond all else, the promoter of good works, the lover of his kind." If this single man were the sole emigrant from

Holland, it could not be said that she was wholly without influence on the psychology of America.¹

A few years before the death (1854) of this fine old idealist a fellow countryman of his, equally fine though diametrically opposed to Huidekoper's point of view in theological matters, was leading a band of followers out into a more remote wilderness than the territory of the Holland Purchase. In the first year of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, as founded in 1815, certain Protestants criticized the National Reformed Church as divided between lifeless orthodoxy and soulless liberalism. As early as 1822 there were some withdrawals from the church. Then the movement grew, affected by an evangelical revival in Germany. The aim of the protesters was to revive the simple direct message of the Scriptures and to accept no substitute. The orders of the Government on conformity to one set of regulations induced seven ministers formally to separate themselves from the national church, because they could not conscientiously recognize State interference in theological matters. They were determined to insure perfect liberty within the church. Eighteen hundred and thirty-four may be taken as the date of the beginnings of the Afgescheidener Kerk (the separatists' church) in the Netherlands, although there was not then any organization. King William steadfastly adhered to the ideal of a national church molded after the English model and would not hear of any deviation from the rule. The preachers of the dissenting congregations were treated as miscreants, and they suffered from a petty persecution until William II came to the throne. Then the legal penalties for nonconformity ceased, but a certain social ostracism continued. At the same time there was an industrial crisis in the land and many of the separatists were artisans who were thrown out of work. In 1843 potato rot and cattle pest came to add to the misery felt in many localities. Then it was that Domine van Raalte proposed congregational emigration to some place where spiritual freedom could be enjoyed and better material conditions hoped for. Several ministers were ready to adopt the plan. Java was the first choice as destination, because the Netherlanders did not really wish to change their allegiance, but the Government did not further the project. South Africa was talked of and abandoned, and America was finally decided upon, although with many fears and much trepidation. An association was constituted and emigration bureaus were established—every individual not a Roman Catholic and not an unbeliever being acceptable as a colonist, but the emigration was mainly in congregations. Domine van Raalte proved a splendid leader to his own people and an inspiring example to his fellow ministers. He was disinterested, faithful, and pos-

¹ Nina Moore Tiffany, Harm Jan Huidekoper, Cambridge, 1894.

sessed of the indomitable energy needed to make the faint-hearted overcome the difficulties which had to be encountered in making the wilderness yield them a living. One early settlement was made in Iowa, but the main colony, or rather group of colonies, sprang up in Michigan in the neighborhood of Black Lake, close to the great lake. It is an odd chance that the southern fraction of Michigan is curiously similar in shape to the Kingdom of Holland. Maps of the one on a small and of the other on a large scale bear a singular resemblance in contour and coast line. Naturally the settlers of 1847 did not mark this, but undoubtedly the likeness of soil in the neighborhood of Black Lake to that in Holland had an unconscious effect upon the pilgrims who founded their permanent homes. Some of the first band spent the winter in Albany on the way out, where they felt less strange as communication in their native tongue was still possible to a limited degree. Successive bodies of congregations followed the trail blazed by Domine van Raalte, each led out from home by a devoted and zealous separatist pastor. Friesland, Zealand, Holland, Overvssel, Drente, and Graafschaft were all founded, one after the other, and a keen ear could long detect the local accent of their provinces of origin. Van Raalte's interest in the welfare of all never flagged and Hope College, which he founded, has continued to be the center of a Holland-American education in that region. The settlements have been permanent, few have returned home and the communities are prosperous, retaining the marks of a strong religious spirit. They have also retained the inclination to individual opinion which characterized their separatist progenitors. Grand Rapids now contains the largest number of Netherlanders of any one city. There, there are six Dutch churches of varying shades of creed. In the smaller places there are frequently three. population has remained mainly industrial, a large number of hands being employed in making the furniture now identified with Grand Rapids. At Orange City, Pella, and Maurice, in Iowa, the greater number of the Netherland-Americans are prosperously engaged in agriculture, but among the Michigan communities, although development of the soil was their first aim, it has become the less favorite pursuit as time has progressed.

The pilgrims of 1847 have kept closely together during their 60 years' residence here. They are only just beginning to shed off the home atmosphere that they brought with them across the sea. Holland City was burned, but I am told that the interiors of the present homes furnished in America are still intensely Dutch. The second generation of American-born are still Netherlanders and the Dutch element is in the ascendant even if one parent has been English-American. In the third generation some children seem pure Dutch, others pure American, even in the same environment. Owing to their real

religious interest, links have been maintained with home churches. About 20 years ago Johannes van't Lindenhout came out to America in behalf of a foundation for the benefit of orphans to which he devoted himself. Throughout the communities in Michigan and Iowa he received the warmest of welcomes and was invited to preach in churches of all denominational shades, where the houses were packed in spite of the thermometer being at 90°. The collections were generous, although the object was so remote, and the visitor returned home with the sense of these helpful sympathetic friends being real kin across the sea.

Since the mid-nineteenth century there have been several attempts at assisted immigration from Holland, but without the idealism which inspired the congregational hegira and breathed into the Michigan settlements a peculiar spirit, a spirit that alone is capable of raising colonization to a high level. The attempts have failed because the individuals were not moved by any one impulse stronger than a hope to better their material condition. There was always too much expectation of what was to be done for the colonists. company formed to send a colony out to Colorado in 1892 met with no success, and the complaints of the methods used read like the old arraignments against the West India Company. A stream of individual immigration has continued, in varying but always small numbers, and there are few States in the Union in which Netherland names are not found. The great variance in the tale of these immigrants between different years as given in the census reports is somewhat difficult to account for. It is probably due partially to home conditions and partially to a lack of uniformity in the methods of giving the reports. And, as stated at the outset of this paper, the numbers embarking on Dutch ships are fallacious as determining nationality with surety.

Lastly the directories can be made to yield certain suggestions as to the Netherlanders of old and new descent in certain cities. Taking the names in "Van" alone, New York has 19 columns and Brooklyn 12, together, while Chicago has 23 columns. The majority in Greater New York probably date, however, from the seventeenth, and those in Chicago from the nineteenth century immigration as enterprising individuals from the Michigan towns have drifted thither. In the Social Register and Blue Book New York leads, showing 9 columns of "Vans," as against 8 names in Chicago, while the Boston Blue Book has only a single "Van" out of 4 columns to be found in the city directory; Grand Rapids shows but 10 "Vans" in her Social Register, few in comparison with the 76 columns of "Vans" in her city directory.

¹ J. van 't Lindenhout, zes Weken tusschen de Wielen; Eenige Gedachten over Amerikaansche Toestanden: De Landbouw in Amerika. Nijmegen, 1889 (?). Id., De Pelgrim van 1847, (1889?). S. M. N. Calisch, Transatlantische Kijkjes, Dordrecht, 1877 (?).



New York State has sent about 60 citizens of seventeenth-century Dutch blood to Congress besides two Presidents to the White House, which is a fair proportion. The above figures are, of course, very imperfect as statistics, and there are many Dutch names not containing "Van" and much Dutch blood flowing in the veins of those bearing English or Anglicized names. The comparisons are merely given as suggestive. The conclusion may be reached, however, with fair certainty that, in the East, the old Dutch element has been marvelously vital in spite of its limited size, while the new Dutch element has offered a valuable gift to the West, and that the actual contributions of Holland herself to the United States in thought and political theories have not yet had their last word.

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XIV. CONFERENCE ON THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE ROMANCE NATIONS TO THE HISTORY OF AMERICA.

REPORTED_BY

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD,

Professor in Columbia University, Chairman of the Conference.

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REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE ON THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE ROMANCE NATIONS TO THE HISTORY OF AMERICA.

By WILIAM R. SHEPHERD.

Owing to the fact that the invitations to address the conference could not be sent out in time, it was agreed that the several speakers should express informally their views on the topics communicated to their charge. With the exception of Mr. Yánes, whose admirable sketch of the relation of the Republics of Latin America to the general subject has been printed elsewhere, the chief participants in the conference based their remarks on brief notes. Since the summary that follows is derived from abstracts and from press accounts of these remarks, it necessarily does scant justice to the presentation of the four themes discussed. The results that it embodies, however, encourage the hope that a conference on the history of America in the broad sense may become a permanent feature of the sessions of the American Historical Association.

In his address of introduction the chairman said:

American history does not consist solely of the history of the United States, and the history of the United States does not consist solely of the history of the "Thirteen Colonies" and of what has proceeded from them.

Effort is rarely made to present the history of the American Continents as an orderly process of development. The moment in which the English or the Anglo-Americans arrive on the scene furnishes an excuse for ignoring the history of all areas not under their control. The share of the Romance nations in shaping the history of America is ill understood and less appreciated.

In our schools and colleges, in the textbooks and in the courses dealing with "American" history the work of the Spanish, the Portuguese, and the French is regularly treated as a series of more or less detached episodes possessing a sort of picturesque interest quite unimportant in character. What they accomplished seems to be regarded as something useful to fill up a chronological void before the English established themselves—a pretext for showing that the Spanish and the French settlements in this country were allowed to exist only because an inscrutable Providence had decreed that in the fullness of time they should come under English rule and eventually form a part of the United States. The tales of Spaniards and of Frenchmen marching, fighting, and shooting, wandering in the wilds of the New World, now missionaries, now

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 $^{^{1}\,\}mathrm{Bulletin}$ of the International Bureau of the American Republics, February, 1910, pp. 207–213.

marauders, have diverted attention from the essential to the incidental, from the permanent to the transitory, from the instructive and the valuable to the curious and the quaint in their respective careers. Indeed, the very sound of the name lends zest to the obsession, for how could the representative of a Romance nation do anything that was not romantic, and how could a writer on such a theme, presumably, be anything but a romancer?

Just as the history of the "Thirteen Colonies," so the history of the Spanish and the French colonies in this country is that of the areas which they respectively occupied, of areas that were later to become parts of the United States. Each is equally important for its own sake. Not only is the history of each of these centers of colonization entitled to individual consideration, but their relations to one another and to the history of the United States in its general development need investigation and emphasis. The type of civilization planted in this country by the English, and the influence that it has since exerted, have been described in comparatively minute detail. On the other hand, the type of civilization likewise established here by the Spanish and the French, the influence that it has exercised, and its survivals at the present time have been comparatively ignored.

That the history of the Spanish, the Portuguese, and the French in America possesses an interest and a significance of its own, entirely apart from its relation to the "Anglo-American" element, is an incontestable fact which the special nature of the present meeting of the American Historical Association affords an excellent opportunity to emphasize.

It should not be forgotten that the activities of Spain and Portugal have been perpetuated in vast areas having a population more than two-thirds that of the United States and endowed with resources of incalculable richness. No field of history is more neglected and none is more fascinating and rewarding to the student than the history of Spanish and Portuguese colonization in America, of the development of the Latin-American Republics, and of the problems that have arisen out of conditions so like and yet so unlike our own. The Dominion of Canada, furthermore, with an area larger than that of the United States and with resources to correspond, is a State founded by France, and one in which the contribution of the French to the history of America takes rank with that of their Spanish and Portuguese compeers in other fields of action.

Balance is an element too often lacking in the history of America as it is written and taught to-day. The share of the Spanish, the Portuguese, and the French in the several processes of discovery, exploration, colonization, and civilization should be studied from the several standpoints of their intrinsic interest and significance, their relation to the work of the English and of the American in the same directions, their place in the general development of the history of the New World, and the amount and accessibility of the materials upon which their respective achievements rest. Only by so doing can the balance be restored.

"The Contribution of Spain," the first topic on the program, was discussed by Prof. Rafael Altamira, of the University of Oviedo, Spain. In substance Prof. Altamira spoke as follows:

To recognize the existence of a fact, or of a series of facts, to prove such existence, to set forth the how and the why of its or of their being—these constitute the precise function of the historian. The performance of this function must precede any interpretation of the facts, whether moral, juridical, economic, or otherwise, and is independent of it as well. Accordingly we should keep historical investigation constantly apart from our opinions and

our judgments regarding the desirability or the undesirability, the good or the evil—from our point of view—of the acts done by any one man or by a group of men. Then our investigation of the truth of what was and of what is, will be free from any prejudices on the point of what ought to have been.

To acknowledge that Spain has had a mighty share in the civilization of the western European type established on the Continent of America; that she has exercised a great and fundamental influence on its history; that she has mingled her blood and united her ethnic type with those of the aborigines, creating mixed peoples and new branches of the old peninsular trunk; that she has left a deep impress on the language, the religion, the science, the art, the mind in general, of vast regions in South, Central, and North America—to acknowledge all this is merely to prove facts, things that have been and are, and that, whether good or evil, can not be changed by man to fit his preconceptions on the subject.

Quly on the basis of an exact and, so far as possible, complete knowledge of the facts, such as they were and are, and from points of view foreign to history, may our judgment of the facts be formed. Without this basis every judgment must be precipitate and inconsistent. Proof thereof may be found in the corrections of the prejudices of former times regarding the history of Spanish colonization in America, which are constantly appearing and contributing to a better knowledge of the facts. Many features of the work of Spain in America are viewed to-day in a manner very distinct from that in which they were regarded in the middle of the nineteenth century; and we know better now those very same facts to which our judgments were applied.

If all this be true, regard for the scientific precision and for the sincerity incumbent upon every investigator compels us to admit that in many of its principal points we know comparatively little about the historical processes involved in the Spanish colonization of America; and if this circumstance in turn indicates a deficiency in our knowledge of the facts which ought to act as a spur to further investigation, it reveals also the weakness and the purely tentative character of many of the judgments formed about data supposed to have been historically well founded.

In general, it is safe to say that the historians of Spanish colonization in America, except perhaps those who have treated concrete points of narrow scope, have used but few sources taken often at second hand, and even then not always sure and impartial. The result is that such historians have done little more than to copy one another, and that real investigation of original sources has been neglected. Accordingly we know of Spanish action in America only on its external and superficial side. The history of institutions of law, of economic and social life, of scientific and literary activity, as it has been presented to us, is full of lacunæ, doubts, legends, and questions without answer, in spite of the meritorious essays or researches of many who have dealt with those themes. The principal causes of this state of affairs are (1) as a rule, the authors of the history of colonial Spanish America have attended only to the external political events and have not lent attention to the Kulturgeschichte and to the history of institutions; (2) there are millions of documents in the archives of Spain, such as those in the archives of the Indies at Seville, in Simancas, and elsewhere, which are little known and less used. It is evident, therefore, that the immediate duty of those interested in the matter is to have calendared, and if possible to have copied and published, the documents in question. For that purpose there seems to be nothing more practical than the foundation in Spain (particularly in Seville) by the Governments or the universities of the several nations concerned, or by groups of learned men interested in the colonial history of Spain in America, of historical institutes similar to the schools established at Rome and elsewhere for the promotion of classical studies.

The practical result of all the foregoing is that we who devote ourselves to history ought to apply our energies to investigating, clarifying, and broadening its field of work—the field of facts—laboring in an objective sense, absolutely disinterested, inclined to accept and to proclaim the truth, whether or not it wound our prejudices or our preferences, or even our national sentiments. To do anything else would be to sacrifice beforehand a reality, as yet but little known, to a preconceived idea or to a passion which, however noble it might be, would only obscure the truth.

"The Contribution of Portugal" was then outlined by Dr. Hiram Bingham, of Yale University. He said:

The chief interest and significance of Portuguese history lies in the extraordinary achievement which one of the smallest countries in Europe was able to make during its golden age. It deserves attention as a striking instance of what a nation can accomplish as long as it believes in its invincibility. Acting on this belief, Portugal, within a single century, produced discoverers, explorers, and navigators of the very first rank, acquired a world-wide empire, developed the arts and sciences to an astonishing degree, and to crown all, brought into being one of the most supremely gifted poets the world has ever seen.

Her method of colonizing Brazil anticipates in a striking manner the excellent work of the English in the same direction a century later. Her colonists were industrious, frugal cultivators of the soil, and she allowed them in considerable measure the necessary liberty to take root and develop in new and strange surroundings.

A comparative study of her dependencies in Asia and America furnishes a brilliant example of the truth that possessions, won and held by force of arms, are only of fictitious advantage and transient value, while colonies, the prosperity of which rests on stout hearts and industrious hands, are of lasting benefit to the mother country—a lesson that is especially significant for Americans to-day.

Portugal contributed to the development of the New World a fine quality of personal character in the men whom she sent to Brazil. The life of the late Emperor, Dom Pedro II, is not one of the least of Portugal's contributions to American civilization. Few rulers have been more highly educated and talented, more scientific in thought and achievement, and more sincerely desirous of serving the best interests of their subjects.

The most striking difference between the history of Portuguese America and that of Spanish America is that apparent when the former achieved its independence. Instead of resolving itself into a series of republics ill-prepared for a stable existence, it wisely made use of a constitutional monarchy to bridge over the abrupt transition from an autocratic to a republican régime. Accordingly it was able to become a single great nation and to maintain a strong federation of States; furnishing in this respect another striking resemblance to the history of the English colonies.

We owe it to ourselves to spend more time in the study of Portuguese and Brazilian history, of a race that has given its language, customs, and laws to half a continent, of a country possessing an area greater than that of the United States, a population more than half as large as that of France, and a vast wealth in the raw materials upon which so many of our manufacturing industries depend. There is a splendid opportunity for historical writers in this field. The materials are abundant and easily accessible. The subject is full of charm and romantic interest, and great practical value.

Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, prefaced his treatment of "The Contribution of France" with a description in outline of the racial, political, and social contrasts between the French inhabitants of Canada and the Louisiana country and the English colonists along the Atlantic seaboard. He then proceeded substantially as follows:

The story of the rise and fall of the French power in America is one of the greatest epics in the records of mankind, and one in which the dramatic unities are revealed in all their essential truth. The historian of the United States in particular ought to give it more consideration by far than that which it has received. He who would trace the development of the very heart of this country must regard the colonial régime of France as the opening chapter of his narrative, to which the wanderings of the Spaniard a century earlier furnish a prelude.

Perhaps the greatest contribution made by New France to the history of North America was the achievements of its explorers. Before the British conquest in 1763 the French were familiar with the region of Canada from the St. Lawrence to the Saskatchewan, and with that of the United States from the Alleghenies to the Rockies.

Many of our modern towns were once the fur-trading posts of the Frenchman, and our map is studded with hundreds of French geographical names. The French, indeed, practically taught us the fur trade and their men, as well as their methods, were used by Americans down to our own time.

Apart altogether from their devoted labors in behalf of Christianity and civilization, like their fellow workers, the Spanish ecclesiastics to the southward, the French missionaries rendered valuable service in the cause of ethnology. They studied the Indian languages and characteristics with a minuteness of observation which has made their reports and treatises indispensable to the specialist in this branch of science.

The French of Quebec and the maritime provinces, the Creoles in the Mississippi Valley, the Huguenots among the settlers peopling the Atlantic coast have had a large influence on our history and are still a dominant force. Their sturdy, simple life, their frugal habits, their domestic graces and virtues, their cultivation of music and the arts that foster the innocent enjoyment of life have all had a distinct share in the molding of the national spirit and character throughout the major part of the North American Continent.

But the most grateful and pleasing of the various elements that France has contributed to the history of America is the dash of strong and lasting color, of irresistible romance imparted by those who lived under the French régime. It provides the fascinating exploits and achievements of explorers, like Champlain, Radisson, Marquette, La Salle, and Vérendrye; of fur traders and commandants like Duluth, Perrot, and Le Sueur; of state builders like Frontenac and Iberville; of soldiers like Montcalm. Above all it illumines with rare charm the humbler deeds of the Jesuit missionaries, of men who furnished some of the most brilliant examples on record of heroic and self-sacrificing devotion to an exalted purpose. The history of America, indeed, would lose much of its welcome color, of its warmth of tone and sentiment were the memories of the French to be blotted from its stirring pages.

At the outset of his address on "The Contribution of the Latin-American Republics," Mr. Francisco J. Yánes, of the International

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Bureau of the American Republics, alluded humorously to the task incumbent upon him of condensing into the period of 20 minutes the history of 20 States since the attainment of their independence—a performance which at the rate of one State a minute seemed rather out of proportion to the size of some of the nations and to the achievements of others. Since the preceding speakers had indicated the extent to which the Spaniards, the Portuguese, and the French had left their imprint on the civilization of Latin-America, Mr. Yanes described in a general way what had been done with the trust that the forefathers had left and how far the Latin-Americans had succeeded in their efforts to keep pace with the progress of the world.

The Spanish-American Republics, in particular, began their independent career under many disadvantages. Among them may be mentioned the economic depression following in the wake of nearly 20 years of war; the lack of political experience due to a colonial tutelage of centuries; and the possession of a vast amount of territory without a population of corresponding size, a social organization of sufficient solidarity, or a supply of pecuniary means to develop its wonderful resources in the face of appalling topographical and climatic difficulties. These obstacles could not be overcome without provoking struggles to secure and maintain stability.

Of late years revolutions in Latin America have become rare occurrences. For them order and progress have been substituted to a gratifying degree. As European capital and European immigration, of which they stand in much need, enter the countries of Latin America the influences thus brought to bear will have the same beneficial effect upon them as such influences have had upon the national growth of the United States.

While the charge, so often made, that Latin Americans are a race of polite idlers may have some measure of truth when viewed from a purely material standpoint, it must not be forgotten that they inherited from their colonial ancestors a love of the beautiful, a vividness of imagination, a facility of expression, and a variability of temperament as well, which must ever remain essential characteristics along with all their other vices and virtues. They can not sow a dollar and reap two in a manner so successful as that attending the efforts of their more commercially disposed brethren elsewhere in the world. On the other hand, they do possess an appreciation of those products of the heart and the mind which stand as evidences of culture.

To-day in all the Republics of Latin America there are institutions of learning worthy of the respect of older nations. From these institutions are coming forth men of a high order of intellectual attainment, well equipped for their several vocations. Illiteracy, also, is rapidly disappearing.

Given the adverse conditions against which they have had to struggle, the States of Latin America possess the comforts and conveniences, as well as the refinements, of civilization to an amount and degree surprising to those who share common prejudices based on misinformation. Their trade alone exceeds in value two billions of dollars a year. They are fostering education, taking heed of the unfortunate, encouraging science, literature, and the fine arts so earnestly and so thoroughly that the day is not far distant when their contribution to the development of the New World will receive its just meed of recognition.

Responding to the invitation of the chairman for expressions of opinion on the subject of the conference, Prof. Edward Luther Stevenson, of Rutgers College, emphasized the need of special study of the early cartography of America as a means of removing many of the prevailing misapprehensions in regard to the processes of colonization followed by the Romance nations. Prof. George Pierce Garrison, of the University of Texas, pointed out how greatly the history of the southwestern portion of the United States, first settled by the Spaniards, had suffered from neglect and how rich the materials awaiting the investigator are. Mr. Alberto Nin Frias, the former secretary of the legation of Uruguay, in closing, reviewed the progress of the spirit of understanding and cooperation among the 21 Republics, which is converting Pan Americanism from a pious wish into a practical program of international friendship and solidarity.

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XV. HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

By GEORGE W. PROTHERO,

Vice President of the Royal Historical Society and of the English Historical Association.

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HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

By George W. Prothero.

Englishmen are not infrequently charged with being so absorbed in politics, or business, or sport, or empire making in foreign parts, that they have neither time nor taste for the study of their own past. This is doubtless true of a great many people in England, but I fancy that we are in this respect neither worse nor better than other nations. At all events, a country which during the last century has produced such historians as Lingard, Palgrave, and Kemble; Hallam and Macaulay; Stubbs, Freeman, and Gardiner; Froude and Lecky; Green and Maitland—to mention only the chief of those who have dealt with the history of their own people—such a country can hardly be said to have neglected its own history. But it is not of individuals that I am invited to speak to-night; my duty, as I understand it, is to give some account of the societies, associations, clubs—call them by what name we please—which exist in Great Britain for the purpose of promoting the knowledge and study of history.

I presume that I am to put on one side the work done in this direction by the largest of all societies—the State; but I can not help pointing out that the Government of Great Britain has, for more than a century past, by its various series of documentary publications, the Rolls Series, the Calendars of State Papers, the Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission, etc., done a work for the advancement of historical knowledge which no private society could have undertaken, much less performed. Nor must I dwell here on the work of those great academical societies—the universities—though I would call your attention to the remarkable progress which has been made of late years, at least in the popularity of historical studies, not only at Oxford and Cambridge, but in the ancient Scottish and the newer English universities; to the creation of new professorships and lectureships, the institution of prizes for the encouragement of historical study, and the constantly increasing classes of students. brief reference should, however, be made to that newly-founded but

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very flourishing institution, the London School of Economics and Political Science, in which great attention is paid to the history of local and municipal government, as well as of trade and industry. Here, too, under the auspices of a small group which calls itself the Committee for the Promotion of Advanced Historical Teaching, Mr. Hubert Hall and others have lectured for some years past on palæography, diplomatic, and kindred sciences, indispensable to the furtherance of historical research.

Dismissing, with this brief reference, these powerful public agencies, I come to historical societies properly so-called. It will render my account clearer if I classify these societies under five heads. These are, first, the historical societies and associations pure and simple, of a general kind—that is, not specialized or local. Second, there are the societies, also of a general kind, which devote themselves mainly to the beginnings—the antiquarian and archæological societies, so-called. These must be included in any list of historical societies, for between history and antiquities or archæology it is impossible to draw a line, and much of the work done by these societies is, in the narrowest sense of the word, historical. Thirdly, there are the local historical and archæological societies, which confine their activities to restricted areas, a particular town or county or group of counties. Fourthly, there are a number of societies whose work is specialized in regard to subject matter and which may be classed together as miscellaneous. Lastly, there are the mixed societies, only a portion of whose energies is devoted to historical research, the rest being employed on literary, philological, or scientific objects.

I. Under the head of general societies, I should naturally mention, in the first place, the Royal Historical Society. This society was founded in 1868, by Earl Russell (better known as Lord John), George Grote, Dean Stanley, Sir Roundell Palmer (afterwards Lord Selborne), Sir John Lubbock (now Lord Avebury), and other distinguished men. A few years later it received permission to adopt the title "Royal Historical Society." In 1887 Queen Victoria became patron of the society, and in 1889 it received a royal charter of incorporation under the Great Seal. On his accession to the throne in 1901, King Edward VII became its patron. In 1897 the Camden Historical Society, which had existed since 1837 for the purpose of publishing manuscripts of historical interest, was amalgamated with the Royal Historical Society, which took over its work. The society is managed by a president, now Dr. Cunningham, treasurer, secretary, and council, the publications being under the control of a director, Mr. Hubert Hall, well known to many American researchers. The object of the society is defined as being "to promote the study of history, by assisting in the publication of rare and valuable documents, and by the issue from time to time of volumes of Transactions and Publications." This work it regularly carries out. Papers are read at its monthly meetings, and afterwards discussed. The papers are collected in a yearly volume of Transactions. Of the Camden Series two volumes—occasionally three—are published annually. The three series of Camden publications comprise in all no less than 180 volumes. One would think that the supply of unprinted material must be pretty nearly exhausted, but this does not seem to be the case. Like the old masters at the winter exhibitions of the Royal Academy, new records come out year after year, and more are offered than can be taken. The society is now in a flourishing condition. It numbers, with its honorary and corresponding members, about 700, and almost every historian of any distinction in England is now on its list. Its financial position is satisfactory; it owes no debts, and has something in hand. Its library, which a short time ago was very poor, has been recently improved and now contains about 5,000 volumes. It is particularly strong in its collection of transactions and other publications of foreign, American, and colonial historical societies.

The Scottish Historical Society comes next in importance; and the value of its publications, so far as Scottish history is concerned, is fully equal to those of the Royal Historical Society. Founded in 1885, its object is defined to be "the discovery and printing, under selected editorship, of unpublished documents illustrative of the civil, religious, and social history of Scotland." It also prints occasionally translations of rare printed works inaccessible in English. It publishes at least two volumes a year, and the whole series now includes over 60 handsome volumes. The number of members is limited to 400, and many applicants—for Scotland is nothing if not patriotic—are waiting for admission. It is managed by a council. Lord Rosebery is its president, and at its annual general meeting gives an address at once learned and lively. Otherwise it holds no meetings, and it has no library.

The British Record Society, founded in 1889, has about 250 members. It prints calendars, indexes, and records, such as wills, inquisitions, post-mortems and chancery proceedings illustrative of the genealogy and topography of Great Britain. Two or three volumes are issued yearly and are most useful aids to persons engaged in biographical research. The Index Society, which was founded in 1878, is now amalgamated with the British Record Society. One useful side of this society's work is its cooperation with local societies for the joint production of calendars likely to be of special interest to their members. Under this first head I can not help mentioning also the English Historical Society, a publishing body which existed from 1838 to 1856 and issued in all 16 volumes, comprising valuable edi-

tions of Bede, Roger of Wendover, and other mediæval historians, as well as the 6 volumes of Kemble's famous Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonica. Had it done nothing else but issue this great work it would have amply justified its existence.

The Historical Association bears a nearer resemblance to the body whose members I have the honor of addressing than do the societies I have so far mentioned. It was founded in 1906 for the following purposes:

(a) The collection of information as to existing systems of historical teaching at home and abroad by getting together printed books, pamphlets, and other materials, and by correspondence. (b) The distribution of information amongst the members of the association as to methods of teaching and aids to teaching (viz., maps, illustrations, textbooks, etc.). (c) The encouragement of local centers for the discussion of questions relative to the study and teaching of history. (d) The representation of the needs and interests of the study of history and of the opinion of its teachers to governing bodies, government departments, and other authorities having control over education. (e) Cooperation for common objects with the English Association, the Geographical Association, the Modern Languages Association, and the Classical Association.

This is a pretty comprehensive program. It may be summed up in the words, "the promotion and improvement of the teaching of history." It is thus, first and foremost, an educational body and does not pretend, except indirectly, to promote research. All persons are eligible as members "who are engaged or interested in the teaching of history. The subscription is 5 shillings a year. The society is managed by a president (Prof. Firth), a council of 28 members, one-third of whom are women, a secretary, and a treasurer. It holds a general meeting once a year for the presentation of a report. election of officers, etc. It has a library which already contains about 600 volumes. There are 12 local branches in the universities and other educational centers. These branches hold meetings for the purpose of hearing lectures and reading papers. The association has issued some 18 pamphlets of practical use in teaching, as the following titles will show—A Summary of Historical Examinations Affecting Schools; A Brief Bibliography of British History for the use of Teachers; lists of books on General, Ancient, European, and Colonial History; a list of Historical Atlases and Maps; Papers on the Teaching of History, by Mr. James Bryce, Prof. Tout, Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, and others. The association numbers about 920 members and is doing a very useful work.

II. I come now to the second head—antiquarian and archeological societies. Of these the first in age and importance is the famous Society of Antiquaries of London. This society enjoys an almost hoary antiquity. It was originally founded by Archbishop Parker, Sir Robert Cotton, and other learned men in the year 1572, the year of the St. Bartholomew Massacre, the insurrection of the United

Netherlands, and the death of John Knox. It is a long time ago, before the United States were born or even thought of. It used to meet at first in Sir Robert Cotton's house, afterwards known as Ashburnham House, in the Cloisters at Westminister. In 1589 it applied for a charter of incorporation as "an Academy for the Study of Antiquities and History," with what result does not appear. But James I, who, as we know, had a great belief in his own statecraft and had secrets to hide, dissolved it in 1604, for fear, as we are told. that the society might pry too much into the arcana of government. During the first 30 years of its existence its list of members comprised such names—besides those already mentioned—as William Camden, the author of Britannia: William Lambarde, of the Eirenarcha; John Stow, who wrote the Survey of London; Francis Thynne, the first editor of Chaucer; Henry Spelman, the legist; and many others known to fame. After its dissolution, the society remained in abeyance for over a century, from 1604 to 1707; but in the latter year, a knot of learned men began to hold regular meetings again. Le Neve, the author of the Fasti; Stukeley, of the Itineraries; Roger Gale, who collected Roman inscriptions; and Browne Willis, of the Notitia Parliamentaria, were among the refounders of the society. The minutes, written for several years in a beautiful hand by Stukeley, are continuous from 1718; so are the registers, with the autographs of many distinguished men. The society met originally at the Bear Tavern, afterwards at the Fountain in Fleet Street and other similar places. Their meeting began with a dinner, probably at 3 or 4 p. m. Afterwards they sat with punch and pipes of tobacco round a long table and discoursed of historical and antiquarian matters. In 1751 George II incorporated them by royal charter and gave them rooms at Somerset House. But they fitted up their big room with a long table and benches just as before—whether they continued to drink punch and smoke tobacco I do not know. When, in 1870, they moved to their present handsome rooms in Burlington House they brought their old table and benches with them, and there the table and benches are to this day, along with a number of handsome chairs and bookcases made by the upholsterer of the society, whose name was Chippendale. The society meets once a week for the purpose of reading papers. Its chief publication, called Archæologia, now making nearly 100 volumes, is invaluable to the mediæval historian. It has also published 7 volumes of Vetusta Monumenta, besides regular volumes of Proceedings and a number of catalogues. society numbers about 700 members. It possesses a rich and very valuable library. Although it has had a continuous existence of nearly 200 years it appears to have the gift of perpetual youth.

The Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland was founded in 1843. It holds monthly meetings and publishes

a quarterly journal at the rate of a volume a year. Once a year it holds, in some interesting spot, a general meeting, which takes eight or nine days, to explore the antiquities of the neighborhood. It has a membership of about 500.

Scotland and Ireland have also their antiquarian societies, which have done much good work on lines similar to those followed by the London society. That of Scotland was founded in 1780. It holds monthly meetings and has of recent years carried out an extensive series of excavations, which have thrown much light on the primitive history of Scotland especially during the Roman occupation. The Proceedings of the society fill about 50 volumes. It has a membership of over 750. The Rhind lectureship in archæology was founded in connection with it, and has produced some 20 treatises of considerable historical and archæological value. The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland has had, under several names, a continuous existence since 1849. It was instituted "to preserve, examine, and illustrate ancient monuments of the history, language, arts, etc., of the past as connected with Ireland." It holds monthly meetings during the winter, and four general meetings a year, in different parts of the island for the purpose of visiting places and objects of historical and antiquarian interest. It publishes a quarterly journal, now making 38 volumes, and has issued more than a dozen "extra volumes," containing records, inscriptions, etc. It has a membership of about 200. Ireland possesses also its Irish Archeological and Celtic Society, which publishes original documents, contemporary letters, etc., relating to Irish affairs.

The archæological associations, so called, are of a rather more popular character than the societies just described. The best known is the British Archæological Association, founded in 1843, which holds monthly meetings and an annual "Congress" in some interesting locality, when the pleasures of sight-seeing, interspersed with learned papers on local subjects, bring together a large number of scholars and amateurs. It publishes a quarterly journal, now amounting to 70 volumes, besides special volumes entitled Collectanea Archæologica. Its journal entitled Archæologia Cambrensis, stands second only to the Archæologia of the Society of Antiquaries in the value of the communications. It has a membership of 400. The Cambrian Archæological Association performs similar functions in the narrower field of Wales. It can not be said that these meetings do very much to advance the science of history, but they perform a useful task in spreading widely, if somewhat thinly, a tincture of historical knowledge; and the seed liberally scattered falls no doubt sometimes on fertile ground.

III. I come, thirdly, to the county and other local historical and archæological societies. These are very numerous in England. I

could enumerate at least 30-and there must be many more-all of which publish transactions and papers which are often of more than local interest, but I will mention only a few examples. One of the best known of these is the Surtees Society, founded in 1835, which publishes "inedited manuscripts, illustrative of the intellectual, moral, religious, and social conditions of those parts of England which constituted the ancient Kingdom of Northumbria." It has issued 102 volumes in all, containing such valuable works as the Account Rolls of Durham Abbev, the Lives of St. Cuthbert, Memorials of Beverley, Fountains, Ripon, etc., the Chronicles of Hexham, and the works of Simeon of Durham. For ecclesiastical and monastic history, in particular, its work has been invaluable. The Spalding Club is another local society which has done excellent work. Its sphere of research is confined to Scotland, and especially the neighborhood of Aberdeen. It was founded in 1839 and came to an end in 1870, but was revived in 1886 and is now flourishing. In its earlier period it published 38 volumes, and since 1886 about an equal number, of valuable historical works and records, bearing on "the history, topography, and archæology of the northeastern counties of Scotland." The Chetham Society, founded in 1843, has its habitation in Manchester, and publishes "historical and literary remains connected with the palatine counties of Lancaster and Chester." It has issued nearly 180 volumes, containing journals, diaries, biographies, letters, wills, and inventories, etc., casting a flood of light on the provincial life of the past, and on important movements of wider interest, such as the Presbyterian establishment in Lancashire in the seventeenth century.

The Somerset Record Society long had the advantage of Mr. Freeman's solicitous, and perhaps somewhat tyrannical, guidance. It has published many documents, such as plea rolls, subsidy rolls, episcopal registers, etc., illustrating the history of the borderland between Celtic and Teutonic Britain. The Oxford Historical Society was founded in 1884, on lines suggested by John Richard Green, to whom it is in some sense a memorial. Among its founders were Bishop Stubbs, E. A. Freeman, and York Powell. Freeman has more than once acknowledged the debt he owed to "Johnnie" Green for the stimulating influence of his notion of the town as a corporate body with a continuous individual life of its own, but illustrating in its particular life story the forces and principles which affected the life of the State at large. The volumes, now numbering 52, published by the Oxford Society, illustrate the truth of this reflection, and throw much light on the history of both town and university. It has a membership of about 350. The Cambridge Antiquarian Society was founded in 1840. About half the papers read at its meetings are concerned with the history of Cambridge (both town and university) and of East Anglia; the rest deal with matters of more general historical and archæological interest. It was chiefly instrumental in founding the Cambridge Museum of Archæology and Ethnology, where its meetings are held. With a membership of 430, it publishes a yearly volume of transactions, and also a series of special publications, reports, etc., comprised in about 50 volumes.

Besides these societies, which I have mentioned as specimens, there are many other local and county societies, all employed in research of a more or less useful kind, for the most part such as has special interest for their members. Local patriotism and county or municipal feeling are very strong throughout Great Britain; and the total membership of these local societies, at least 50 in number, can not be far short of 10,000. Other local societies have had their day and have now ceased to exist. I shall not attempt to enumerate these, for I am concerned only with what is active at the present moment: but I can not help bestowing a passing glance on two extinct associations, which did excellent work in their day. These are the Bannatyne Club, which, during the years 1823-1867, published a series of records, about 112 volumes in all, dealing specially with Scottish history; and the Maitland Club, which, between 1820 and 1858, published a large quantity of documents and chronicles bearing on the history of Scotland and the border, such as the Scalacronica, the Chronicle of Lanercost, Muniments of the University of Glasgow, etc.

IV. Fourthly, I come to the miscellaneous class, comprising those societies whose work is not restricted locally, but is devoted to some more or less special department of historical research. The Hakluyt Society is one which should have a special interest for this audience. It was founded in 1846, with the object of publishing—like the illustrious and industrious collector from whom it takes its name-contemporary accounts of notable voyages and travels. Many of these are intimately connected with the early history of America, and of the discoveries which paved the way for settlement. It has a membership of about 430, and its two series of publications contain a total of 122 The Harleian Society, called after the first Earl of Oxford, the collector of the famous "Miscellany," was founded in 1869, "for the publication of inedited MSS. relating to genealogy, family history, and heraldry." It has a membership of 280, and has issued 57 volumes of Heralds' Visitations and similar documents, besides 37 volumes of registers, of great importance to biographers and students of family history, the historical value of which, in an old, aristocratically-governed country like ours, is not easily overrated. The Parish Register Society pursues very similar objects, as its name implies, in a somewhat humbler field. The Pipe Roll Society serves a restricted. but very useful purpose—that of publishing in extenso the Great Rolls of the Pipe, a treasure house of information on the taxation and finance of the twelfth century in England. The Anglia Christiana

Society, founded in 1846, for the publication of works bearing on the early history of the Church of England, had but a short life, and is long since extinct. The Jewish Historical Society, founded in 1892, has its center in London. It holds about half a dozen meetings a year, at which papers are read. It publishes an occasional volume of Transactions, besides one or more volumes of documents every year, bearing generally on the history of the Jews in England, but dealing sometimes with wider aspects of Jewish history. The Mocatta Library, where its meetings are held, is practically the library of the society. It has a membership of 250.

There are in England two societies dealing with the auxiliary science of numismatics, viz., the Royal Numismatic Society and the British Numismatic Society. The former has a membership of over 300 and a fine library. It holds monthly meetings, and publishes the papers read thereat in the Numismatic Chronicle, at the rate of a volume a year. The British Numismatic Society is a larger body, with a membership of over 500, and a library. It holds frequent meetings, at which papers on numismatic history are read; and it brings out a volume of the British Numismatic Journal, with copious illustrations, annually.

Finally, under this head, I will mention two societies which certainly do not yield, in their importance for historical research, to any others in the miscellaneous class. The Selden Society, called after the great lawyer of the seventeenth century, was founded in 1886, for the publication of records and documents bearing on the history and science of English law. It has now produced some two dozen goodly volumes, on the legal and historical importance of which I need not enlarge before this audience. Till three years ago, it had the inestimable advantage of being under the direction of Frederick William Maitland, the greatest English legist since Blackstone, whose early death leaves a gap that it will probably take generations to fill. The Navy Records Society is probably less well known to American scholars, but deserves equal recognition for the ability of its work, and the skill and energy with which it has been directed by the veteran Prof. Sir J. K. Laughton. It owes its original inspiration to the epoch-making works of Admiral Mahan, who first showed Great Britain that—like M. Jourdan, when he discovered that he had been talking prose all his life—her greatness depended on the naval history she had been making during the larger part of her existence. The Navy Records Society was founded in 1890, has a membership of over 500, and has produced 35 volumes of great value to all students of naval history.

Lastly, in any account of the work done in Great Britain for the cause of history it is impossible to omit all mention of those societies which, while concerning themselves with more or less diverse sub-

jects, devote a portion of their energies to history; or those whose publications, primarily intended to illustrate literature, philology, etc., are often of great use to historical students. I class these societies—for want of a better term—as "mixed."

Among these the first place should be assigned to the recently formed British Academy. This body was established to meet the deficiency hitherto felt in Great Britain of any central national body representing the "humane" as contrasted with the "natural sciences." The famous "Royal Society," founded in the reign of Charles II, was originally intended to represent both aspects of science, but became in course of time restricted to the sciences of nature—astronomy. physics, chemistry, biology, etc. When, a few years ago, the attempt-since proved successful-was made to bring about an international gathering of scientific men distinguished in both branches, it was apparent that England had no body corresponding to that side of the Wissenschaftliche Akademie in Berlin, the Institut in Paris, or the Lincei in Rome, which is concerned with the "humane" sciences. The Royal Society did not see its way to making such a change in its composition as would have produced a return to its original conception, by admitting the historians, the philologists, and others to its ranks. No course, therefore, was open except to establish a new society. Accordingly, the British Academy was founded and incorporated by royal charter " for the promotion of historical, philosophical, and philological studies." Its members are limited to 100, and it may be said without exaggeration that the most distinguished names in those branches of learning to be found in Great Britain are now included in its list. It is divided into four sections, that of history and archæology containing nearly half of the whole number, though, of course, some of the members in this section belong to other sections also. It meets once a month for the reading of papers; and two volumes of Transactions, containing several original contributions to historical knowledge, have already been published.

The Royal Irish Academy, founded in 1786, includes history and archæology as well as natural sciences within its province. It holds fortnightly meetings for the reading of papers, and has published 60 volumes of transactions and proceedings, and a large number of extra publications bearing on the history and archæology of Ireland, such as illustrated works on inscriptions, ancient forts, etc., lives of Saint Patrick, calendars of monastic and other documents, records of Templars in Ireland, the commercial history of Dublin, etc.

Among the societies whose publications, while not exclusively devoted to history and archaeology, are generally or frequently of historical value, I may mention the English Text, Chaucer, and Shakespeare Societies, which owe their primary impulse to that indefatigable

octogenarian scholar, Dr. Furnivall. The many works published by these societies, primarily interesting to the student of English literature, are also, in most cases, of value for historical scholars. Roxburghe Club, a small and select body of wealthy amateurs and scholars, founded in 1813, has published in 128 volumes, which have given their name to a peculiar style of binding, many works of great historical value, such as the Chartulary of Colchester, the Glastonbury Survey, Herd's "Historia," the "Liber Regalis," the Diary of the first Earl Cowper, the Letters of Sir Henry Wotton, and a collection of Household Books throwing light on the domestic economy of the Middle Ages. The Caxton Society, while mainly concerned with the origins of English printing, has followed the example of its famous name-giver by publishing many historical works, such as the Chronicle of Peterborough, the Chronicles of Gaimar, Geoffrey le Baker, and others. Of a somewhat similar nature to these two last bodies was the Philobiblon Society, now extinct, which, between 1854 and 1860, published 21 beautifully printed volumes, containing much miscellaneous historical and biographical matter, such as the account by Lord Herbert of Cherbury of the Expedition to the Isle of Rhé (1627); letters of Mme. de Lafavette to Washington; documents bearing on the captivity of John, King of France, in England, etc. Wales possesses two societies which deserve mention under this head—the Society for the Publication of Welsh MSS. and the Cymmrodorion Society. Many publications of the former have historical value; while the Transactions of the latter contain, along with purely literary matter, records and documents bearing on the history of the Principality.

A descriptive catalogue of this kind can not, I fear, fail to be somewhat dull; but I trust that it will now be recognized that the old country is not backward or lethargic in its efforts to promote the science which those here present are united to honor. Let me summarize the remarks I have made in what, so far as I am aware, is the first attempt to form a conspectus, however imperfect, of the objects and work of historical societies in Great Britain. I have briefly described some 30 societies devoted to the study of the history and archaeology of Great Britain, of which 26 are flourishing at this moment—not to mention some 9 or 10 others in the "mixed" class. To these 26 we must add at least 24 other local societies—say 50 societies in all, at present in existence. These societies have a total membership of, at the lowest esimate, 17,000 members. They have published—a somewhat appalling thought—at least 2,775 volumes. One is struck, on the one hand, by the multitude of persons interested in historical study and the bulk of their literary output; on the other



¹ Since this address was delivered, Dr. Furnivall has died. 73885°—11——16

hand by the total absence of Government support and the lack of any common organization. The predominance, or, in many departments of mental and other activity, the exclusive existence, of voluntary effort is of course characteristic of Great Britain. It has, undoubtedly, its advantages; and perhaps the balance, on the whole, is in its favor; but in this respect England is sharply differentiated from most European countries. The other feature, the want of organization, is also characteristic; each society pursues its own objects independently of the rest. In the local societies this is natural, and in general harmless; but, in regard to those of a more general nature, more combination, more sense of community in difference, appear to me desirable. It may perhaps be hoped that the English Historical Association may ultimately grow into something like the body whose members I have the honor of addressing, may enlarge its scope so as to include the promotion of historical science and research, as well as of historical education, and may, in combination with the Royal Historical Society, attain a position and a prestige which will enable it, in some degree, to direct, or at least to influence and correlate the efforts of the various societies which, in their different ways, aim at the advancement of our common study.

XVI. THE WORK OF DUTCH HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

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By H. T. COLENBRANDER,

Secretary of the Commission of Advice of the Netherlands for National Historical Publications.

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THE WORK OF DUTCH HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

By H. T. COLENBRANDER,

Before entering upon my subject, permit me to say a few words as to myself and my presence on this platform. As secretary of the Commission of Advice for National Historical Publications at the Hague, I had the pleasure a few years ago of receiving the visit of your distinguished member, Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, who showed a keen interest in our work, of which he spoke at length in an article in the American Historical Review. "Gaps in the Published Records of United States History." 1 Dr. Jameson condescended, after having given an account of the establishment and preliminary activities of our commission, to recommend it to the attention of American historical men as an instance of what might be done by State support for the publication of historical materials on a scale exceeding the means of private enterprise. Last summer my good luck procured me the acquaintance of two other members of your association, Misses Ruth Putnam and Lucy M. Salmon, of whose visit to Holland I bear the most pleasant remembrance, and who also showed themselves much interested in our work. I suppose that I am not far wrong in ascribing to the benevolent intervention of these ladies and of Dr. Jameson the honor of your invitation, and that I can answer it best by telling you something of the work our commission has undertaken, the experience we have thus far gained, and the present state of our achievements. I would only ask you to be indulgent to a man who is obliged to address a meeting, the sympathy of which he is most eager to win, in a language not his own. If I venture to speak to you in a doubtful English it is because I feel sure that you will forgive something to a lecturer treating of the interests of Dutch history, a subject never alien to the countrymen of John Lothrop Motley and, I may add, of such authors as Dr. Jameson and Miss Ruth Putnam themselves.

As a Dutchman, I feel proud to be admitted into the company of leading American historical people. You are much in our thoughts; you were never more so than a few months ago, when we sent you the

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Half Moon as a greeting from the old city across the ocean to this glorious Empire City of yours. All difference of time and scale admitted, we have stood much for the same things as yourselves in the history of the world. A Dutchman's address to an American audience should begin with the old formula: Gruss und Liebe zuvorgreeting and love to you all.

The movement of which our commission is the latest offspring started in the beginning of the nineteenth century, the time that saw the greatest development of historical research in the leading countries of continental Europe. A royal decree of 1826 ordered steps to be taken for the research and publication of the principal manuscript sources of Dutch history. All historical men were invited to communicate their ideas as to the best means of attaining this object, while the post of historian of the realm was held out as a premium to the winning competitor.

The answers were not less than 44 in number, and are nearly all quite antiquated, even that of the man who was destined to gain a reputation in the publication of historical documents, Groen van Prinsterer. His answer is remarkable as far as it deals with the duties of the modern historian, but insufficient with regard to the proper object of the competition, the research, comparison, and publication of materials. Like nearly all other competitors he makes no difference between the task of collecting, sifting, and publishing the materials and that of revising national history itself by the use of them. The former is, in our opinion, a work fit for collaboration, the latter the proper domain of individuality. In his idea, however, both things may be done by one and the same man acting in one and the same official character. In later years Groen admitted that he was in error and contributed by his own labors to establish the distinction he had overlooked in his youth.

The only memorial of the 44 which is still of value is that of Thorbecke, then a professor of public law, in later life the leading Dutch statesman of the middle of the century. Occupied with things of still greater moment, as a minister he did nothing to carry out his own historical program of 1826, which, as an outline of State activity in the matter, remained in portfolio till the year 1902. Thorbecke draws the line between presenting the materials and historical production itself, and leaves the latter to private labor only. The publication of sources should not be intrusted to one individual, but to a central commission at The Hague. "The task," he says, "is manifold, and manifold the forces to be arrayed. To stimulate and direct, not hamper and discourage them, should be the device. It is possible to bring research to such a point that the renewal of production may be expected as a timely fruit. Production itself is essentially free; it is out of the reach of any measures I propose."

The competition of 1826 was followed by a period of political troubles which prevented any special and permanent attention being given to the subject by official people. Nevertheless, the remarkable start had some results: the institution, in 1827 at Brussels, of a State commission for publishing a series of Scriptores Rerum Belgicarum, of which the actual Commission Royale d'Histoire at Brussels is the direct offspring; a decree of 1834, intrusting Groen van Prinsterer with the publication of Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, and a whole series of measures for the concentration and better preservation of State archives, which for some time after the Batavian revolution had been scattered all over the country and left in a state of sad neglect; especially during the dark years in which, for example, the bulk of the archives of the first West India Company was destroyed, to the great detriment of Dutch and American history alike. In this line, however, Holland has since learned to do its duty. In the care of its archives it stands at present second to none. The State has set an example which has been followed by all the principal municipalities, and the body of its archivists is as famous for its liberality as for its technical skill. The "Guide for the keeping and cataloguing of archives," which was published a few years ago by the Association of Dutch Archivists, has acquired a well-deserved reputation, even in foreign countries, and has been translated into several European languages.

In the meantime the task of guiding and completing the publication of historical materials was left to private enterprise. From time to time some publications were subsidized by the State, but not on any regular plan. Most of the work was taken up by private historical societies, of which it will be now in place to say a few words.

The literary and scientific societies of the Netherlands date for the most part from the second half of the eighteenth century, a period of much genuine interest in everything which adorns and enlightens the human mind. They did much to arouse and keep alive that interest, acting along on their own lines, which were wavering enough in the estimation of our more scholarly age. Before the French revolution every Province represented not only a political sovereignty, but also a focus of a more or less independent intellectual life. Thus, on the whole, every Province possessed its own scientific society, devoting itself to widely different objects according to the modern point of view, each of such objects being now reserved to the care of specialists organized in separate bodies. One of the results of this movement toward specialization has been the establishment of historical societies proper in most of the Provinces and in some towns. Their vitality, like their usefulness, has been uninterrupted; they devote themselves more and more exclusively to local history, and in course of time their direction, once the prey of dilettantism, has fallen into the hands of professional men able to secure a high standard of efficiency, especially in the Provinces where the capital is at the same time a university town, like Utrecht and Groningen. All subsist on private contributions only.

This state of things, useful as it has proved for the needs of local history, was insufficient for promoting the study of national history at large. In consequence of the central position occupied in Dutch history by the Province of Holland, a society devoted to the history of that Province would have been in the best position to publish materials of interest to the general history of the Seven Provinces. but unfortunately in this Province a historical society did not and does not exist. This curious phenomenon is to be explained partly by the fact that the historical Province of Holland has been split up in modern times into two Provinces, partly by the circumstance that its intellectual center, the University of Leyden, possessed in its celebrated Society of Dutch Literature an organization which often did something for history, although history was not its first object. The same may be said of the Hollandsche Maatschappij van Wetenschappen (Society of Sciences) at Haarlem, a venerable and rich institution dating from the year 1752; of Teyler's Society in the same city, and of others. Nevertheless, the lack of a society occupying itself with national history was so keenly felt that from the founding by a few persons in 1845, in the minor Province of Utrecht (geographically the most central, and historically, after Holland, one of the most interesting), of a little historical society which devoted itself to the study of Dutch history in general, there developed in a very short time a "National Historical Society," although that name was never adopted. For years every professional historian of the country, and a great many benevolent persons, interested in their studies, have belonged to this society, which has maintained a central position up to the present society, which has maintained a central position up to the present moment, and until the year 1902 stood unrivaled as the first historical agency of the country. Since the seventies of the last century, it was modernized by a very active secretary, now its president, the archivist of the Province and of the city of Utrecht, Mr. S. Muller Fz. Before that period a great number of documents had been published, rather at random, in various collections called the Kroniik. Berigten and Codex Diplomaticus, without any system worthy of the name, valuable contributions being hidden amongst a great many now considered as practically worthless. These volumes, insufficiently indexed, are now much less used than they deserve. Since Mr. Muller's times a distinction has been made between a series of Werken appearing each under its own title, and a series of Bijdragen en Mededeelingen, being an annual publication of minor contributions on various subjects. The general standard of these smaller contributions has been greatly raised in later times by effective editorial control. Monographs or articles are rigidly excluded from this annual, which is devoted only to the publication of short documents or short series of documents, with brief introductions and only such explanatory notes as are indispensable.

Besides the publication of its Annual and its Works, the Historical Society of Utrecht has done good work in prescribing rules for the publication of documents (which every contributor has to observe) and in preparing an historical atlas for the Netherlands, the one and the other on the same lines as have been followed in Germany.

Among the works of this society many are familiar to every student of Dutch history. They present a great variety of materials and a not less great variety in the form of publications, though in this last respect the present generation has submitted to a much greater degree of uniformity than was maintained by their fathers and grandfathers. Reviewing the publications in the chronological order of the matters dealt with, we may signalize several publications of old Dutch chronicles, like Melis Stoke, Wilhelmus Procurator, Sicke Benninghe, a Cartularium of the Bishopric of Utrecht by Mr. Muller, a Bullarium Trajectense by Dr. Brom, the oldest accounts of the counties of Holland and Zealand, of the Bishopric of Utrecht, of the towns of Dordrecht and Groningen, of the guilds of Dordrecht; a great number of publications relating to the history of the Eighty Years' War, such as the correspondence of Lewis of Nassau by Blok. five volumes of documents on the Anjou period by Muller and Diegerick, documents on the prosecution of Grotius by Fruin; editions of old historians whose works did not exist in print, like Dusseldorp and Wicquefort; the diary of Jan van Riebeek, the founder of Cape Colony; memorials on the government of the city of Amsterdam by an old schepen, Hans Bontemantel; the unpublished part of the correspondence of John de Witt by Kernkamp and Japikse; diaries of Constantiin Huvgens the younger, of great value for the daily history of the court and government of William III; diaries of a Dutch burgomaster of the first half of the eighteenth century; of an Utrecht nobleman contemporary of William IV and V; the correspondence of Capellen van de Poll, with many letters of Livingston and other prominent Americans; the correspondence and memorials of van Goens, a leading publicist of the Orange Party about Till now the nineteenth century has been left untouched by the publications of the society.

Next to the Utrecht Historical Society should be named the Vereeniging tot Uitgave der Bronnen van het Oude Vaderlandsche Recht (Society for the Publication of the Sources of Ancient Dutch Law), which has published since 1880 some 30 volumes relating to the laws and customs of a great number of towns and country districts; the

Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis (Society for the History of Music in the Netherlands), which reprints or brings out in print for the first time remarkable old Dutch compositions; the Linschoten-Vereeniging, which reprints or brings out for the first time relations of old Dutch travels and discoveries by sea and land; whilst the Bataviaasch Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen at Batavia, and the Koninglijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië at The Hague, two bodies devoting themselves to various scientific purposes relating to the Dutch colonies, have also published from time to time materials for the study of Dutch colonial history. The history of the churches is mostly provided for by private enterprise or in some periodicals, the same being the case with the history of Dutch painting and architecture.

A few years ago a State commission was established for preparing descriptive catalogues of all old buildings and works of art still to be found in the country in order that the State might interfere as soon as any danger should occur of one of these treasures being demolished, spoiled, or sold. They contribute essentially to the individuality and attractiveness of the country, and their preservation is now generally considered as a national duty.

But let me return to my main subject, the publication of materials for the study of Dutch history at large.

Though the services of the Utrecht Historical Society had been many and of great merit, the society itself was quite aware that its limited means in money and men did not allow it to do all that was necessary, and often prevented it from undertaking what was needed most. All the work was paid for by the contributions of private members, and done by volunteers who could often spend on it only a very limited part of their time. This brought about a very sensible restriction, not only in the quantity, but also in the choice of things undertaken. So, in the last decennium of the nineteenth century, the society thought of applying to the State for a grant enabling it to appoint a paid secretary who would be always at hand to be charged with publications too extensive or too trouble-some to be expected from private hands.

At the moment when this measure was brought forward, direct State interference with the study of history was in no way a thing absolutely new; it had been exercised for some years already, but in a somewhat different manner. The merit of having brought about the important decision I allude to belongs entirely to the most universally known of living Dutch historians, Prof. P. J. Blok, now of Leyden, then of Groningen University. He had drawn for the first time the general attention to the circumstance that a good deal of the materials for Dutch history were to be taken from foreign

sources. During periods like those of the Middle Ages, of the Reformation, of the French Revolution, the history of the Netherlands is so interwoven with that of neighboring countries that in order thoroughly to study it one has to go abroad as well as to Dutch archives; whilst the nation, in the time of its greatest prosperity, as a people of traders and sailors, has had so many, so various, and so continuous relations with the rest of the world that it is scarcely possible to go anywhere without discovering something of interest to Dutch history. In limiting himself to the information to be drawn from Dutch archives the Dutch historian could not escape the danger of narrowing his views and lessening the value of his results. This was so evident that it had not escaped, at all, the attention of historians of a more remote period. In publishing his Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau. Groen had had recourse to French and German sources as well as to the documents in the actual possession of the royal family, while such men as Bakhuizen van den Brink, van den Bergh, and P. L. Muller had published valuable reports on materials for some parts of Dutch history in the archives of Brussels, Vienna, and Lille. But all the work done had been occasional and fragmentary. At the instigation of Prof. Blok the Government ordered, in 1886, a general survey of materials relating to Dutch history in foreign countries, a survey executed under the direction of Prof. Blok, and for a great part by himself. For many years he used to devote his summer vacations entirely to this object. In 1888 he was able to issue a first report on the materials in Germany, followed the next year by a second one, dealing with another part of Germany and with Austria. In the following years the method of procedure was slightly altered, Prof. Blok only going out for a preliminary survey and some younger scholar, appointed by him, finishing the work. This line was adopted for Great Britain (preliminary report by Blok, elaborate report by Brugmans), Paris (preliminary report by Blok, elaborate ones by Van Veen and Busken Huet), and Italy (preliminary report by Blok, followed by the establishment, on his proposal, of a Dutch Historical Institute at Rome, whose director, the Abbé Gisbert Brom, has already issued two volumes of a detailed catalogue of materials interesting Dutch history in the Vatican archives, two others, dealing with the Vatican library and other depots at Rome, being under preparation, while a survey of materials at Rome interesting the history of Dutch artists and learned men, is being conducted by specialists under Dr. Brom's direction). For Russia, Scandinavia, Spain, and Portugal the work has been performed, respectively, by Profs. Uhlenbeck, Kernkamp, and Bussemaker, all appointed at the proposal of Prof. Blok, but without any preliminary survey of his. A few years ago Prof. Kernkamp published a second report on materials in the Baltic seaports, while some steps have been taken toward cataloguing the archives of Lille and other towns in northern France; this part of the work, and also that relating to Belgium, remaining to be done. A great variety of valuable materials for Dutch history has been thrown open in this way to students, or at least made more accessible to them; the idea, of course, having never been to make superfluous, but only to facilitate, personal investigation in the foreign archives themselves by any student treating a definite object. On the whole, the work has been done with vigor and crowned with success, although the lack of stringent rules for conducting the survey has made itself strongly felt. Much, in the opinion of some critics too much, has been left to the insight and predilection of individual surveyors.

The history of this enterprise of Prof. Blok's has brought us down to the present times. Meanwhile, in 1902, the Government had taken a second and very decided step toward occupying itself with the interests of the study of history at large.

As I told you, the idea of allowing a Government grant to the Utrecht Historical Society had been ventilated some time before. The Government, however, preferred to fall back on the old program of nearly a century ago, which was now taken up again and executed on the lines then laid out by Thorbecke, though these were altered in many points, according to the experience of so many years lying between conception and performance. A State commission of 10 leading historical men was instituted to meet in the central depot of State archives at The Hague as often as they should deem necessarv, but at least once a year (as a rule the commission has met four or five times a year), under the presidency of the general archivist of the Kingdom, one of the ordinary archivists acting as a secretary. Its task was to be the planning of historical publications to be undertaken by the State, and to superintend the performance of its own designs, as soon as they had been laid before the minister of the interior and accepted by him. In the act of institution, the particulars to be expressed in every advice to the Government were precisely detailed so as to prevent as far as possible the deviating by performers from the intentions of the real authors of the plan. The control of the execution of all plans of publication rested with the president and secretary, it being left free to the commission to appoint in every particular case one of its non-official members to constitute with the president and secretary this board of control. A yearly allowance was made for the purpose of printing and binding the publications, for copying manuscripts, defraying voyages to foreign archives, and for paying moderate fees to publishers. allowance, which has been raised from time to time, now amounts to

8,000 guilders a year. Of each publication, 150 copies are left to the commission of advice to dispose of as it deems proper, 100 of these copies being regularly presented by them to libraries and institutions in Holland, the colonies, and abroad, and 50 reserved for presentation in special cases, according to the character of the publication. The other copies are handed over to a bookseller to be sold at the cost price of printing.

As it was expected that the mapping out of elaborate plans of publication and an effective control of their performance would require much time, the secretary of the commission, who, as I mentioned, was a State official, was discharged from any duty as an archivist, and was instructed to put himself entirely at the disposal of the commission.

Such, then, were the regulations under which the commission had to take in hand its task. The way in which it has thought proper to prepare its work has been deemed worthy of some consideration by your distinguished member, Dr. Jameson, in the article I referred to in the beginning of my address. As he has spoken of the proceeding at some length, I will only remind you of its main features.

The commission, before entering upon its business, unanimously resolved to make a general survey of the materials available for the study of Dutch history in its different parts and phases, and of the degree to which they had been duly published. The result was the indication of a certain number of gaps to be filled up by new publications. In order to prevent as much as possible all arbitrariness of proceeding, and to have things published in their proper time and proportion; in order to obtain, in short, a maximum of efficiency at a minimum of labor and expense, the commission resolved further to plan out the whole number of general series as well as minor publications that were deemed necessary to arrive at a state of things in which the original sources for national history might be said to be evenly and definitely presented. Of course we were quite aware that it would be impossible to carry out everything exactly as it had been originally planned; that the performance even of part of the program would take more than a man's lifetime; that experience gained and new ideas arising would necessarily lead to many deviations from the lines thus laid out. But this conviction could not restrain us from acting as we have done. The reason why it was found necessary that a permanent and official authority should interfere at all, was precisely that the voluntary element had been left too much at liberty to do what it liked, and especially to neglect what it did not like. We had no power to enforce fixed rules, but at least that of trying to observe them ourselves. In order that other historians should know what we were about, we asked for permission to publish

the report in which we had outlined the result of our preliminary deliberations, which had taken up a whole year, but which had led to the adoption of a fixed program which we since have had no occasion to forsake, and which greatly simplifies and regularizes our daily proceedings. This preliminary survey was published in 1904, and contained the rough outlines of 62 series and minor publications, several of which are now either completed, in process of execution, or in preparation. No publication is actually undertaken before the rough outline to be found in the Survey is replaced by a detailed project of the kind prescribed in our act of institution.

By a subsequent decree, the direction of the cataloguing of foreign archives as far as it has not yet been completed was also put into our hands, as well as the direction of the publications of the Dutch Institute at Rome.

Since the year 1905, 14 volumes have been issued, several others being in press or in preparation. In order to connect the history of the Old Dutch Republic, which till now has attracted too exclusively the attention of the student, with that of modern times, a large series of volumes is being devoted to the political history of the revolutionary period and the first half of the nineteenth century; this publication now covers the years 1789 to 1806 in six volumes, while two others, comprising the years from 1806 to 1810, will appear next year. Two volumes have been consecrated to the origins of the present Dutch constitution, dating in its actual features, apart from revisions in 1848 and 1887, from the years 1814 to 1815. Two other volumes, containing the acta of the provincial Synod of South Holland of the Dutch Reformed Church from 1621 to 1645, complete former publications of the synodal acts of an earlier period, and help to open a very rich source for the knowledge of national life and morals, which have been so profoundly influenced by the churches. A third volume of this series is in press, while others will follow. A single volume, published by Prof. Blok, exploits the series of Relazioni in the Venetian archives relating to the Dutch Republic. addition to these 11 volumes, the report of Prof. Kernkamp on the archives of the Baltic seaports and 2 volumes of Dr. Brom's catalogue of materials in the Vatican archives complete the number of 14 given above. Next year will be published the first volume of a series on the history of the Leyden cloth manufacture from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century; while a first volume of a series on the history of the Mediterranean and Levant trade will also be ready next year, and a series of documents on the Baltic trade of the Netherlands from the Middle Ages down to the nineteenth century is in



¹Oversicht van de door bronnenpublicatie aan te vullen leemten der Nederlandsche geschiedkennis (Survey of gaps in the knowledge of Dutch history to be filled up by new publications).

preparation. The first volume of the Correspondence of Constantijn Huygens, poet, courtier, and statesman of the seventeenth century, will also be out next year; a contribution of some interest to the history of Dutch intellectual and social life of that period. Publications on the Roman, Merovingian, and Carolingian periods, on the early history of the Dutch Reformation, on the history of Dutch Catholicism during the time of the Calvinistic Dutch Republic, on that of Dutch relations with Persia (the first of a series relating to Dutch colonial history in its various aspects), on the history of Leyden University, on that of the Amsterdam Bank and Amsterdam Exchange, will also appear in due time. Enough to make clear that we did not limit ourselves to the somewhat academical task of setting up a program, but are also doing our best to carry it out as far as means permit.

If you ask me to tell you something of the experience we have gained since taking up our task, I would venture to say that it has been in most respects reassuring. The readiness of Dutch historical men to give their support to work their Government had undertaken, a support indispensable for making it what it was intended to be, a national enterprise under official direction, has been most satisfactory, indeed, and the relations with private historical societies are of the most agreeable knd. The only respect in which reality has not quite confirmed our expectations is the difficulty in getting hold, not so much of the men as of the time required for thoroughly executing our plans on their original scale. Though allowing moderate fees, we are not able to compensate adequately the great loss of time the fulfillment of our wishes implies for our collaborators. They are an army of volunteers, and we want professional soldiers. Some of the most important series of our Survey involve a labor scarcely to be expected from any man already charged with other duties. This circumstance has led to the conviction that it will be necessary to install something like permanent headquarters where a few officers of the staff will be always at hand. The Government, which has shown the most enlightened understanding of its new enterprise, also has felt a keen interest in this particular matter and has put on the budget for the year 1910 the necessary sums for maintaining a permanent editing office to consist of a director, a subdirector, a clerk, and some copyists. While the director, besides publishing some volumes himself, will superintend the performance of the enterprise at large, the subdirector will devote himself principally to the publication of one of the most momentous and useful of all the series of the Survey, but one that can never be finished by a voluntary collaborator—that of the proceedings of the States General from the year 1576 to the end of the seventeenth

century. Those of the eighteenth century exist in old print in a nearly satisfactory form, but the older ones are in manuscript only, and Dutch history at large stands sorely in need of them.

Perhaps I have detained you already longer than was wanted for the purpose of shortly surveying with you Dutch historical publications. Only a few words to conclude.

You will have seen that the program, both executed and to come, is intended to serve many and various realms of national history; that not even the history of the churches is excluded, though the differences of religious belief have of old, as they still do, profoundly influenced and colored national life. From Dr. Jameson's last contribution to the American Historical Review, entitled "The American Historical Association, 1884-1909," I have seen that the American Government adopts another view, and that from your annual reports, printed at public expense, contributions on the history of the Christian religion and the Christian sects are excluded. Of course I do not assume a right to criticize a system that may be founded in circumstances of which I am ignorant; I only thought it right to state that in a country so divided upon the point of religion as is Holland the State provides for historical publications bearing on religious matters without causing any trouble, the public, with all its divisions, being perfectly aware that the work is undertaken in the general interest only, by men with lofty aims and clean hands. I think it would be a good day on which your Government left you the liberty in this line that we enjoy and you deserve. With you, as with us, any disrespect of truth, originating from base partiality, is enough to break the reputation of a historical man. On this, as on vonder side the water, ours is the same proud device, Honestum petimus usque.

¹ American Historical Review, October, 1909.

XVII. THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES OF FRANCE.

By CAMILLE ENLART,
Director of the Musée de Sculpture Comparée du Trocadéro, Paris.

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THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES OF FRANCE.

By CAMILLE ENLAST.

For historical societies as well as for all other institutions very remote origins can be found. By a liberal construction one might come to see a sort of historical society in the unknown editors at the court of Charlemagne, who under his inspiration wrote the Annales Regales. Without insisting on this point it is, however, certain that the order of St. Benedict from the ninth to the eighteenth centuries constituted in France a genuine historical society, not because history was its object but because it was its specialty.

According to the public opinion of the Middle Ages the archives of the Royal Abbey of St. Denis contained treasures of historical docu-This opinion, it should be said, is made known to us through a literature which is historical only in form and which had almost its sole origin in the imagination of its authors. The work of Monsieur Bédier has demonstrated the rôle of the great abbeys in the creation of the chansons de geste, and it is also known that these abbeys were the places where were elaborated the legends of the saints. All this is what may be called the historical romance of the Middle Ages. but aside from this literature, enveloping and concealing a little history, the Benedictine monks wrote numerous chronicles, sincere, serious, and of indisputable historical value, such, for example, as those of St. Benigne de Dijon, of St. Bertin de St. Omer, of Odon de Deuil, of Robert de Torigny, of Sigebert de Gembloux, of Jean d'Ypres, and of many others which it would take too long to enumerate.

When, then, in the seventeenth century the Benedictines commenced the publication of those great historical works that are the glory of their order, they only followed and revived their old traditions, and the manuscripts of the chronicles which they published were often the work of their predecessors. From 1614 Dom Martin Marrier published in collaboration with André Duchesne the Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, a collection of the sources of the history of the order of Cluny. In 1648, at a general chapter of the Benedictines held at Vendôme, Dom Luc d'Achery proposed a complete plan for the revival of the studies of the celebrated congregation, which plan was

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adopted and followed. A veritable historical seminary was created within the order of St. Benedict and carried on its work until the Revolution.

In each of the abbeys affiliated with St. Maur des Fossés or with St. Vanne de Verdun care was taken to develop a taste for historical studies among such monks as displayed any aptitude therefor. The youngest were employed in classifying the archives and the libraries and in making copies or notes which were used by the more experienced. Monks were sent on missions throughout all Catholic Europe to explore the archives, even outside of their own order, and all the materials thus obtained were coordinated by certain scholars whose names are universally celebrated. Thanks to the perfect organization and discipline of this body of workers the program of Dom Luc d'Achery was realized and even surpassed. This program included editions of the church fathers, of works of exegesis, and of ecclesiastical history. The Benedictines had commenced by writing their own history; they were led to write that of the Gallic church, and they finally undertook the publication of all French historical texts. It is thanks to them that France furnished the earliest and best models of critical historical works.

The first director of these historical works was the illustrious Mabillon, the creator, one may say, of the science of diplomatic, who published the first treatise on that subject. His successor was Dom Thierry Ruinart.

Among the publications of the Benedictines should be cited:

Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, by Dom Mabillon, 1668–1701. Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, by Dom Mabillon, 1675–1685. Vetera Analecta.

Spicilegium . . . Veterum aliquot Scriptorum, by Dom Luc d'Achery, 1723.

Acta Martyrum Sincera, by Dom Thierry Ruinart, 1689.

Thesaurus Anecdotorum Novus, by Dom Martène and Dom Durand, 1717. Amplissima Collectio, by the same authors, 1724–1733.

Histoire littéraire de la France, commenced by Dom Rivet, 1733-.

Voyages de deux Bénédictins, by Martène and Durand, 1717.

Grégoire de Tours, ed. Martène and Durand.

Gallia Christiana, planned in 1646 by the brothers Sainte-Marthe, commenced in 1715.

Monuments de la Monarchie française, by Dom Bernard de Montfaucon, 1729-1733.

Histoire Générale de Languedoc, by Dom Claude de Vic and Dom Vaissete, 1733-1745.

Histoire de Bretagne, by Dom Lobineau, 1707.

Histoire de Bourgogne, by Dom Plancher, 1739-1781.

Histoire de Paris, by Dom Félibien, 1725.

Histoire de Saint Germain des Prés et de Saint Martin des Champs, by Dom Marrier.

L'Histoire de Saint Denis, by Dom Félibien, 1706.

L'Art de vérifier les Dates, 1750.

There should also be cited the numerous and excellent works of Étienne Baluze. André Duchesne, in 1636, commenced the publication of his edition of the Historiae Francorum Scriptores Coætanei, Volumes III-V of which were published by his son. Colbert had had the idea of undertaking a new and better collection, an idea realized by the minister d'Aguesseau in charging the Benedictine congregation of Saint Maur with the publication of the Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France. The first eight volumes of this work were brought out by Dom Martin Bouquet between 1737 and 1752. Down to the revolution five other volumes were published by other monks.

The order of the Jesuits in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries also distinguished itself in France as a learned society. Father Sirmond brought out learnedly annotated editions of Sidonius Apollinaris, of Fortunatus, of Flodoard; Father Labbe was an editor more tireless than careful, but we should be none the less grateful to him for important services. It should be noted also that among the Bollandists were several French Jesuits.

The most illustrious of French historical societies, the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, dates from 1701. The principal objects of the scholars and literary men who composed it was, in the mind of Louis XIV, to compose the inscriptions for the monuments of his own reign and to draw up a program for them which should be symbolical; it was to this end, according to the thought of the monarch, that all the studies of ancient monuments and inscriptions should be conducted. Fortunately, however, the academicians loved antiquity for itself; from the beginning they studied it disinterestedly, and among the forty elite there were found, from the very first, certain ones who recognized the interest of the mediæval period, so despised by their contemporaries. Among these should be noted Fréret, author of memoirs on the origins of the Frankish nation: de Foncemagne, who wrote accounts of the great historians of the Middle Ages; Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye, the worthy predecessor of the philologians of the present day and author of one of the first glossaries of old French; Levesque de la Ravalière, who, in 1745, made a study of fourteenth-century ivories; and finally and especially Abbé Lebeuf. To this last we owe critical studies on the so-called chronicle of St. Bertin, on Philippe de Mézières, on Christine de Pisan, and on gothic architecture, which he was the first to study. He is also the author of the history of the diocese of Paris.

Although the Academy of Inscriptions was the first nonreligious historical society it nevertheless, along with the Benedictines and the Jesuits, failed to find favor with the revolution, which took upon itself the systematic destruction of all the institutions of the old régime. The Convention, however, was not wholly without interest

in studies and art, even in those of the past. One remembers the speeches of Abbé Grégoire against vandalism and one recalls the creation of the Musée des Monuments Français. In 1795 was founded the Institut de France, a grouping of the five academies, which has passed undisturbed through all our political crises, its safety assured by the respect of the entire nation.

From its origin the institute was the free asylum of thought and of study, and the representatives of the victorious philosophy found themselves united there with certain former ecclesiastics, such as Daunou, a former Oratorian, and Brial, a former Benedictine of St. Maur. These men had come through the storm like the navigators of old who bore and cherished amid the tempests a little of the sacred fire of the sanctuary which they were leaving in order that they might perpetuate the flame upon the altar of the new country which they were going to found.

Daunou organized the Archives Nationales. Brial continued, under the auspices of the Académie des Inscriptions, the works which had been commenced at St. Maur. Thus, this worthy scholar added four volumes to the collection begun by Dom Bouquet, and continued the Histoire Littéraire. After his death in 1833 the work was carried on and still is. Naudet, Daunou, Guigniaut, Natalis de Wailly, Léopold Delisle and Jourdain have published five further volumes of the Recueil des Historiens, since reduced to a more convenient plan and the volumes to a more manageable size. The Gallia Christiana, commenced in 1715 was completed by Hauréau, who brought out in 1865 the last two of its 16 volumes. The Histoire Littéraire is still slowly carried on. A Recueil des Historiens des Croisades had been planned by the Benedictines and Dom Berthereau left various notes intended for that work. The Académie des Inscriptions published first the Assises de Jérusalem, in two volumes, edited by Beugnot, and then 13 volumes devoted to the western, eastern, and Greek historians, and to Armenian documents. In taking over the enterprises of the Benedictines the academy has not abandoned those which it had itself inaugurated. Since 1787 it has published the Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres Bibliothèques, a collection comprising to-day 39 quarto volumes. The Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions form an old series of 51 volumes, and a new series, containing at present 38 quarto volumes. The academy has also published Diplomata, Chartae, Epistolae, Leges aliaque Instrumenta ad Res Gallo-francicas Spectantia, in 2 folio volumes; a Table chronologique des Diplômes, Chartes, Titres, et Actes imprimés concernant l'Histoire de France, in 8 folio volumes; 2 volumes of Chartes et Diplômes de Philippe I, Lothaire, Louis V; 21 folio volumes of Ordonnances des Rois de France de la troisième Race, with a table in 1 volume; a volume of Documents financiers; 8 volumes of

Obituaires; 4 volumes of Pouillés des Diocèses de Lyon, Rouen, Tours, et Sens; and finally the Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum which at present is made up of 14 parts.

The year 1804 saw the birth of another society, established by the Government for the study of history and archæology, the Académie Celtique. Its especial purpose was the study of the Celts and of their monuments, the historical and artistic influence of which was at that time, thanks to Macpherson, singularly exaggerated in certain fervent imaginations. The principal zealots were Éloi Johanneau, Mangourit, and Cambry, and they inscribed as the first honorary member the celebrated Latour d'Auvergne, "le premier grenadier de France," and author of "Origines Gauloises." The Celtic researches were less fruitful than had been anticipated. The fad passed, but the society remained and took the name of Société des Antiquaires de France. It is, like the academies, composed of 40 elected members. For over a century it has carried on the publication of a series of memoirs, and since 1857 of a bulletin, devoted to the history, and especially the archæology, of France and of French Africa.

The École des Chartes, the idea of which was inspired by Daunou in 1807, was not founded until 1821. It was reorganized in 1829 and again in 1847. Since then, under the direction of such masters as Quicherat, Natalis de Wailly, Hauréau, Bourquelot, and Tardif, it has accomplished a magnificent and twofold work. In the first place it has imparted to the youth a knowledge of the sources of national history, of philology, of paleography, of diplomatic and mediæval law, institutions, and archeology, previously ignored by us except for a small number of scholars. In the second place, the École des Chartes has created a veritable historical method, and in so doing has rendered an immense service. In 1839 its alumni formed a society and began the publication of a historical review entitled the Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, and devoted almost exclusively to the Middle Ages. This collection of 70 volumes is too well known to need praise in this connection. In addition to the review the school publishes each year a thesis chosen by the "Conseil de Perfectionnement" from among those presented by the students.

Under the reign of Louis Philippe and the impulse given by Guizot and Salvandy historical studies made a remarkable stride, as evidenced by the institutions about to be enumerated. In 1837 was created the Commission des Monuments Historiques, composed of architects and archæologists, the function of which was to supervise the restoration and maintenance of our monuments. This official commission has published two series of "albums" reproducing de luxe the plans of the architects and containing an explanatory text. The title of the two series is Archives de la Commission des Monuments Historiques.

Another official institution, under the ministry of public instruction, the Comité des Travaux Historiques, was created in 1834 for the purpose of publishing historical documents. The Comité has brought out nearly 300 quarto volumes of Documents Inédits, forming 112 different collections classified in 7 divisions, as follows:

- I. Chroniques, mémoires, journaux, récits et compositions historiques.
 - II. Cartulaires et recueils de chartes.
 - III. Correspondances et documents politiques et administratifs.
 - IV. Documents de la période révolutionnaire.
- V. Documents philologiques, littéraires, philosophiques, juridiques, etc.
 - VI. Publications archéologiques.
 - VII. Rapports, instructions, etc.

The Comité also publishes a Bulletin Historique, which since 1883 has been augmented by a Bulletin Archéologique.

The ministry of public instruction carries on also the publication of the inventories of the departmental and communal archives, which the departmental archivists, all graduates of the École des Chartes, are required to prepare. This fine collection includes at present 312 volumes for the departmental archives and 151 volumes for the communal archives.

The École Française de Rome, founded in 1876, has published, together with the school at Athens, 102 volumes of history and archæology, in addition to its review, Mélanges de l'École de Rome, and the quarto Registres Pontificaux, of which about 10 volumes have appeared and about as many more are in course of publication.

The École des Hautes Études, founded in 1868, has brought out a series of historical works bearing the title of Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, of which 187 parts have thus far appeared.

Such, then, is in its ensemble the work of the academies, societies, commissions, and committees connected with the French Government. Private initiative has not been less fruitful. In 1833, about contemporary with the creation of the Comité des Travaux Historiques, a group of scholars under the inspiration and direction of Guizot founded the Société de l'Histoire de France, the object of which was to study the sources of our history and to publish chronicles inedited, or the editions of which were exhausted or imperfect. Up to the present time the society has published 941 volumes, without counting its Annuaire and Bulletin. Several of these works are of great importance, such, for example, as the Procès de Jeanne d'Arc, by Quicherat; the Joinville, by N. de Wailly; the Comines of Mademoiselle Dupont; and the Froissart—uncompleted, alas—of Siméon Luce. In spite of inevitable inequalities, the publications of the Société de l'Histoire de France are among the best ever produced in any country.

The Société des Anciens Textes was started in 1875, and publishes with the greatest care texts which are literary rather than historical, but which are of interest for history and philology. Ninety-one volumes have already appeared.

The Société française d'Archéologie, founded in 1831 by M. de Caumont, and under the present direction of M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, carries on the historical study of the monuments of French art. Each year since 1834 it has brought out one volume of its review, the Bulletin Monumental, and a volume of the proceedings and memoirs of its meetings.

One may also consider as a historical society the group of scholars and professors who direct the publication of the Collection de Textes pour servir à l'Enseignement de l'Histoire. These texts, published in a small size and at a moderate price, are edited with the greatest care and include chronicles in Latin or in French, as well as collections of diplomatic or administrative documents bearing upon certain subjects or periods, and also juridical texts, such as the Coutume de Beauvoisis, of Beaumanoir. Several of these little working editions, of which there are now over 40, are much superior to those that had already been brought out in far more pretentious collections.

Many historical societies devote their investigations to a given locality, a province, a certain period, or to a single subject. Among these last should be noted the Société de l'Histoire de l'Orient Latin, founded in 1875, which publishes a review—the Archives de l'Orient Latin—and a series of fine editions of the chroniclers of the Crusades. There is also the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français, founded in 1852, which has never ceased to be prosperous and vigorous, and which publishes a bulletin rich in interesting and well-presented documents. A bulletin is also published by the Société de l'Histoire de la Révolution.

Among the local societies should be noted, at Paris, the Comité des Travaux Historiques de la Ville de Paris, which publishes a series of inedited documents corresponding to the series brought out by the ministry of public instruction, and the Société de l'Histoire de Paris, which, in addition to its bulletin, publishes various octavo volumes, such as the Mémoires d'un Bourgeois de Paris du début du XV° Siècle. For several years each arrondissement of Paris has had its Société Historique, publishing a bulletin.

In the provinces we find the same type of historical societies in great abundance. Some of them are official and are connected with the prefectures, such, for example, as the Comité historique du Nord, the Commission départementale des Monuments historiques du Pasde-Calais, etc. Others are established for the study of one of the old provinces, such as the antiquarian societies of Normandy, of Picardy, of Morinie, of the West (this last at Poitiers), or the

Société des Archives de la Gironde, the Société d'Archéologie lorraine, and the Société du Gatinais. Still others are limited to an arrondissement.

In certain societies the historical work is only a part of that carried on. The academies of Rheims, of Arras, of Rouen, of Macon, and elsewhere devote themselves also to literature; the societies of agriculture, letters, science, and art are devoted to all branches of learning.

Each of these societies publishes a bulletin, memoirs, and other volumes. Some of these publications are very poor, but others, such as those of the antiquarian societies of Picardy and Normandy, are sumptuous in form and conform to a high standard of scholarship.

To present a table of all these various works would exceed the limits of the present account. An enumeration of them fills several quarto volumes. In 1888 the Comte de Lasteyrie undertook, under the auspices of the ministry of public instruction, the publication of a Bibliographie Générale des Travaux Historiques et Archéologiques publiés par les Sociétés Savantes de la France. M. de Lasteyrie has had successively as collaborators MM. Eugène Lefèvre-Pontalis, Bougenot, and Vidier. Five volumes are filled by the list of publications through 1902. It is an eminently useful work, which permits students to profit from a vast quantity of researches, the results of which are scattered throughout the local publications of all France.

XVIII. THE WORK OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN SPAIN.

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THE WORK OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN SPAIN.

By RAFAEL ALTAMIRA.

The origin of societies and institutions devoted to historical studies in Spain may be traced back, in the majority of cases, to the eighteenth century, an epoch most propitious for this kind of knowl-The critical spirit prevailing in Europe had already appeared in Spain in the seventeenth century, and owing to its particular character, it showed a decided tendency toward the revision of opinion in questions of all kinds, resulting in numerous series of investigations and works, wherein a number of the national historical traditions were revised. Ancient authors were discussed. were critically edited and methodological doctrines emphasized (for which a precedent had already been established in the sixteenth century), while the so-called auxiliary sciences of history were being perfected. On the other hand, canonical and political questions deeply affected and divided the Spaniards in that century, leading the two parties to the study of the historical bases of their respective controversies, and giving rise, among other things, to the appointment of official commissions to examine the archives, for the purpose of procuring and publishing documentary evidence. The heated discussions provoked at the time, especially in Italy and France, between the elements friendly and unfriendly to Spain, obtained the same result, forcing the former to make an arduous search in the pages of history to refute the statements made by prejudiced parties involving a denial of national culture and life. Finally, the favorable movement toward the study of national law, developing at the time, attracted attention to the original thereof and consequently toward the study of the history of Spanish law. Such were the four great causes which prompted an intense interest in the study of historical doctrines and a great development of them all, and to such an extent that this was perhaps the field where intellectual Spain attained the greatest splendor and made the most lasting and abundant conquests. Proof of this preference, and nucleus of the merging of the efforts made along these lines, were the various societies created in that century, almost all under the name of "academies." The first of 269

all these in chronological order was the Royal Academy of Belles Lettres of Barcelona, established in 1729, which still exists, and which, from its beginning, demanded special attention to archæological and literary studies in the essays which the members of the academy, at the time of their reception, were called upon to read (which custom still prevails), as well as in the papers which were presented and discussed at its meetings. As an example of this requirement at the time the contribution entitled "Observations on the Elementary Principles of History," prepared by the Marquis of Llió (1756), which constitutes an interesting work on methodology, can be mentioned.

The academy had the custom, and still observes it, of collecting in volumes of memoirs these essays, which constitute a varied series of writings of special interest to Catalan history, to which naturally it gave preference, and it has published, during these last years, a learned review which contains documents and abundant work of research.

The second in time, and the most important one for various reasons, is the Royal Academy of History, founded in 1738 at Madrid, which belongs to the group of royal academies established under Philip V by the intellectual men of that period. The ablest and most competent men and those most interested in the progress of historical research, from Campomanes and Flórez to Martínez y Marina and Llorente, congregated in Madrid as a natural consequence, and they enlightened it with their work. From the beginning it was the cradle of great intellectual achievements and still greater aspirations. Besides the presentation of essays which, as in the Academy of Barcelona, constituted an unavoidable duty on the part of the aspirants to membership in the academy, and which have been collectively published in volumes, and the preparation of the papers and debates which were read and held in the meetings (and which have also been partly published in the form of minutes), the academy engaged in two forms of labor, the one consisting in the publishing of papers and historical works, and the other in the formation of an archive and a library greatly enriched by the constant acquisitions from the Jesuits (after their expulsion), from the suppressed convents at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and by the labors of the many members of the academy. academy has not published a catalogue of its papers, but for some time past it has issued semiannual lists covering the new works and reviews that it receives, although not with all the desirable bibliographical notes, nor in any systematic order. The publications of the Academy are important from the start and comprise three groups—original documents; new editions of old historical works, such as those of Gines de Sepúlveda; and general or monographic

works prepared collectively or individually by members of the academy. These three groups, already begun in the eighteenth century and continued to date, constitute the following series:

- I. Memoirs of the Royal Academy of History, 10 volumes.
- II. Geographic and Historical Dictionary of Spain. Begun in the eighteenth century. Only three volumes have been published, comprising the Provinces of Biscay, Navarre, Rioja, and a portion of that of Burgos.
- III. Assemblies (Cortes) of the ancient kingdoms of Leon and Castile, Minutes of the Assemblies of Castile, Assemblies of the ancient kingdoms of Aragón and Valencia and the principality of Catalonia. Three series comprising, respectively, 7, 27, and 13 volumes.
- IV. Spanish historical memoirs. A miscellaneous collection of documents, short treatises, and a variety of eclectic writings of diverse character and belonging to different epochs. 43 volumes.
- V. A collection of Arabic historical and geographical works. Translations. 2 volumes.
- VI. Sacred Spain. That part formed by Father Flórez and its additions. 51 volumes.
- VII. A literary visit to the churches of Spain, by Don Jaime Villanueva. An interesting work on account of the bibliographical and archæological data therein contained. 22 volumes.
- VIII. A collection of original documents relating to the discovery, conquest, and organization of the former colonial possessions of Spain.
- IX. Geographical reports of the West Indies, compiled by Don M. Jiménez de la Espada. 4 volumes.
 - X. Spanish-Arabic library. 8 volumes.
- XI. A number of miscellaneous works, among which can be designated an edition of the Laws of Alphonso X; another of the juridical treatise of the same monarch; another of the Lex Romana Visigothorum manuscript, found at Leon; the chronicles of Henry IV; minutes of the congresses of Americanists; a catalogue of the laws and patents for the establishment of towns and villages of Spain (cartaspueblas); the General and Natural History of the Indies, by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, and the History of Ferdinand IV, of Castile.

Besides the foregoing a Bulletin is published by the academy in which its works are summarized and epigraphical and archæological memoirs are published, as well as learned investigations. This Bulletin was started in 1877 and has been kept up to date by monthly issues which constitute at the present time 55 volumes.

The academy has the project of publishing a collection of charters (fueros) containing and completing the work begun by Muñoz and Romero, a manual of archæology, and another of Spanish history.

It publishes an annual report containing a list of the permanent and corresponding academicians, as well as of the literary works of the academy and other interesting matter.

The academy awards various prizes in competitive contests, to works of a historical character, written by persons who are not academicians. These prizes are, in part, the product of legacies made to the academy, such as the Fermín Caballero prize and the Marquis de Loubat prize.

The academy is composed of 36 permanent members, elected by the academy itself. Its officials are a chairman, a secretary, a censor, an antiquary, a librarian, and a treasurer, all of them academicians. It usually meets once a week. The number of Spanish and foreign corresponding members is unlimited.

Great projects were proposed in the Academy of History in the first years of its existence, which, had they been carried out, would have meant a gigantic step in historical studies, but in any event they express a laudable spirit of enterprise. So that, whilst Father H. Flórez was compiling the very rich compilation of documents which constitute his Sacred Spain, a collection which equals, and in some respects surpasses, the contemporaneous ones of Europe, the Count of Campomanes, director of the academy, was writing, in 1755, a "plan and instructions for the formation of a universal diplomatic index of Spain," and he was at the same time conceiving and expressing the idea of publishing compilations from documentary and epigraphical sources of the history of Spanish law (the first time that such a project was conceived in the world), as well as from the Latin inscriptions and diplomas of the Middle Ages, and the said Father Flórez, surpassing his epoch, proposed the publication not only of the inventory, but of the texts of the Greek manuscripts existing at the Escorial.

This broadly organizing spirit in the conception of historical work and in the compilation of its indispensable material was very general at that epoch, it being breathed from the Spanish intellectual atmosphere. We thus see the authorities and men of letters applying themselves not only to the formation and reorganization of archives and libraries (the Archives of the Indies having been formed in 1785, with the principal materials relating to America, which had been partly segregated from those contained at Simancas), but also to insuring the preparation of vast and important historical works. Such were, for example, the Ecclesiastical History of Spain, the Government having sent, in 1750, 20 commissioners to different cities and towns for the purpose of collecting all the necessary data available for this work and of copying all documents and old papers bearing on the matter, which gave rise to the splendid collection of the academician, Father Burriel; the project of a collection of contempo-

raneous documents relating to Spanish history from the most remote epoch to the year 1516, which was conceived and its publication commenced (but not terminated) by Don Luis Velázquez; the remarkable and very vast history of the origin, progress, and present condition of literature, written by Father Andrés; the wonderful critical, sacred, and profane bibliography by Father Miguel de San José (1740); the learned voyages of Villanueva, Pouz, Bosarte, and Abella; the Catalogue of Languages of Hervás and other series of works or projects of immense conception, which prove the high attainments of those men. At the same time a critical spirit was applied to all investigations, a curious manifestation of which was the rigorous and thoughtful censures expressed in the "Journal of the Literary Men of Spain" (Diario de los Literatos), correcting at times the historical mistakes contained in books that were published. This was the first example amongst us of critical bibliography of a scientific character.

Finally, it is noticeable how everywhere the new ideas upon the conception and contents of history were reflected, an academical manifestation of which is the essay by Jovellanos bearing upon the internal relation between the history of law and that of the country (revival of the opinion of Leibnitz in this matter), and, as an extra-academical manifestation of this same spirit, can be cited the Critical History of Spain and of Spanish Culture, by Masdeu.

In 1713, some years before the foundation of the Royal Academy of History, the Spanish Academy or Academy of the Spanish Language was founded. Although the latter gave special attention to the study and preservation of the Castilian language, it could not, in view of the literary character of its commission and of the necessity of acquiring explanatory documents of the language, abstain from engaging in the field of investigation and in historical publications. So it was from the beginning and this is the reason why the work of this academy should be taken into account, not only in connection with Spanish literary history, but also in connection with the history of law itself. So it is this latter, and not the Academy of History, which has published, for instance, an edition of the compilation of the so-called "Fuero Juzgo" and another one of the "Fuero of Avilés." It also organized competitive contests where prizes were awarded to biographical works bearing on important Spanish writings, the knowledge of which is indispensable to the history of peninsular civilization. It is needless to say that the essays submitted on admission to this academy have, likewise, very often a historical character.

Concluding this account of the institutions created in the eighteenth century, I shall mention the Royal Academy of Belles Lettres of Seville, founded in 1751 and similar to the Barcelona academy,

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although not as abundant in the matter of publications (it lacks compilations of memoirs), and the Society of National History which was inaugurated at Jeréz in 1790, but which does not exist at the present time.

The nineteenth century has produced new centers of historical studies and research, and has developed, within the old ones, new forms of association and labor.

The Academy of History has created the Provincial Commissions of Historical and Artistic Monuments. As it is an indispensable condition of regular membership in the academy to be a resident of Madrid and as on the one hand there are naturally a great number of able men who apply themselves to historical sciences living in the provinces, and, on the other, there are to be found in the latter a wide field for the development of this knowledge and a great number of archæological remains to be guarded and to be preserved from falling into decay and destruction, it was thought advisable to appoint corresponding members who, when a certain number had been appointed in each province, should constitute a provincial commission. In fact, the formation of these commissions is mixed. They consist in part of corresponding members of the Academy of History, but also (in almost an equal number) of those of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando, which was established in the same century and which, given up to the studies designated by its title, tends perforce to investigations of the origin and development of the arts and to enter into the field of archæological research. The regulations enacted for the administration of the commission on monuments date from 1844, and they were amended some years later. It is the prerogative of the commission to watch over the preservation of all classes of monuments that may have a historical or artistic. value; to promote explorations and excavations, and to save from destruction any object of archeological interest. All of these commissions have thus been compelled to form small museums containing antiquities of provincial origin, which at times have acquired importance on account of the number and of the merit of their collec-Some of these commissions publish also bulletins and reviews on archæological subjects, such as those of Orense, Cáceres, Pamplona, and Vizcaya (Bilbao). Others, such as those of Oviedo, publish reports of their works, monographs on the history of art and information which tend to diffuse archæological knowledge. All of them have duties to perform, which they do more or less regularly; and hold periodical meetings, wherein matters pertaining to their object are discussed, reports are prepared for the executive authorities on the matter of preserving monuments, and other labors tending to the social welfare are performed.



¹Regarding these, reference is made to my monograph on "Libraries, Archives, and Museums of Spain," published in Historia y Arte, Madrid, 1898.

Bodies similar to these commissions have been organized in different localities through individual efforts. Thus, in Barcelona, the Artistic and Archæological Barcelona Association, which publishes a review (formerly a bulletin) in which appear historical studies and papers, and a "Library of Albums," and archæological works, very praiseworthy, especially for the study of the history of Catalan art, and the Archeological Society Luliana, center of the Mallorca men of letters, which owns a museum and has published for some years back a most interesting bulletin, an indispensable source of knowledge for Balearic history. In the same group attention may be called to the "Societies of Excursions," which, first in Catalonia. then in Seville, Madrid, and in Valladolid actively and specially cultivate the study of monuments and historical places and of provincial folklore. Those societies of Catalonia, Madrid, and Valladolid publish various important archeological reviews and some books of like character, which must not be omitted in a Spanish historical bibliography.

Special mention must be made of the Society of Arabic Studies, organized by an important group of specialists on this subject, the majority of whom are pupils of Prof. Codera. This society has published a series of Arabic texts and a collection of Arabic studies prepared in Zaragoza, wherein are to be found important works of investigation and translations of notable Arabic books. This group, which is in communication with those interested in Arabic studies in other countries, enjoys a preponderant authority in this special field.

Again referring to the official institutions which are of great interest for historical science, and excluding the universities from this list, I will mention in the first place the National Library of Madrid, which cooperates in the progress of our studies by means of annual contests designed to give premiums for Spanish bibliographical works. Some of the prize works have been published, and they provide considerable material for investigations.

The body of record keepers, librarians, and antiquarians, which has charge of the public museums, archives, and libraries,² publishes archæological and other works of erudition in a monthly review, which, after the academy's bulletin, is the most important from an historical viewpoint. It publishes also original documents, monographs of research, and historical bibliographies, with abundant and splendid illustrations.

The Royal Academy of Moral and Political Sciences (1857) must also be mentioned. It fosters the cultivation of the historical side of its studies in various forms, such as discourses pronounced upon entering the academy, which sometimes treat of the history of legal

¹Regarding whose work attention is called to my report read before the international Congress of Historical Sciences at Rome, and to the Annals of the University of Oviedo.





and social institutions or of philosophical, moral, and legal doctrines; memoirs which are read and discussed there treating historical themes; and finally competitive prize contests which are held in behalf of research works, which very often have a historical character and which have given rise to the publication of monographs such as those relating to the organization and functions of the financial authorities of Castile in the Middle Ages, and the numerous ones relating to the common law and the popular economy of Spain, which, along with the actual living forms of the day, deal with the old and with their variations. I beg to call special attention to these series, which, I believe, have no equal in other countries and which are indispensable for the study of Spanish legal history.

The last institution, in chronological order, is the Institute of Catalonian Studies, created at Barcelona in 1907 by the provincial assembly, which has for its object the encouragement of the study of Catalan history. This history had not had until lately any other special center of investigation and culture, aside from the Academy of Belles Lettres, than the "Floral Literary Contests" (Jochs Florals), held in great prestige in the country, which always included in their programs themes of a local historical character. Accordingly, the volumes in which the prize works are published are frequently of interest in this respect.2 A few years ago special classes on Catalan historical studies were established at the University of Barcelona, and lately the competitions in this field have largely centered about the Institute of Catalonian Studies. It has for an object, as the first reason for its creation indicates, "the superior scientific investigation of all the elements of Catalan culture." It is composed of eight persons, and is divided into four sections, one of history, the second of archeology, the third of literature, and the last of law. It intends to publish documentary diplomatic collections of a literary, historical, commercial, and juridical character; literary manuscripts of all sorts, whether inedited or needing new critical editions; studies and historical works of a critical and archeological order that may show a notable progress and be of use for Catalan culture; and reviews and annals. It plans also the organization of a special archive and library, as well as to hold competitive contests, deliver lectures, undertake works of exploration and research missions, and to employ other similar means, all conducive to the attainment of its scientific object.

As set forth by the institute in the first report of its activities submitted to the provincial assembly of Barcelona, the following of the

³ The Floral Literary Contests have spread to almost all the Spanish provinces, and in all historical themes take turns with literary matters, but they do not always give rise to works of importance.



¹Reference is here made to the data found on this point in my article on Archives, Libraries, and Museums, in Historia y Arte. Information is given there as to catalogues and other interesting printed matter published.

plans just enumerated have been carried out: Of publications there have appeared the institute's first annual, the first installment of the album, entitled "Catalonian Mural Paintings," the first volume of Don J. Botet v Sisô's work on "Catalonian Coins," the collection of documents gathered by Mr. Rubió y Lluch for the history of Catalan mediæval culture (first volume), and the first volume of Don J. Puig v Cadafalch's "Romanesque Architecture in Catalonia." Of other activities there have been carried out a juridical-archæological excursion to the country on the western frontier of Catalonia for the purpose of ascertaining juridical customs and traditions and of studying monuments, paintings, and household furniture; an expedition under the auspices of the Catalonian Excursion Society to study the paintings found in Cogul (Lérida); a third to study intimately the documents kept at the Archives of Pobla de Lillet and Baga; a further expedition to copy and make an investigation of the Catalan manuscripts preserved in the Royal Library of Munich: a final one to take photographs and make drawings of all Catalan historical objects shown in the local exhibitions of Zaragoza (1908) and Valencia (1909); the foundation of the Catalan Library with the important help of the libraries of the learned Aguiló and Aulestía and the great poet Verdaguer, together with the highly prized manuscripts belonging to Muntaner, Turell, Desclot, etc., and lastly, the reorganization and installation of certain archives. In addition the institute has prepared a critical edition of the Political Writings of Ausias March and another of the Catalan versions of the Bible. this latter work having been entrusted to Sr. Foulché Delboscq.

These signs of great activity lead us to believe that the Institute of Catalonian Studies will be an important addition to the academies already existing, and that it will become a powerful factor in Spanish historical research.

The nature of the present treatise excludes an account of other undertakings, individual rather than collective, which have greatly contributed to historical culture in modern times, as, for instance, the two "Collections of inedited documents of the history of Spain;" the "Spanish Museum of Antiquities," the series entitled "Architectural Monuments in Spain," and other publications born of the initiative of learned and meritorious persons or of publishers who were in search, at the same time, of wealth and knowledge. It is fit and proper, however, to bring such activities to the attention of those interested in the progress of historical studies in Spain.¹



¹ Since the date of this paper there has been founded at Madrid, under the Department of Public Instruction, an Institute (Centro) of Historical Studies, in which a group of seminaries in the general, philosophical, Arabic, artistic, and legal history of Spain have been organized. The Institute will publish the monographs prepared by its members, as well as documents hitherto unprinted. Another institute has been founded in Rome for the exploration of the Vatican archives and for archæological researches.

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XIX. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SIXTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF state and look HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 30, 1909.

REPORTED BY

WALDO G. LELAND, Secretary of the Conference.

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SIXTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

By WALDO G. LELAND.

The sixth annual conference of historical societies was held at Columbia University, in New York City, in connection with the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the American Historical Association, on Thursday afternoon, December 30, 1909. About 50 persons were in attendance, most of whom were delegates from historical societies. The conference was presided over by Prof. St. George L. Sioussat, of the University of the South, who had been appointed chairman of the conference by the council of the American Historical Association. The first paper on the program was by the chairman, who had prepared an account of the work of the conference during the five years since its organization in 1904.

THE CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES, 1904-9.

By St. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT.

In opening the sixth meeting of the conference of historical societies it is the privilege of the chairman to present to those assembled a brief résumé of the history of this body, and of the work which it has thus far accomplished. The first conference of historical societies was held in Chicago on the morning of Thursday, December 29, 1904, in connection with the twentieth annual meeting of the American Historical Association. The gathering was the result of an invitation issued by the program committee of the association, which had during the preceding weeks corresponded extensively with the societies and State departments of archives and history, particularly in the Western and Southern States. As a result, many letters had been received, including a great number of suggestions as to the advisability of such a conference and as to the lines of activity which it might profitably consider. It was reported that the committee had determined at the first conference to restrict discussion to two points: First, the best methods of organizing State historical work, and second, the possibility of cooperation between historical societies.

Prior to this time, however, the interests of other historical societies had been constantly before the American Historical Association. This was due, of course, primarily to the fact that so many members



of the national association had been recruited from those whose earlier ties lay with the State or local historical societies, or with the departments engaged in historical research, such as the seminaries of our universities. It may be noted that in the early handbooks of the association, containing the officers, act of incorporation, list of members, etc., the attempt was made to include a list of historical societies in the United States. This list in the handbook for 1894 included 228 historical societies, both State and local, in all parts of the Union. The next year the acquaintance with the work which local bodies had done was enormously increased by the publication of the bibliography of American historical societies, which is found in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for Between this time and the first session of the conference. three other agencies of great importance had begun to show actual results: First, the Library of Congress, which, among its greatly extended activities, developed a far greater reality of contact with publishing historical institutions throughout the country; second, the department of historical research in the Carnegie Institution; third, the standing committees of the American Historical Association, such as the public archives commission and the historical manuscripts commission. There should also be noted the development within some of the States of new departments of history and archives. All these factors seemed in 1904 to focus properly in a conference, wherein, by free discussion and interchange of experience, there might be clearly discovered the elements of common interest among historical organizations, and perhaps better canons of discrimination between the various kinds of work of different societies and institutions.

In regard to the first of these, the common factors, it may be said that the last topic suggested by the committee which called the first conference has remained the keynote of the work of the conference in its successive meetings, viz, the possibilities of cooperation between historical organizations. The remarks presented before the first conference dealt largely with the tentative work of certain Southern and Western States with regard to their departments of archives and history, and the relation of these to the State historical societies. Among the States heard from were Alabama, Minnesota, Michigan, Iowa, and Mississippi, a general summing up being added by the chairman of the conference, Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

At the same meeting of the American Historical Association was read a paper upon the work of American historical societies by Prof. Henry E. Bourne, of Western Reserve University.¹ This paper presented in brief form the result of a considerable investigation con-

¹ Printed in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1904.

ducted by the author into the present status of the work of historical societies and an analysis of the organization of such bodies. In this investigation he had found the number of historical societies in the United States to be between four and five hundred. He had discovered that besides local historical societies and State societies there were several national or regional organizations, some devoted to the history of religious denominations; some, such as the Holland and Huguenot societies, to the development of national racial influences: while many bodies existed solely for purposes of genealogy. State societies differed in general along the lines of two distinct types, represented, on the one hand, by the Massachusetts Historical Society, having a limited private membership, and supported by its own funds, and, on the other, by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, a State institution with small membership fees and extensive State support. Prof. Bourne also spoke of the work of historical societies in the field of publication and in the collection and preservation of documents. He discussed to some extent the new departments of archives and history and the publications authorized by the States. A word was also said as to the connection between the State universities and historical societies. He concluded with the question. What shall be done to increase cooperation between the societies as a whole? He referred to the instance of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition and its influence in stimulating the societies of States and Territories once included in that domain to a common effort to affiliate for historical purposes. He cited the instance of the Comité des Travaux Historiques and the beneficial influence of this upon the work of French historical societies, a topic on which we shall hope to hear further from Prof. Bourne within a few minutes.

It is to be remembered that this paper was not connected with the conference of that year. As a result of Prof. Bourne's paper, however, the council of the Historical Association appointed a committee composed of Dr. Thwaites, Prof. Shambaugh, and Prof. Riley to prepare an extensive report along the lines which Prof. Bourne had laid down. To facilitate this work the committee drew up a blank form of inquiry, with very specific questions as to age, official, or State character, financial basis, membership, buildings, libraries, and other property, methods of work, publications, relation to local societies, and prospects of each organization. This circular was widely distributed, and the result was a report, which still remains the principal source of our knowledge as to the actual basis of historical organizations in this country. The committee reported to the association at its meeting held in Baltimore, in 1905. At the same meet-



¹Report of Committee on Methods of Organization and Work of State and Local Historical Societies, printed in Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1905, vol. I, pp. 249–325.

ing, in accordance with a request made the preceding year, the council had provided for a second conference of historical societies. this conference several papers were presented. First, a letter from the absent chairman, Dr. Thomas M. Owen, of Alabama; then two papers upon cooperation, two papers upon publication, and two papers which dealt with particular regions, and were devoted, respectively. to the preservation of historical records and to recent movements in historical study. Merely to economize time, we may select for special mention the report of Dr. S. P. Heilman, which discussed in an interesting way the development of federation between the historical societies of a Northern State, as illustrated by the new Pennsylvania federation of historical societies, and Dr. Thwaites's detailed account of the publishing activities of the historical societies of the old Northwest. The other papers were of no less interest, but these papers were those that most directly exemplified the tendency of the conference, and the way in which it was stimulated to a continuance of its activities.

With this good start the conference has continued to have annual meetings. At the third, held in Providence, the discussion was limited to two chief topics: First, problems relative to the preservation and care of public archives, on which Prof. Ames read a paper devoted to the work of the public archives commission of the American Historical Association, while Mr. Parish told of the development of the care of archives in Iowa. The second leading topic was the marking of historic sites, thus bringing another function of the historical society into the field of investigation.

At the fourth annual conference, at Madison, appeared the feature which should, in all probability, henceforth remain one of the most definite parts of the policy of the conference—the assumption by the conference of the duty of continuing and bringing up to date the information which had been gathered for the first time by the committee of 1904-1905. The secretary of the conference, Prof. E. B. Greene, sent out a second questionnaire, and embodied the results in an extended and valuable report. The succeeding chairmen of the fifth and sixth conferences have only expanded this form of investigation, following in general the lines laid down by Prof. Greene. other part of the program of the fourth conference has likewise resulted in continued activity. Mr. Dunbar Rowland, of Mississippi. read a paper on the cooperation of State historical societies and the gathering of material in foreign archives. As a result of Dr. Rowland's valuable paper, a committee was appointed which should report to the next conference a plan for cooperative activity on the part of State historical societies and departments in the collection and publication of historical materials. At the next meeting, in Richmond, 1908, the first report of this committee was presented, and the second report we shall hear a little later in the course of the present conference.

At the Madison conference Prof. Salmon, of Vassar College, discussed the subject of the scientific organization of historical museums, while Mr. C. W. Ayer told of the affiliation of historical societies in Massachusetts in the Bay State Historical League.

Last year in Richmond, in addition to reports on progress during the year on the part of historical societies in general and on the work of the committee on cooperation, papers were read which told of the application of photography to the copying of historical documents and of the utility of historical exhibitions in the teaching of history in the broader sense.

I have thus recalled to you, by suggestions here and there, some of the topics which this conference has had before it. It is well that the utmost latitude in the choice of subjects should prevail and that no rigid program should be laid down within which the activities of this body shall be restricted. It seems, indeed, that a process of differentiation has developed by which questions relating to archives. for example, should be considered in separate conferences of archivists, like that which forms an important feature of the general program for this meeting of the association. In addition, it may be said, that the course of the first five years seems to show that the first committee was right in its emphasis upon the necessity of cooperation between historical societies and agencies as the one greatest problem before us at the present time, and the problem which, above all others, it should be the work of this conference to meet. Let us hope that the effort will more and more attain to complete accomplishment.

Following the remarks of the chairman was presented the report of the secretary of the conference.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

It has become customary for the secretary of this conference to present in brief form at each annual meeting a résumé of the work of historical societies during the past year. Following the example of the fourth and fifth conferences, a questionnaire was sent, together with an invitation to be represented at the conference, to about 250 societies of the United States and Canada. The questionnaire asked for reports under eight general headings: (1) Membership, (2) funds, (3) equipment, (4) publications of the year, (5) collections, (6) new enterprises, (7) changes in organization, (8) relations with the State. Reports have been received from 65 societies, of which 16 are located

in New England, 18 in the Middle Atlantic States, 8 in the Southern States east of the Mississippi, 12 in the Middle Western States, 9 in the States west of the Mississippi, and 2 in Canada. Many of the older and more important societies have failed to make any returns, and the report now presented is necessarily, on that account, but partial and fails to represent the full extent of the resources and accomplishments of American historical societies during the year. Even with these omissions, however, it is possible to obtain some idea of the strength and resources of organized historical work in America and to determine its general tendencies.

The 56 societies reporting under that head show a membership of 17.692, with an increase during the year in 30 societies of 868 members, the largest membership being that of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 2,400; the largest increase of membership during the year, that of the Nebraska State Historical Society, 150.2 As to funds and income, the reports are not, for the greater part, sufficiently definite in statement to make it possible to give accurate totals. Twenty-two societies report permanent, presumably income-bearing, funds of \$955,595. Twenty-five societies report incomes, derived for the most part from dues or from funds not included in the amount just stated, of \$39,345, while 11 societies receive from State or municipality, \$78,000. Restating this, in terms of income we have 43 societies with an annual income of about \$150,000. As to equipment, out of 45 societies reporting, 19 own buildings, 8 are lodged in State buildings which they occupy in whole or in part, 2 have quarters in the city hall, 7 in the public library, 7 are accommodated in the library of some private institution, and 2 rent rooms. These accommodations of course vary greatly, from the magnificent building of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania to a log cabin, from the Wisconsin State Historical Library to a room in the State capitol, from joint occupation of a public library building to the use of an alcove or of a few shelves, but there appears to be in common on the part of all the societies the desire for a safe depository for their collections, and the words "vault" and "fireproof" occur with encouraging frequency. With regard to collections, 41 societies report a total of



¹Among the societies from which no report has been received are the Maine Historical Society, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Connecticut Historical Society, the New York Historical Society, the Maryland Historical Society, the South Carolina Historical Society, the Tennessee Historical Society, the Chicago Historical Society, the Minnesota Historical Society, the Missouri, Historical Society, the State Historical Society of Missouri, and the Kansas Historical Society. It is probable that in most cases the failure to send in returns has been due to oversight rather than to any attitude of aloofness, as many of the societies named have been regularly represented in the conferences, and some are at present engaged in a cooperative enterprise under the auspices of the conference.

³ In this statistical summary the data furnished by the Daughters of the American Revolution are not included. The membership, funds, etc., of this organization are so large that to include them would make the general totals misleading.

947,260 volumes and pamphlets; 19 report an increase during the year of 32,160 volumes and pamphlets; 25 societies report 79,500 loose manuscripts, exclusive of State archives, and 6,800 bound volumes of manuscripts, while 9 societies show an increase of 2,950 manuscripts and 12 bound volumes: 15 societies report 111,000 museum objects, 7 showing an increase of 2,800. Forty-six of the societies report about 80 publications ranging from newspaper articles and brief reports to monographs and volumes of texts. The greater part of the publications consist of yearbooks, handbooks, annual reports, pamphlets, etc., in which little historical material is to be found: 10 of the societies publish periodicals in which genealogical materials, articles, and documents are printed. One society which has been publishing a series of State biographies is now preparing a series of monographs on the economic history of the State. Twenty-eight societies have engaged in historical activities and enterprises other than publications; 17 have marked historic sites or erected monuments and tablets, 5 have transcribed historical materials, such as wills, deeds, cemetery inscriptions, archive documents, etc., 4 have engaged in educational work, 3 have celebrated historic anniversaries. One society has devoted its efforts to securing legislation for a State history commission, another is engaged in a survey of the sources of State history and plans to make recommendations respecting the filling of gaps in the printed materials, another society has participated in an archæological expedition, while another is trying to bring about the affiliation of all societies of composition and object similar to its own. Still another society has founded a medal, while a certain State society is exercising an informal censorship over local histories proposed to be published. Several societies report catalogues of their collections in course of preparation.

Bearing in mind that the figures just presented are based on but partial returns one can not fail to be impressed with the strength and resources of American historical societies. Their large membership and the very considerable amount of their funds reveal a power which if rightly directed and exerted to the highest degree would achieve results of the first importance. It is, however, impossible to avoid the feeling that the results actually attained are not commensurate with the resources and potential strength of the societies as a whole. Were these bodies consolidated into a single organization, which should work along lines systematically planned by historical experts, there would undoubtedly be a marked increase in the extent and importance of activities. But such a consolidation is impracticable, even undesirable. Over-organization is a danger to be shunned; individuality should be developed. Yet by conferences, such as this, and especially by participation in cooperative activities

many of the benefits of a closer organization may be realized while avoiding its dangers.

The reports from historical societies show that not a few neglect what may be regarded as their most fundamental function—the collection and making available of historical sources. Every community abounds with the materials from which history is written, and hardly any society is too poor or too weak to make the effort at gathering them in. Hardly less fundamental is the duty of making such materials available, vet from the number of societies that furnish but vague reports as to the extent or character of their collections it is to be feared that this duty, too, has in many cases been neglected. A thousand manuscripts may be arranged, catalogued, and conveniently stored at a trifling expense of time and money. If the catalogue can be printed, so much the better; indeed, many societies which print pamphlets or even volumes of reports, proceedings, and reminiscences, would render a greater service to history, at a smaller expenditure, would they only print catalogues of their manuscript collections. Another important function is the publication of historical materials. As the present conference is to devote is attention to the general subject of publications, the secretary's report is not the place for a discussion under that head, but it may be observed, in passing, that of some 80 publications reported, comparatively few are devoted to documentary materials. More encouraging, however, are the reports of societies as to what they have done in the way of arousing interest in matters historical: a number of historic sites have been marked; several monuments and tablets erected; efforts have been made to arouse interest among the vouth. These are important and commendable activities. Finally, it is gratifying to note a marked tendency toward affiliation or cooperation among societies. In some States the historical societies have formed a league or alliance which serves as a clearinghouse. and which offers occasions for conferences in which matters of local and immediate interest may be discussed. In another State many of the local societies have affiliated themselves with the State society, to the advantage of all concerned. Cooperative activities have been undertaken, the most notable of which is the enterprise of calendaring the documents in the French archives bearing on the history of the Mississippi Valley, a work supported by the contributions of a dozen societies of that region. In general, then, this summary of activities during the past year, while indicating that the historical resources of the country are by no means so worked as to produce the largest possible returns, nevertheless reveals tendencies that furnish reasonable grounds for a feeling of encouragement.

> W. G. LELAND, Secretary of the Conference.



Following the report of the secretary the conference proceeded to the transaction of miscellaneous business.

At the suggestion of the chairman it was voted that the chairman of the conference be empowered to appoint a committee from the membership of the various historical societies to confer with the chairman and secretary in the preparation of the program of the next conference.

At the suggestion of Prof. Henry E. Bourne it was voted that the council of the American Historical Association be requested to take under consideration the preparation of a report on the organization and work of historical societies in foreign countries.

Mr. Dunbar Rowland, chairman of the committee of seven on cooperation of historical departments and societies, read the second annual report of that committee, which follows in full:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON COOPERATION OF HISTORICAL DEPARTMENTS AND SOCIETIES.

The committee of seven on cooperation of historical departments and societies submits the following report:

This conference of the historical societies and departments affiliated with the American Historical Association had its origin in the idea that such organizations had, perhaps, become too self-centered, and too much given to the old methods of administration to be doing as effective work as they should. It was evident that the historical agencies of the country were wasting time and money in independent researches which could be conducted to better advantage by cooperative effort. That such conditions existed was clearly pointed out at the first conference upon the subject held in Chicago in 1904; and the meetings each year since have confirmed us in the opinion that cooperation was the cure for the wasteful and ineffective methods into which the historical societies of the country had fallen.

This consciousness of the necessity for cooperation among historical organizations had its awakening in the historical circles of the Mississippi Valley, and is, in the main, attributable to the fact of a common interest in the French occupation of this region; though the fact that the historical work of the South and Middle West is largely supported by the State went far, I am sure, in emboldening your committee to suggest, at the Richmond meeting, a plan for cooperative work in the French archives.

At the Richmond meeting the following recommendations of the committee were adopted by the conference:

First. That the historical agencies of the Mississippi Basin join in a cooperative search of the French archives for historical material relating to the States embraced in that territory.

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Second. That a complete working calendar of all materials in the French archives, relating to the Mississippi Basin, be prepared by an agent appointed by the representatives of the conference having the matter in hand.

Third. That the calendar when completed be published and distributed under the direction of the representatives of the conference.

Fourth. That the necessary money for the preparation, publication, and distribution of the calendar be raised by voluntary contributions from the historical agencies represented in the conference.

That a distinct advance has been made in the method for the study of the French sources of American history by the plan reported and adopted at the Richmond meeting is generally conceded. The purpose of this report, therefore, is to inform the conference of the progress made since the last meeting.

It has been conservatively estimated that the preparation of a comprehensive calendar of French archives concerning American history will cost \$2,000, and \$1,800 has been raised by subscriptions from the historical agencies holding membership in the American Historical Association and represented in this conference. One thousand dollars was pledged at the Richmond meeting by the Alabama Department of Archives and History, the Illinois Historical Library, the Iowa Historical Society, the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, and the Wisconsin Historical Society. Since that time subscriptions amounting to \$800 have been secured from the Chicago Historical Society, the Indiana Historical Society. the Kansas Historical Society, the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, and the Missouri Historical Society. The sum contributed by each was as follows: Alabama Department of Archives and History, \$200; Chicago Historical Society, \$50; Illinois Historical Library, \$200; Indiana Historical Society, \$200; Iowa Historical Society, \$200; Kansas Historical Society, \$100; Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, \$200; Mississippi Department of Archives and History, \$250; Missouri Historical Society, \$200; Wisconsin Historical Society, \$200; total contributions, \$2,000.

The greater part of the necessary funds had been contributed by May 1, 1909, and the success of the undertaking was assured at that time, but the committee deemed it best, before making arrangements to begin work on the calendar, to have definite pledges for \$2,000. In order, however, that no time should be lost after the money was in sight, a tentative plan for the preparation of the calendar was agreed upon at a meeting of the committee in Washington.

The department of historical research of the Carnegie Institution has been engaged for some time in the preparation of a guide to the French archives in so far as they relate to American history. The work is being done by Mr. Waldo G. Leland, the secretary of the association and of this conference. This assignment has given Mr.

Leland an extensive knowledge of the archives to be calendared. which is an essential equipment to work of the nature in which we are to engage. It is of the first importance that the calendar be prepared under the direction and supervision of an American student of American history: it is also necessary that he should be a skilled archivist and an intelligent investigator. To secure the services of such a man was not easy, and the consideration of that problem occupied the attention of the committee for many months. Its final solution is due to the generous cooperation of Dr. J. F. Jameson, director of the department of historical research of the Carnegie Institution. and of Mr. Leland, his assistant. Dr. Jameson was requested by the committee to ascertain if Mr. Leland's other duties would allow him to undertake the direction and supervision of a complete calendar of French archives relating to American history. After discussing the situation, it was decided that the work could be done in connection with the compilation of the guide to French historical material. Mr. Leland has undertaken the work purely as a labor of love and gives his valuable services to the committee without compensation. The conference is indeed fortunate in this happy solution of the problem of supervision, for under the arrangement made an authoritative piece of work is assured.

The organization of the undertaking will be left largely to Mr. Leland. He is authorized to employ all necessary assistance, and has full authority as to details. It is the wish of the committee to make the calendar as complete and comprehensive as possible; and with this end in view no limitation as to dates to be covered has been laid down.

Dr. J. F. Jameson has been appointed treasurer of the calendar fund, and subscriptions will be sent to him addressed to Department of Historical Research, 500 Bond Building, Washington, D. C. Contributors will be notified when their subscriptions are needed.

It is somewhat difficult to give an exact estimate of the time required for the completion of the calendar; it is believed that the work can be done by the director and four assistants in the space of one year. You may be assured, however, that the undertaking will not be rushed at the expense of accuracy and thoroughness.

Before closing this annual report of progress your committee expresses its deep obligation to the historical agencies contributing to the success of the undertaking with which it has been charged by the conference. It is expected that this pioneer movement, looking to the cooperation of historical agencies in common fields of activity, is but the beginning of a work of supreme importance which, in time, will bring about the cooperation of the original thirteen States in calendaring the English archives, and of the Pacific coast and Texas in doing similar work in the archives of Spain.

The conference has made a good beginning, and substantial results are confidently looked for when the possibilities of cooperation are more perfectly understood.

Respectfully submitted.

DUNBAR ROWLAND, Chairman. WORTHINGTON C. FORD, EVARTS B. GREENE, J. F. JAMESON, THOMAS M. OWEN, B. F. SHAMBAUGH, R. G. THWAITES,

Committee.

The report of the committee of seven was accepted as read and the committee continued.

At the request of Mr. Rowland, Mr. Leland made a statement respecting the work in Paris. As it was the intention of the committee to defer the beginning of the work until the sum of \$2,000 had been definitely assured, Mr. Leland said that it had not been possible to commence active operations until the latter part of October. As he himself was on the point of returning to America at that time he had not thought it wise to begin work on a large scale when he could not exercise a close personal supervision over it. Accordingly he had engaged a person, who had already worked with him for over a year in the various archives, and of whose ability and intelligence he had had ample demonstration, to commence an examination of materials in the archives of the ministry of foreign affairs. This work was now going forward as rapidly as was consistent with thoroughness and accuracy. The series of diplomatic correspondence between Spain and France was first taken up, and the examination of the nearly 1,000 volumes comprising it would probably take the time of one person about a year. A large part, however, of the other materials in the ministry of foreign affairs had already been examined, and the selection of the documents relating to the Mississippi Valley, and the preparation of proper descriptive notes, would not constitute a very formidable task. In the summer, upon his return to Paris, Mr. Leland said that he expected to engage other assistance, and he counted upon having the work fully organized and progressing rapidly by the fall of 1910. It would probably take a full year from that time, or until the end of 1911, for its completion.

The conference then proceeded to the reading of the papers upon the program, the general subject under consideration being the publishing activities of historical societies. The two papers follow in their entirety.

WHAT WE CAN LEARN FROM THE PUBLISHING ACTIVITIES OF EUROPEAN SOCIETIES.

By HENBY E. BOURNE.

In attempting to draw from European experience suggestions for the solution of problems of publication of American historical societies, I feel that I should begin with a preface, if not an apology, for the effort is beset with several manifest difficulties. The publishing activities of the European societies are so multifarious that one can hardly "see the forest for the trees." In France alone there are about 300 societies, 235 of which were credited with some sort of publications during the year 1905-6. In Germany there are more than 400. But although the multiplicity of these organizations is at first bewildering, the real hindrance in the way of utilizing for American purposes their experience arises from the natural difference between the work they are undertaking and most of the tasks which our history and our local conditions suggest to us. European students see at their doors the monuments or the ruins of three civilizations, stretching over 2,000 years. To become archæologists, adepts of ancient history, or curious after the records of mediæval life, is as inevitable for them as the study of the vicissitudes of the slavery controversy or of the settlement of the West is for us. The contrasts between mediæval and modern economic and social organization impel them also to far ventures into the domain of economic history, which as yet we have barely entered. Furthermore, their army of trained investigators is relatively larger than ours, and includes one strong force, that of the professional archivists, still small with us. The interest in history is more general among cultivated persons, and there is a much larger number of literary men who are devoting their lives to historical studies. They have the additional advantage of not being separated from one another by such magnificent spaces where persons seriously occupied with historical studies are either unheard of or live in an isolation that is not splendid. It may appear that these differences of circumstance are so great that one would be justified in declaring that the work European societies are doing is interesting rather than suggestive.

It will be necessary for me in this paper, for the sake of brevity, to limit my remarks to the work of the French and German societies, although equally instructive illustrations might, perhaps, be drawn from English, Italian, or Swiss experience. The French and German situations are also so distinct that I wish to take them up in succession.

In France the societies which concern themselves with history belong to the more general category of "sociétés savantes," or learned societies. While there are many organized to advance the study of

a particular period or phase of history, and therefore national in scope, the large majority are local in membership and have a special interest in the study of local history. Many of the local societies appear to be the refuge or the consolation of spirits which gaze with foreboding upon the rising flood of democracy and radicalism and find satisfaction in lingering with loving care over the features of the historic past or in avenging the memory of the old régime by stating with minute precision the odious tyrannies and senseless follies with which inexperienced democracy ushered in its reign. Two or three of the national societies are credited by their "libre penseur" critics with similar tendencies. It is not surprising that the professors of history in the local universities or lycées, appointees of the democratic republic, regard the members of such societies as reactionary in politics and tainted with clericalism, while these professors are, in turn, accused of being revolutionaries who, under the cloak of scientific historical research, are endeavoring to discredit the social order and ancient religious institutions of France. The consequence is a species of schism among historical workers. The university men and archivists generally hold aloof from the enterprises of the local societies. The absence of this trained element accounts for the fact that critical methods have been slow in penetrating into the councils of certain societies, and that their publications have been less useful to the cause of history.

These societies also suffer, so far as history is concerned, from a dispersion of interests, which is indicated by their names—for example, "Société d'Agriculture, Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts," "Société des Sciences Historiques et Naturelles," "Société des Naturalistes et Archéologues," etc. In many of their titles the term agriculture appears, and the frequency of the term archæology indicates at least an original tendency to devote special attention to this phase of history.

The great number of the local societies publish periodical "bulletins," "annales," or "revues," or, at longer intervals, "mémoires" or "archives." These are filled with the essays of the members, or the documents they have edited, or with the records of the meetings. Many of the societies, chiefly those with headquarters at Paris, publish valuable collections of local records or documents. The weaker societies are somewhat criticized as expending futilely resources which might be saved for serious projects. It is not always believed that the editors of their periodicals have the power to reject, as well as to accept, the contributions of members. According to M. de Lasteyrie, who prepares for the ministry of public instruction the annual bibliography of the historical publications of all the "sociétés savantes," some of the weaker organizations from time to time "to calm the impatience of their subscribers" distribute pamphlets of a few sheets from the accumulation of which years are required to

form a volume. As the editors not infrequently neglect to furnish an index, it is impossible for the bibliographer to know when the volume is completed. There seems to be reason to think that, with some notable exceptions, these local societies have ceased to grow and are merely vegetating.¹

In Paris new societies are coming into existence, while several of the older societies, like the Société de l'Histoire de France and the Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile de France, are adding to their long record of useful publication. The number of men devoted to historical studies is so large that each particular interest easily becomes embodied in a society. Among the most valuable are the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français; the Société de l'Histoire de la Révolution Française, of which Prof. Aulard is the tutelary genius; the Société d'Histoire Contemporaine, which is said by its critics to choose for publication documents which are likely to bring discredit upon the leading figures of the Revolutionary or Napoleonic period. Among the newer societies is one devoted to Robespierre studies. There is also the Société d'Histoire Moderne, which aims mainly to raise the standards of critical historical work, and of which the Paris members meet monthly for conference.

Ever since the time when Guizot was minister of public instruction there have been efforts to organize cooperation among the many local historical societies. M. de Caumont is credited with the first successful attempt to hold a "congress," at which the societies should be represented. This was in 1833. The modern form of this federation is the annual Congrès des Sociétés Savantes, which has its historical sections. From 1861 to 1868 the Government published many of the papers presented at the congress, but abandoned the practice, believing it wiser to expend the money for the publication of documents.

More important for historical enterprises than this annual meeting has been the work of the Comité des Travaux Historiques,² first appointed by Guizot in 1834 and many times reorganized since. Its activity has been threefold, with an ambitious scheme of publication, the issuance of instructions to guide the members of the local historical societies especially, and attempts to organize the disparate efforts of these societies for the accomplishment of important common purposes of research and publication. Its influence upon the work of the local societies has not been decisive. Many of them seem to have resented governmental interference, with its suggestion of the centralizing of everything at Paris. The "Instructions" that have been

² See Langlois, 856-367.



¹ Robert de Lasteyrie, Bibliographie Générale des Travaux Historiques et Archéologiques, annual volume for 1905-6, p. VI. P. Caron and Ph. Sagnac, L'État Actuel des Études d'Histoire Moderne en France, Paris, 1902, pp. 11, ff. Ch. V. Langlois, Manuel de Bibliographie Historique, p. 378.

issued are valuable for the students of mediæval institutions and of archæology, but do not touch upon the problems of modern history. It has been suggested that as the local societies show a tendency to occupy themselves more with the modern field, it would be well that a special section of modern history be added to the five sections possessed by the committee since 1885. In the programs of investigation laid before the annual congresses appear topics belonging to the modern period. For example, in 1903 the committee suggested. among other topics, "The organization and workings of the municipalities created by the law of June, 1787," "The activities of rural municipalities during the Revolution," and "The state of public opinion during the Consulate and the Empire." There is a committee connected with the same ministry whose work possesses at present more of what the French call "actualité." The creation of this commission was due to the initiative of the distinguished socialist leader, M. Jaurès. Its special task is the promotion of the economic history of the Revolution by searching for and publishing documents which may be discovered in the national or local archives.1 Four or five sessions are held annually, but the actual work of direction is left to a subcommission of which M. Aulard is chairman. work of the commission has been twofold—to direct the search for documents and to draw up instructions upon the methods of investigation and publication. Since it was created over 60 projects have been proposed, but only 24 adopted, but these will call for about 46 volumes. One of the most important features of the plan is the organization in each department of committees, numbering on the average 20 members, and composed of scholars, professors, archivists, and others of serious interest in the enterprise. In several departments these committees have begun to publish periodical bulletins. which show a tendency to enlarge their scope beyond the limits of the Revolutionary period. The result may be the infusing new energy into somnolent local societies or the substitution for them of a group pursuing scientific rather than traditional aims in the cultivation of historical studies. Whether this incidental consequence follows or not, it will certainly result that the deeper forces of transformation in French society will become understood as never before.

In Germany, as in France, there are many strong general or local societies which from their own resources are accomplishing important work of publication, but the Germans also are perplexed by the problem of organizations that are weak and incapable of being lifted from the ruts into which they have fallen. These societies may have



¹Among the members of the commission, which numbers 46, may be found MM. Aulard, Bloch, Benoist, Caron, Lavisse, Levasseur, and Seignobos. See article of M. Caron in Revue Politique et Parlementaire, LX, 331–338, and his article entitled "A French Cooperative Historical Enterprise," in the American Historical Review, XIII, 501–509; also ibid., XII, 373–376; XV, 377–384.

influence in keeping alive local interest in historical things, but their work of publication often does more harm than good. It appears that over two hundred publish a periodical of some sort. The mere cost of printing so strains their income that they are unable to pay even the expenses to which an author has been put for the preparation of his article. Under the circumstances it is not surprising that the supply of articles of more than local interest or importance or of any scientific value is inadequate to fill out the annual quota of pages, and the editor is obliged to accept less valuable contributions, whatever comes to hand, to print, it may be, all the papers that are read at the meetings of the society. The consequence is that many of the periodicals have forfeited any reputation for historical worth that they may have had, and that if an article of value is printed in them it is likely to be overlooked. For this situation Dr. Armin Tille, of Dresden, has suggested the remedy that there be only one periodical in each Province and that it should act as the representative of all local societies of the Province. In this way the resources of the weaker societies could be husbanded for imperative needs and the book trade would be relieved of much useless lumber.1

These local societies have possessed since 1853 a general federation, or "Gesamtverein," which holds annual meetings or congresses of delegates in different cities. In 1908, 174 of the societies belonged to this federation, although only 31 of them were represented at the Lübeck meeting. It appears that at the previous meeting an effort had been made to obtain pledges from the societies toward carrying out some greater historical work, but that in the course of the year only seven had responded. This indicates that the Germans, even with their admirable sense for discipline, have not found the problem of cooperation easy to solve. The principal work which the societies have thus far undertaken together is the preparation of the so-called Grundkarten, or basic maps, on such a scale that the boundaries of the local communities may be indicated. With these it has been proposed to construct historical maps of the same local detail for the years 1789, 1654, and 1541—years selected for reasons connected with the history of Germany. These Grundkarten² may also be used to give a geographical setting to economic or social facts, the result of research into the conditions characteristic of any period. In addition to the Gesamtverein, there exist federations of portions of Germany; for example, one for the south and west. The general federation possesses a periodical, the Correspondenzblatt, edited by a committee, which reports the proceedings of the annual meetings and

¹ Correspondenzblatt des Gesamtvereins d. Deutsch. Geschichts- u. Alterthümsvereine, vol. 54, col. 171f.

² Correspondenzblatt, LI, 76f.

gives succinct accounts of the plans and publications of the various societies. There is another periodical, the Deutsche Geschichtsblätter, devoted especially to the promotion of scientific methods in local research and publication.

For the past 25 years the important tasks of publication have been assumed more and more by societies of another kind, which the Germans call the "Publikationsinstituten," or societies for publication. They are also commonly called "Historical commissions." They now number about 16. They have the exclusive aim of collecting funds for the advancement of historical science and expending these funds in the editing and printing of documentary material or in some cases in assisting in the publication of important historical works. Although some of them rely for support mainly upon governmental subsidies, they are none the less historical societies. Their great prototype is the Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, which owed its origin to the Prussian statesman, Stein, and which has become so widely known through its series of the Monumenta Germaniæ Historica. It will be recalled that the project of Stein and his friends was regarded with suspicion by the princes under the influence of Metternich, and did not at once receive governmental subsidies. Since 1875 its work has been affiliated with the Berlin Academy of Sciences. The next step was taken in Bavaria, where Ranke, supported by Sybel, persuaded his pupil, King Maximilian II. in 1858 to appoint an historical commission, affiliated with the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, although independent in its action.1 The members were selected from learned men all over Germany, with Ranke as presiding officer, and each was to supervise one of the several undertakings adopted. It was the aim of the commission to divide the field with the older society, giving more attention to Germany in its several parts and leaving to the Monumenta the documents which concerned Germany as a whole during the Middle Ages. Among the special tasks which it undertook, two have a particular relation to the development of local, economic, and social history of the towns, which might easily be extended to cover certain phases of their economic or trade privileges and regulations, and the collection of the Weistümer, the indications given by the peasants themselves, upon the holding of inquiries, in regard to their existing rights. After the strengthening of the local societies with the new energies which made themselves manifest in the early years of the Empire, and after the successive organization of new commissions, some of the work of the Bavarian commission was naturally turned over to local societies or commissions within whose geographical limits the ma-



¹ See an article by Moritz Ritter, "Über die Gründung, Leistungen und Aufgaben der Historischen Kommission," Historische Zeitschrift, CIII, 274-301.

terial lay. For this reason the Bavarian commission has gradually assumed more of the functions of a local commission. As an example of this subdivision of work may be noted the abandonment of the "Hanserezesse," after the work had been completed to 1430, to the new "Hansischen Geschichtsverein." The collections of Weistümer were also localized.

The Badische Historische Kommission is the first example of a "Publikationsinstitut" devoted to local history. This commission was formally created in 1883. Its governing body, which was to be composed of from 10 to 20 members, included at first 7 university professors and the remaining 5 were either archivists or curators of historical museums. Among the especially significant tasks undertaken were a Topographisches Wörterbuch for the Grand Duchy of Baden and a systematic catalogue of all the local archives, those of communities, of corporations, and of private families. The commission also assumed control of the Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins.

Another typical "Publikationsinstitut," although with a somewhat slighter official connection, is the Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde.² The board of directors is chosen by an assembly of the "founders," "patrons," and "members," but the provincial government has the right to appoint one of the board. Besides the income from foundations and contributions of various sorts, the society receives a subsidy from the provincial government. It may also obtain subsidies from towns to assist in the publication of documents of local interest. For example, the city of Cologne contributed 1,000 marks for the year 1908. This society is two years older than the Baden commission, and its work has been equally significant of the trend of the organization of research in Germany. Its field is Rhenish Prussia, and it has chosen for study the period before 1600, when, through the disintegration of the Holy Roman Empire, the region had lost its unity and was simply a group of petty sovereign states. As the other limit of the period the establishment of Charlemagne's Empire has been selected. Although the work of the society for historical geography has been important, the plan to publish the manorial records, collections of "Weistümer," and to give to the publication of documents on the towns a definite tendency toward the illustration of all phases of economic life in the Middle Ages are the more distinctive features of its achievement and show the increasing emphasis placed upon social and economic researches in Germany. Through this work also a scientific basis is being laid for local history, which, until recently, had been left almost wholly

XXVIII Jahresbericht der Gessellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde, Bonn, 1909.

Fündfundzwanzig Jahre der Badischen Historischen Kommission, Heidelberg, 1909.
 Die Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde, Ziele und Aufgaben, Köln, 1907.

to amateurs.¹ It has not always been true that governmental bodies have manifested readiness in furthering such enterprises. Not long ago the commission for Sachsen-Anhalt announced a plan of publication of the sources for the constitutional, administrative, and economic history of the towns within its sphere, but the town authorities failed to show much interest in the enterprise.

The effectiveness of the method of work by commissions has led at least one of the stronger societies of the older type to reorganize. This is the Verein für Geschichte der Mark Brandenburg, which began its new career 10 years ago. It hoped at that time to obtain financial assistance in its work not merely from the Prussian General Government, but also from the administration of the province, the districts, and of the cities.²

These examples serve to illustrate the plan of work by historical commission. Through their better organization, because they are directed by experts and inspired by large views of the values in history, and because they are working in a spirit of discipline and cooperation, they are accomplishing remarkable results.

The development of the interest in the history of the economic life and the social structure of Germany has offered to the strictly local societies the means of saving themselves from the danger of overemphasizing the little and the insignificant. As Prof. Bernheim has remarked, it may not be possible for every local society to discover within its geographical limits the scene of incidents which belong to the general history of the nation. The older conception of historical investigation, therefore, practically forced the society to devote itself to a petty form of archaeology or something equally without import. But it is evident that certain phases of social or economic change may be studied in almost any locality with an expectation of reaching results of similar value, and it is also true that only after the series of changes has been examined in many localities is a general conception of the process possible. From this point of view the history of any locality is a cross-section of the history of the country.

This tendency emphasizes the importance of giving such direction to the efforts of the local societies that the publication of sources may be adequate and that the local histories which are written may have the proper scope and be based upon a critical use of all the material available. A short time ago the commission for the Province of Saxony and the Duchy of Anhalt considered the question of providing for the systematic preparation of local histories on the basis of the circle or district, but concluded to go no further than to grant



¹ Ziele, 74.

² Mittheilung über ein Statut in revision des Vereins für Geschichte der Mark Brandenburg (without date). Verein für Geschichte der Mark Brandenburg, Sitzung von 13 Januar, 1909.

pecuniary assistance towards the publication of suitable works. Another society, the Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Literatur der Landwirthschaft, has, however, voted to have prepared an "Introduction" for the use of "Village" historical writers. Dr. Armin Tille, to whom the task has been entrusted, believes that the larger number of the local histories are defective, not to say worthless. He insists that their central theme should be found in the social and economic development of each community. They should be based upon a careful study of the village "layout" and of the distribution of the arable land prior to the practice of inclosures. The sources of information should be drawn from the local archives. supplemented by the archives of neighboring villages. The general literature of the Middle Ages should also be examined for chance references. The finished product should be written in language so plain that its natural circle of readers, the peasants of the village, will be interested in it. For this reason Dr. Tille believes that it should begin with a simple statement of the geographical and geological characteristics of the village. It is interesting to note in this connection that two societies in northwestern Germany have recently offered prizes for the best histories dealing with some local unit of territory, and emphasizing the social and economic element.

A word in regard to the bearing which these somewhat fragmentary notes on the work of French and German historical societies may have upon American practice. It should be recalled that those local societies which have devoted their resources to the collection and publication of the records upon which any adequate understanding of the life of their region must depend are now the strongest, because they have acquired a permanent raison d'être. It should also be recalled that the German societies and commissions particularly have begun to secure from governmental bodies, of various kinds, financial assistance, for they have proved that their. researches are to result in publications of interest beyond the circle of the erudite and that they will contribute to a clearer comprehension of local civic and social institutions. A successful appeal has been made to a high form of civic pride. It is this work for local history which I wish strongly to emphasize in its application to our problems, including the examination of all sorts of local archives and the publication of catalogues of these collections; the search for the documentary records of our city institutions, and the publication of the more significant of these; the search for the scattered materials which one day may make possible adequate treatments of the industrial development of our greater centers of manufacturing and trade; and the search for the evidence out of which must be con-

¹ Deutsche Geschichtsblätter, X, 250f.

structed the historical explanation of our rural development in all its phases since the early period of settlement. Such work can not be undertaken by isolated investigators; it requires common effort and financial support. One further impression. Why should not our local societies provide for the publication of adequate histories of towns or county, occupying a field too often abandoned to the predatory instincts of firms which know how to transfuse into money the desire of certain individuals for a little notoriety? Such are a few of the suggestions which we may take from the recent tendencies in the work of European historical societies.

SOME DEFECTS IN THE PUBLICATIONS OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

By Worthington Chauncey Ford.

- 1. Have you ever dropped off at a city—a capital of a State—to find that the historical society rooms are opened only on rare occasions; but the librarian can be found some miles out of the city, and has the key, and may be induced to come into town? This situation becomes more interesting if invited in midwinter.
- 2. Have you ever traveled 100 miles or more on a Monday, to find that the historical society rooms are open only on Fridays, between the hours of 2 and 4 in the afternoon? Any Monday will do.
- 3. Have you ever taken a night's journey to consult some book or manuscript, to find that the thing desired can be seen only on a card from a member of the society—you being a veritable Ishmael to that place, and more so after than before the visit?
- 4. Have you ever been greeted cordially by the custodian of the society's treasures, but only to be told on stating generally your wish, that under the rules you must indicate the particular paper you wish to see? To assist you in this operation there is neither calendar nor catalogue, nor even a general description of the collection, and the custodian is ignorant of the manuscripts.
- 5. Have you ever penetrated into the inner rooms of the treasure house, to learn that the card catalogue is not open to the public?
- 6. Have you ever had the object of your search before you, pad at your elbow, and pencil in hand, only to be told that no note or memorandum can be taken without first applying to the board, council, or directors (that blessed screen for laziness or incompetency) of the institution? If it is in early summer, so much the better; as the council will hold no meeting till the fall, and by that time you will have forgotten all about your request, and can receive with philosophic calm the negative which comes from the council through the custodian.
- 7. Have you ever found six or seven letters in a collection, of little or no importance to the collection, but of good value to your par-

ticular purpose, only to be informed that copies can not be taken, as the society hopes to print the collection? In your heart you know that the society, if it ever does publish, will be forced to make selections out of it, and among the first to be passed over will be the six or seven letters you wish. If you wait a dozen years or more you will see that this is the case.

Here are seven mortal sins in the management of manuscript materials, tending to destroy their usefulness. For each of these sins may be named as serious sins of publication, which also tend to reduce materially, if not to destroy, the historical utility or value of the documents. It may be said that the absurd practice of keeping manuscript material buried in societies, access to which is controlled by the selfish policy of a narrow-minded custodian, is passing, and a much more liberal policy has been adopted. When I first began to consult the historical collections in the Department of State, Washington, the personal whim of the custodian governed their use. I induced Mr. Bayard to frame suitable regulations under which they could be consulted and used by students of history. After more than 20 years the fruition of the early efforts to liberalize methods was seen in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress. For the first time a national archive bureau became possible.

Outside of the Federal Government and of a very few institutions which I could name, reigns Cimmerian darkness, more or less penetrable, according to the charm you carry—a name of weight, a letter of introduction, a personal acquaintance with the custodian. The questions are ever present, what are the functions of a historical society, and how far does this particular institution fulfill these functions? In nine out of ten cases the defects do not lie in the organization and by-laws, for the organization is practically the same in all. as are the by-laws, which are made to protect against abuse and destruction. The errors lie at the door of the custodian, whose business it is to enforce or release the by-laws according to circumstances, but to lean on the side of liberality. I need only mention the case of the Pennsylvania Historical Society as one of the best conducted in the land, advanced and generous to all; and it has gained enormously by that very openhandedness. Among State institutions that of Wisconsin will stand well to the fore for its liberal conduct.

It is one thing to collect and another to publish. The need of collecting has been largely restricted by the growth of the public library. The necessary tools of workers and the rare or unusual are proper objects of a collecting society. Yet even here there are limitations. Why, for example, should the Massachusetts Historical Society seek to obtain by purchase the rarities of New England history, when copies are available in the Boston Public, in Harvard University, in the John Carter Brown, and in the American Anti-

quarian Society at Worcester? Its means have been directed to printing, and wisely; for many a society has been crippled by this ambition to have and to hold costly rarities, and the possession has reduced them to a condition of helplessness in other and more legitimate activities.

Nor is this helplessness an unmixed evil. The older conditions were so restful. Once in three or four years a leading society would issue a volume. The entire annual output of all historical societies could be counted upon the fingers of one hand. These volumes contained some original documents, some reprints of rare issues of the past, some crude facsimile reproductions, more or less misleading, and some chats by members upon subjects of tremendously personal interest but of no possible value to anyone else. It was all so simple. In meeting the librarian announces that he has material of another volume ready for the printer. Thereupon the president gracefully responds to the unspoken suggestion and says he will be happy to pay the cost of printing and distributing the volume. It is a oneman influence. Unconsciously we think not so much of the X Historical Society as of Mr. A. who pays the bills, who is supposed to have the greatest influence in the welfare of the society, and who is in reality the mainspring of the institution. We look upon him as an historical scholar, even though his interest in history is limited to his own name; he becomes the honorary member of sister societies, the recipient of degrees from his college because of these publications, and so on—a little circle of activity that runs its course mechanically, until the great man passes away, and a new name and individuality takes his place, and by a well-recognized formula deflects the line of direction by a trifle, and announcing progress asks leave, alas, to sit again.

This personal element favored sitting still, but also favored defective publications. Editors gave their time and service voluntarily; they were not trained in historical methods and their enthusiasm, and often wide knowledge, could only make up for a part of their weakness. In the United States, history as a study is little more than a quarter of a century in years. The older workers in societies did not possess one quarter of the facilities for study and research that are now offered. They were obliged to do what they could on original materials, the value of which was only partially realized, and to encourage others to contribute essays and even orations upon the infinitesimally small. They were obliged to recognize the weaknesses of their neighbors, as well as those of their members, by paying too great attention to personal, family, and local matters. How many of us can afford (to adopt a bookseller's term) to keep in stock files of the issues of more than a very few of the many societies printing their material?

We have at hand a notably heavy volume, of equally heavy contents, giving a list of the papers and material printed by historical societies of the United States. It is not complete, for it does not contain some well-known issues. It is a volume of a thousand or more pages, and one-third as many pages of index, as cheerful reading as a cemetery list. Is it possible for anyone to trace from this formidable list the trend of such printing activity? He would find periods of great activity and well-directed action, alternating with periods of quiescence and perfunctory performance. Here they are, all jumbled together, historical, genealogical, and patriotic societies; one-man, one-cause, one-locality societies; personal, family, and home societies; and all apparently having but one object in view, to print something, regularly or occasionally, once or often. The confusion becomes the greater when the contrasts of the publications of a single society are examined. What is the measure of interest, the principle of exclusion, or the standard of judgment? Is there any consistent policy governing the arrangement of the material or the order of publication?

In the earlier volumes of long-established societies the amount of reprinted matter overshadows that of original documents. In New York and in Massachusetts there existed quite a store of printed material, of great rarity and sometimes to be found only in foreign libraries, relating to the very early history of the two sections. These naturally were regarded as "manuscript," because of their rarity, greater in that day than now, and as "historical documents," as affording contemporary records of events. The policy was justified, though the manner of using them was open to criticism. For a bare reprint, in modern language and without regard to the form of the original, gave little that would serve beyond the casual reader. What these early tracts and volumes were capable of yielding in good hands is shown by the issues of the Prince Society of Massachusetts. The notes, and the extreme care to follow the originals, have given a veritable arsenal of historical learning. No other society can exhibit so many volumes of so high a character.

The fact was, the material for making such annotated volumes was not accessible to the earlier investigators, and we have reason at this day to complain rather of the mass of original documents yearly brought forth. The Maine Historical, Society has issued a series of volumes of "papers," and the States of New Hampshire, Georgia, and North Carolina have printed like collections. The mere aggregate is appalling, though it is better to have the matter in that form, arranged upon some definite plan (generally chronological) than to have it doled out piece by piece and at odd intervals. The States have in this line done better work than the historical societies, and an

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union of the two, as in Maryland, has given a notable series of archive volumes. Compare that series of Maryland with what has been done in Pennsylvania and it is easy to recognize what an opportunity was lost in the latter case. The office of the State historian can be justified only where it gives impartial, accurate, and full issues of historical material. When he begins to write history, he takes a field that does not belong to him.

An historical society depends upon such material as may be deposited with it, or upon such as the local officers of Government furnish, or upon contributions by individuals. It has not been possible to introduce the same systematic arrangement as marks the better State publications, but it has been possible to command better editing and explanation of text. The form has ranged from a close reproduction of the original text—as in the New York Historical Society's Publication Fund Series—to an attempt at annotation, as in some of the volumes of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Yet in this latter case much more could have been done to make the material more valuable and accessible. The most notable collection of colonial family papers is the Winthrop collection, of which six large volumes have been printed. Unfortunately, the treatment of the material was such as to make continuous reading impossible for no attention has been given in some of the volumes to chronological sequence, and that is the only sequence useful to the investigator. The best historical material is injured by such treatment.

This is not a question of money. It is hopeless to expect to obtain a profit from the publications of an historical society. Its membership is as a rule small, and purchasing libraries are few. Just as good work was done in the early days of the older societies, when their funds were extremely limited, as later, when they began to employ adequate publishing funds. Nor is the chance of profit increased by multiplying the publications—reprints, manuscript collections, proceedings of meetings, or quarterly magazines. The proceedings and magazines must be more or less scrappy, composed of unrelated parts, and of such documents as can not be made up into connected series. It is less expensive in the long run, to issue a volume of good material, than to issue many volumes of scraps. It is already a burden to consult the indexes of the historical magazines, for none have followed the good example of the American Historical Review, and issued a consolidated index.

There can, however, be differentiation in action. The real effect of military and patriotic societies upon the writing of history is yet to be measured; but there is a growing belief that such societies are doing greater harm than good. For they dwell only upon one item of incident and unduly magnify its importance. There is the same tendency to be found in local or family history—the oldest

buildings, the oldest inhabitants, the leading family, the town traditions—material good enough in itself, but needing judicious treatment to be made sufferable. It is generally left to the tender mercies of the profligate imagination of the genealogist, and the results are deplorable. The true historical society must be raised out of this round of petty subjects, and I admit that it is the most difficult problem to be met. It can only be met at first by voluntary publishing committees acting upon a trained editor, with powers to check or curb his enthusiasm and exuberant plans by the trials of their experience and active interest in the welfare of the society. For selfish, limited, and personal interests must be substituted broad and impersonal interests.

Does not this point to a further change for the better? A change indicated by the organization of State historical societies? With a central institution, supported by the State, suggesting to local societies and receiving aid from them? Such a centralization may be impossible now, but I think it possible in the future. This would also permit a distribution of publication, the general topics or records being reserved for the leading, and the local for the local society. In the Eastern States such a graded series would be of advantage, and would prevent duplication of publication, or the appearance in an occasional and almost unknown issue of material of really national importance. Organization and cooperation, mutual service, and responsible editorship, these conditions will go far to remove the reproach so often uttered against the issues of our historical societies.

After the reading of the papers an interesting discussion ensued. Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, said:

Mr. Ford's paper is admirable in every respect. I agree with him entirely. I ought, however, to point out that the situation of most of the historical societies in the West is quite different from that of the eastern organizations. The former are almost if not quite wholly dependent on State appropriations. In order to secure political support it seems essential, at least in the earlier years of the society, to produce publications having a quasi popular character. When it is remembered that legislators and public officials seek these books for free distribution to constituents, and often regard their popularity as their only excuse for being, one may hardly blame the society management for desiring to make the volumes, or at least part of them, readable by men of average interest and intelligence. This is one quite sufficient reason why so much attention is paid in many States to the narrative side of history—for the story of the pioneers always appeals strongly to the "general reader."

After a society has become firmly established as a State institution, a necessary adjunct of the State's educational machinery, then it becomes possible to maintain publications of a more scientific character. For instance, if I may mention my own State, in Wisconsin we are at last able to devote our collections entirely to the presentation of documentary material, and our proceedings to the usual administrative reports, monographs, pioneer recollections, and such other matter as is presented at the annual meeting. This sharp differentiation, in which we follow quite closely the custom of Mr. Ford's own Massachusetts society, would not have been thought possible a dozen years ago.

Then, again, let us remember that the average western society is entirely dependent on the State printer. One of the familiar methods of State support is permission to use the State printing office—usually, the society can not go elsewhere—at the public charge. Now, State printing offices usually turn out wretched slop job work, done on the cheapest possible contracts. To criticize paper, ink, and typography in western historical society reports is quite just from the viewpoint of perfection, but unfortunately these horrors are too often necessary conditions of State support.

Another matter, in which our western societies are on a different footing from the eastern, is the lack of funds with which to employ really competent editors. Few trans-Alleghany organizations can afford to engage well-trained, high-salaried men for this service, hence are often dependent upon officials who doubtless are highly competent as collectors and custodians, but are quite unskilled in the art of editing historical documents. Or, the society must call to its assistance unpaid amateurs, who, while not lacking in enthusiasm and knowledge of State history, have had no opportunity to study modern scientific methods in the highly specialized profession of historical editorship.

Dr. Draper, the guiding spirit of the Wisconsin society for its first 33 years, was a rarity. A literary hermit, caring little for even what most of us deem the necessities of cultured existence, buoyed by unquenchable enthusiasm, ever toiling for the one great end, he continued to struggle through life on a salary less than a drygoods clerk can now earn. Herein lies the real secret of early success on the part of the Wisconsin society. He starved himself that the institution might live. But such men seldom appear on this earth. It takes money successfully to run historical societies. Legislatures, and the public at large that they represent, require coddling if their support is to be obtained; competent editors must be well paid, or they will turn elsewhere. We should therefore not be too harsh on the weaker organizations that have yet their way to make, with no self-sacrificing Drapers behind them. Nevertheless, the

ideals, as set forth by Mr. Ford, should never be lowered; in time, let us hope, the most ill-supported institution may attain them.

Mr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, State historian of New York, followed Dr. Thwaites: If it is worth while for historical societies to publish, it is also important that their publications be presented in a proper typographical dress and in substantial bindings. There are those who advocate that original public records be written with the best of inks on the most durable paper, who yet are not so solicitous when they themselves have editorial supervision of publications which contain public records, manuscripts, or other historical materials issued by the historical societies with which they are connected. Good paper, good type, good ink, and adequate editorial methods are not beyond us, and it is generally much easier for historical societies to approach ideals than is possible for publication departments of State governments. On the other hand, the highest ideals may be realized in either case, if the editorial direction reposes in one who has, besides ideals, a good knowledge of the book arts.

Perhaps my idea as to manner of publication may be best illustrated by reference to two volumes, Minutes of Commissioners for Conspiracies, just published (1909) by the State of New York, under the editorial supervision of the speaker. The entire mechanical plan of these volumes—fonts of type, stock of paper, ink, character of binding, process of illustration, etc.—was the result of initiative and cooperation on the part of the editor. In Albany it was thought such work could not be done by the State. It has been done, and at no greater cost than other volumes wholly distasteful to a book lover. What many of our historical societies need most to realize is that they ought to make better books.

The discussion was closed by Mr. R. D. W. Connor, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, who spoke as follows:

In North Carolina the printing of historical sources has been done largely, indeed almost entirely, by the State. Privately supported historical societies have done but little of this work.

The State has been rather liberal, all things considered, in the printing of such material. Beginning in 1886 the State, through the trustees of the State library, has issued 26 large volumes of colonial records and State records covering the period between 1662 and 1790. This work was done under the editorship of William L. Saunders, secretary of state, who compiled and edited the 10 volumes covering the period from 1662 to 1776, and Walter Clark, at present chief justice, who completed the series. The volumes have been indexed by Dr. Stephen B. Weeks, and the index is now in press.

This work was accomplished largely through the personal enthusiasm of the editors. When it was begun it can not be said that there was any general interest in the work among the people of the State. But the work has borne fruit in that it has created such a general interest, the chief result of which has been the creation of a permanent commission—the North Carolina Historical Commission—charged with the duty of collecting, editing, and publishing the historical material of the State, and supported by appropriations from the State treasury. This commission has issued four volumes of original sources, viz, Public Education in North Carolina, 1790-1840: A Documentary History, in two volumes, compiled and edited by Charles L. Coon; and The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth, in two volumes, edited by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton. For the present the policy of the commission is to collect rather than print, though, of course, the printing of sources will not be neglected whenever a collection is secured that it is deemed advisable to issue at But so far as the public archives of the State are concerned the most pressing work is to get them into shape, fill in gaps, recover lost documents, and make them available in manuscript form for the use of students, as it must necessarily be quite a long time before they can be printed with any degree of completeness.

Of the privately supported historical societies I recall but one that has printed any material, the Trinity College Historical Society. This society has been very active in the collection of material, and has issued some exceedingly valuable volumes. In addition to the original sources which they contain, there have been a number of papers printed of more or less interest and value.

I do not recall that the North Carolina Historical Society, at the University of North Carolina, has issued any publications, but the department of history has issued several numbers of "The James Sprunt Historical Monographs," a valuable and interesting series containing both original and secondary material made possible through the liberality of Mr. James Sprunt, a wealthy business man of Wilmington, N. C.

The general interest in work of this kind in North Carolina is very encouraging, and I am much mistaken if the next few years do not bring forth results of great value both as to quantity and quality.

Mrs. Annie Leakin Sioussat, chairman of the national committee of historic research of the Society of Colonial Dames of America, was to have taken part in the discussion, but was unfortunately prevented by lack of time. She kindly consented, however, to write out the remarks she would have made and they are here printed:

The story is told of one of our American sculptors who, working along the lines of the dainty Tanagra figurines, needed a special sort

of kaolin for his subject, and, having searched diligently through many lands, returned, to find it at his own door. And so, in casting about for the wherewithal by which the materials of the past may be molded into the statue of the future in the publication of these fast-vanishing records, it has seemed to some of us that a mine of resource is to be found close at hand in the patriotic society as a method of publication.

In one of these—the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America—the process of development has been interesting and may help others wishing to work in this same field. In the council of that body, meeting in Washington in 1900, a committee was formed for colonial-study courses and historic research, of which the first division covered not only some acquaintance with the colonial period by means of the study class, lectures, and collections of lantern slides, but the acquisition of old bills, deeds, letters, diaries, manuscripts of all sorts, pamphlets, and the kindred treasures which so many old garrets have sheltered, and, alas! which they have also in many cases yielded up to the annual auto de fe of the thrifty and merciless housewife.

The second division of the committee provided for the investigation and publication of courthouse records, church registers, and, through the medium of the pedigree papers—each one containing records of the services of from one to twelve officials of the colonial era, under notarial signature—to prepare biographical sketches, which, in the form of monograph or brief, should be exchanged from one society to another. To these suggestions the 36 societies responded nobly, and only the limitations of time and space restrain us from listing some of their fine contributions in such publications.

The first monograph published by the committee as a whole was taken from the correspondence with her relations in the colonies, of Helena Wolsely Sprat—the wife of the Bishop of Rochester, that inglorious prelate so ably described by Macaulay—under title of Notes from the Letter Book of a Colonial Dame.

At the meeting of the American Historical Association in Philadelphia a wider flight was planned when through the kind interest of Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, of the Carnegie Institution, we were advised to take up work which would be of common interest to all the colonies, and also render available original material hitherto inaccessible to the student. The Correspondence of William Pitt, Lord Chatham, with the Military Commanders and Colonial Governors of North America was suggested, placed before the council and this special patriotic society proved its faith by its works in the prompt appropriation of \$2,500 for its publication. We owe, it should be said, to the Virginia society and to our national president, Mrs. William Ruffin Cox, the generous gift of the first \$40 necessary for

the preliminary search which warranted us in proposing this plan to the council. In addition to his ready sympathy and suggestion, Dr. Jameson procured our editor, Miss Kimball, and also interested Mr. Hubert Hall of the London Public Record Office. Mr. Brett, of the Macmillan Company, was equally helpful in making arrangements for our publication and the book was placed on the market in 1904. After payment of all expenses and commissions our royalties so far have amounted to over \$1,000 and the research committee, feeling encouraged to go a step farther, at the council of 1908 asked that all royalties might be applied to a permanent publication fund from which should be produced from time to time such works as might be recommended to us by our advisors.

Through the kind offices of Dr. Jameson and of Prof. Andrews, of the Johns Hopkins University, the "Letters of Richard Henry Lee" have been chosen for the second publication, Dr. J. C. Ballagh, also of the Hopkins, having made some progress upon them. Not only did the council receive this proposition with enthusiasm, but making a further appropriation of \$1,000 we were enabled to proceed at once with the result that the first volume of the "Letters" is now ready to be garnered by the hand of the printer, and we trust that this venture on the part of a society by no means so numerous as many of the others may be duplicated and manifolded until some distinct impression may be made on the fields of precious material still unharvested by other patriotic societies, who, among their many industries, may be willing to assist in the solution of these "problems of publication."

APPENDIX.

REPORTS OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES, 1909.1

Iberville Historical Society, Mobile, Ala. President, Hon. Peter J. Hamilton; recording secretary, L. deV. Chaudron; corresponding secretary, Richard Hines, jr. Membership, 24. About 50 MSS., and Indian and other relics deposited with local Y. M. C. A.

Arkansas Historical Association, Fayetteville, Ark. President, Dr. A. C. Millar; secretary, Prof. J. H. Reynolds. Membership, 300; increase, 50. Receipts, 1909, from State, \$1,200; from dues and publications, \$600. Publications: Vol. II of Publications of Ark. Hist. Assoc., pp. 686. Collections: 300 books; Arkansas Historical Commission is to maintain a museum in the State Capitol. Enterprises: Through efforts of the association the Arkansas Historical Commission, hitherto a temporary body, has been made permanent by act of the legislature. It will have ample quarters in the State Capitol, will have a salaried secretary, and is charged with the preservation of the archives, the collection of historical material, and the maintenance of a museum and art gallery.

Historical Society of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal., 5539 Monte Vista Street. President, William L. Judson; secretary, J. M. Guinn. Membership, 53; increase, 5. Publications: Publications of the Hist. Soc. of So. Cal., VII, pts. 2, 3, containing Reminiscences of Early Californians, J. J. Warner; California under the Rule of Spain and Mexico, J. M. Guinn; Battle of San Diego, M. F. Hudson; From Pueblo to Ciudad, J. M. Guinn; Memorial to Congress, 1850, for Customhouse at San Pedro. Collections: 1,500 books, increase of 50; one MS., Hunters and Trappers of the Southwest, by the late Col. J. J. Warner.

State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado, Denver, Colo. President, Edward B. Morgan; secretary, Charles R. Dudley. (Report for period Dec. 1, 1906-Nov. 30, 1908.) Receipts: Biennial appropriation by legislature, \$8,600. Equipment: The society is to be housed in the new State Museum when it is completed. Publications: Biennial Report. Collections: 30,000 books, pamphlets, and newspaper files; several rare volumes added to Edward B. Morgan Collection; 3,421 documents added as MSS., consisting mainly of original mining location certificates of 1850 and later; about 50,000 objects in the museum. Enterprises: Participation in archæological expedition of Prof. Edgar L. Hewett in southwestern Colorado, results of which were published in Am. Anthropologist, X, No. 4.

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¹Here are given in alphabetical order, by States, towns, and societies, abstracts of the reports furnished the secretary of the conference from the various societies.

Middlesex County Historical Society, Middletown, Conn. President, Rev. A. W. Hazen; secretary, H. C. Whittlesey. Membership, 113; increase, 5. Funds: \$6,500, invested. Equipment: Housed in spacious building presented by a member; card catalogue in preparation. Publications: An annual pamphlet containing presidential address, reports of officers, names of members, list of objects owned by society. Collections: 2,250 books; about 300 or 400 MSS.; 220 museum objects.

National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Washington, D. C. President, Mrs. Matthew T. Scott; recording secretary general, Miss Mary R. Wilcox; corresponding secretary general, Mrs. Mabel G. Swormstedt. Membership, 75,720; increase, 6,555. Funds: Current and building, \$83,925.78. Equipment: The Memorial Continental Hall of Washington, now nearing completion, will soon be occupied by the national offices. Publications: Am. Mo. Mag.; the local chapters issue yearbooks. Collections: 5,000 books, increase of 300; Revolutionary relics. Enterprises: Marking of historic sites; patriotic education of native and foreign born children.

German American Historical Society of Illinois, Chicago, Ill., 1401 Schiller Building. President, Otto C. Schneider; secretary, Emil Mannhardt. Membership, 400. Income, \$1,800. Publications: Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter, IX. Collections: 600 books, a few museum objects.

Swedish Historical Society of America, Chicago, Ill., 358 West Chicago Avenue. President, Josua Lindahl; secretary, E. W. Olsen. Membership, 210; increase, 15. Equipment: Temporary quarters in building of Swedish (M. E.) Theological Seminary, Evanston; card catalogue of library. Publications: Yearbook, pp. 128. Collections: 1,300 books, increase 300; 2 MSS., increase, 1. Enterprises: Affiliation of all Swedish-American organizations. Organization: The constitution has been amended to allow for the organization of local branches of the society.

Evanston Historical Society, Evanston, Ill. President, J. Seymour Currey; secretary, Merton J. Clay. Membership, 100. Equipment: Occupies a room in the Public Library Building; has a card-index system partially developed. Collections: 1,000 books, increase 300; 1,200 MSS., increase 200, including letters of early residents, commissions to officers, etc.; 500 museum objects, increase 100. Enterprises: Plans are being formed to mark a number of historic sites of local interest.

Whiteside County Historical Society, Sterling, Ill. President, L. C. Thorne; secretary, W. W. Davis. Equipment: A room in the city hall. Collections: 500 books, 50 MSS., 300 museum objects.

Decatur Historical Society, Lamoni, Decatur County, Iowa. President, Hon. Guy P. Arnold; secretary, Herman C. Smith. Membership, 128; net increase, 1. Collections: 11 books, increase 4; 6 MSS.

State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. President, Euclid Sanders; superintendent, Benjamin F. Shambaugh. Membership, 300; increase, 50. Funds: Annual appropriation from State, \$12,000; annual income from membership fees, \$600; from sale of publications, \$200. Equipment: A card catalogue of Iowa authors has been added. Publications: Ia. Jour. Hist. and Politics, VII; Biography of Thomas Cox; Biography of John Chambers. Collections: 36,000 books, increase 4,000. Enterprises: Compilation of series of volumes, The Iowa Economic History Series, one volume of which (History of Labor Legislation in Iowa) is in press.

- Kentucky State Historical Society, Frankfort, Ky. President, the governor ex officio; secretary, Mrs. Jennie C. Morton. Funds: Annual appropriation from State of \$5,000; other receipts, about \$100. Equipment: Rooms in new State capitol. Publications: Register of the Ky. State Hist. Soc.; catalogue of books, objects, etc. Collections: 2,000 books, archives of the State, portraits. Enterprises: Participation in erection of Boone monument, Slaughter monument; organization of State archives.
- New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, Mass., 18 Somerset Street. President, Hon. James Phinney Baxter; secretary, John Albree. Membership, 1,000; increase, 80. Funds: Total assets and investments, \$357,403; bequests of \$10,000 (John Harvey Treat) and \$2,000 (George Sumner Mann). Publications: New Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Register, LXIII; Annual Proceedings; Vital Records of several Massachusetts towns. Collections: 34,000 books, 34,000 pamphlets, MSS.
- Prince Society, Boston, Mass., 12 Bosworth Street. President, Charles Francis Adams; secretary, Albert Matthews. Membership, 208. Publications: Edward Randolph, VI, VII; in press, Colonial Currency Reprints, 1682–1750.
- Unitarian Historical Society, Boston, Mass., 25 Beacon Street. President, Henry H. Edes; secretary, George Hale Reed. Society recently inaugurated, no data presented in its report.
- Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Deerfield, Mass. President, George Sheldon; corresponding secretary, M. Elizabeth Stebbins. Publications: History and Proceedings, V, in preparation. Collections: Several thousand books; MSS.; door of house built in 1686. Enterprises: Marking of historic sites.
- Fitchburg Historical Society, Fitchburg, Mass. President, Frederick F. Woodward; secretary, Ebenezer Bailey. Membership, 86; increase, 6. Publications: Proceedings, pp. 300. Collections: 1,500 books, 4,000 pamphlets; 150 MSS., increase, 50; a small museum.
- Malden Historical Society, Malden, Mass. President, D. P. Corey; secretary, Frank E. Woodward. Membership, 100. Collections: 500 books, deposited in Public Library: 1 case of museum objects.
- Medford Historical Society, Medford, Mass. President, Will C. Eddy; secretary, George S. T. Fuller. Membership. 250; increase, 10. Equipment: Building over 100 years old; stereopticon. Publications: Medford Historical Register. Collections: 1,000 books; 1,400 MSS.; 500 museum objects. Enterprises: Marking all historic sites in Medford.
- Nantucket Historical Association, Nantucket, Mass. President, Alexander Starbuck; secretary, Elizabeth C. Bennett. Membership, 320. Funds: Susan Wilson Folger fund of \$5,000; property valued at \$12,000. Equipment: Modern building, finished in 1905, with fireproof stocks, cabinets, etc.; card catalogues; possesses Friends' Meeting House and Old Mill. Publications: Proceedings, annual. Collections: MSS., log books, genealogical data, bills, wills, deeds, etc.; museum objects, portraits, china, objects secured from sailors, etc. Enterprises: Card catalogue of inscriptions from cemeteries; there is a standing "Committee on New Work."
- Rumford Historical Association, North Woburn, Mass. President, John W. Johnson; secretary, Andrew R. Linscott. Membership, 200. Funds: \$2,000. Organized for acquirement and maintenance of birthplace of Count Rumford.
- Essex Institute, Salem, Mass. President, Gen. Francis Henry Appleton; secretary, George Francis Dow. Membership, 662; increase, 7. Funds: Net income, 1909, \$11,320; bequest of \$1,000. Publications: Essex Historical

- Collections, XLV; Vital Records of Danvers. Collections: Increase of 3,287 books and 5,372 pamphlets and serials; notable acquisitions of furniture and art objects. Enterprises: Celebration of Lincoln centenary with notable exhibition of Lincolniana.
- Topsfield Historical Society, Topsfield, Mass. President, Charles J. Peabody; secretary, George Francis Dow. Membership, 260; increase, 6. Funds: Building fund, \$781; income from dues, \$130. Publications: Historical Collections, XIII; Vital Records of Methuen.
- American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. President, Waldo Lincoln; secretary, G. P. Winship; librarian, C. S. Brigham. Membership, 175. Equipment: New building under construction. Publications: Transactions and Collections; Proceedings. Collections: 99,000 books; 35,000 MSS. Funds: \$451,000. Enterprises: Development of division of MSS.
- Worcester Society of Antiquity, Worcester, Mass., 39 Salisbury Street. President, Mander A. Maynerd; secretary, Walter Davidson. Membership, 225. Funds: \$18,000. Equipment: Brick building. Publications: Proceedings. Collections: 22,500 bound volumes, increase, 600; 48,700 pamphlets, increase, 2,400; 335 volumes of newspapers; large number of MSS.; 6,500 museum objects. Enterprises: Marking historic sites; copying deeds of early settlers.
- Historical Society of Grand Rapids, Grand Rapids, Mich. President, Roger W. Butterfield; secretary, Samuel H. Ranck. Membership, 52. Publications: Daniel Ball as a Banker, by H. J. Hollister; Early History of the Furniture Industry in Grand Rapids, by William Widdicomb. Collections: 2,500 volumes relating to Michigan, many pamphlets, several thousand MSS., 800 volumes of Michigan (mostly Grand Rapids) newspapers. The collections are deposited with the Ryerson Public Library, with which the society is affiliated.
- Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Lansing, Mich., P. O. Box 294. President, Clarence M. Burton; secretary, Henry R. Pattengill. Membership, 1,000. Income, \$4,000 from appropriation by legislature. Equipment: One room, badly crowded. Publications: Collections, XXXVI; Vols. XIII—XV reprinted. Collections: 38 books, MSS., remarkable collection of pewter and brass. Enterprises: Interesting schools and clubs in history of Michigan, translation and editing of Perrault's narrative, Territorial correspondence, and Margry papers.
- Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Miss. Director, Dunbar Rowland. Publications: Annual Reports, 1908, 1909; Military Journal of Capt. Isaac Green. Collections: 1,000 volumes of MSS.; has added 12 volumes of transcripts from the French and Spanish archives; 500 museum objects. Enterprises: Prominent participation in cooperative calendar of documents in French archives relating to the Mississippi Valley.
- Pike County Historical Society, Louisiana, Pike County, Mo. President, Hon. Thomas J. C. Fogg; secretary, Clayton Keith, M. D. Membership, 40; increase, 5. Publications: Sketches of Pike County, series of articles in the Pike County News, by the president of the society. Collections: Books, 25 MSS., museum objects, several notable portraits, Lincoln relics.
- Montana Historical Library, Helena, Mont. President, Hon. Frank H. Woody; secretary, W. M. Biggs. Maintained by State. Equipment: To have good accommodations in enlarged capitol. Publications: Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana, VII. Collections: 25,250 books and pamphlets,

large number of MSS., 1,500 museum objects. Enterprises: Plan to erect monument on site of Fort Lisa, the first fort in Montana; restoration and maintenance of Fort Benton.

- Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, Nebr. Secretary, Clarence S. Paine. Membership, 800; increase, 150. Funds: Biennial appropriation from State of \$15,000; bequest of \$500 from estate of late Gov. Lorenzo Crounse. Equipment: Work has been commenced on a new building. Collections: 32,065 books, increase, 1,515; 50 MSS., increase, 10; 28,500 museum objects, increase, 500. Addition of Morrill Collection of 10,000 stone implements, Indian relics, etc. Enterprises: Marking of historic sites, plan for examining MSS. of county and local histories before their publication.
- New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord, N. H. President, Col. Daniel Hall; secretary, Henry A. Kimball. Membership, 175. Funds: Total \$54,647; annual appropriation of \$500 from State. Equipment: A new fireproof building is under construction.
- Manchester Historic Association, Manchester, N. H. President, Isaac Huse; secretary, George Waldo Browne; librarian, Fred W. Lamb. Membership, 200; increase 6. Funds: \$200 per year from dues, \$600 from city of Manchester, \$600 from towns of Londonderry, Derry, and Windham, to aid in publications. Equipment: Room in a business block, well fitted up. Publications: Town Records of Derryfield (now Manchester); Town Records of Londonderry. Collections: 550 books; museum objects.
- Hunterdon County Historical Society, Flemington, N. J. President, Rev. C. S. Woodruff; secretary and librarian, Hiram E. Deats. Membership, 42. Equipment: To have quarters in new building to be erected by the town.
- Bergen County Historical Society, Hackensack, N. J. President, Hon. David D. Gabriskie; secretary, Burton H. Albee. Membership, 130; increase, 10. Publications: Annual Yearbook. Collections: 100 books, increase, 25; 1,000 museum objects. Enterprises: Cataloguing collections, marking two sites, anniversary celebration.
- New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, N. J., 16 West Park Street. President, Jonathan W. Roberts; secretary, William Nelson. Membership, 1,125; increase, 35. Funds: Bequests during year of \$2,500; receives \$3,000 annually from State for printing New Jersey archives. Publications: Proceedings. Collections: 26,000 books, increase, 603; MSS., increase, 160; museum objects, increase, 77. Have been added Howard W. Hayes collection of oriental rugs, 'china, pottery, books, etc.; 122 volumes, gift of Rev. D. O. Irving; Revolutionary MSS., including orderly and account books, etc.
- New Brunswick Historical Club, New Brunswick, N. J. President, Dr. Austin Scott; corresponding secretary, Dr. E. L. Stevenson; recording secretary, Prof. Richard Morris. Membership, 43; increase, 5. Funds: \$550. Equipment: Large cabinet for MSS., etc.
- Vineland Historical and Antiquarian Society, Vineland, N. J. President, Rev. William M. Gilbert; secretary, Frank D. Andrews. Membership, 40. Funds: \$15,836. Equipment: Small building, new building planned. Publications: Annual Report. Collections: 7,850 books.
- Historical Society of New Mexico, Santa Fe, N. Mex. President, L. Bradford Prince; secretaries, W. M. Bergen, Ernest A. Johnston. Membership, 60; increase, 10. Funds: \$1,000 appropriated annually by the Territory. Equipment: Installed in eastern half of the governor's palace, built in 1605.

Publications: Two pamphlets. Collections: 800 books, increase, 100; has acquired the only known copy of the "State constitution" of 1850; 600 M8S., increase, 200; has acquired the archives of the northern jurisdiction under Mexican régime.

Buffalo Historical Society, Buffalo, N. Y. President, Andrew Langdon; secretary, Frank H. Severance. Membership, 784; increase, 30. Funds: Annual appropriation from city of \$5,000; invested and permanent funds, \$10,000; annual income from dues, \$4,000. Equipment: Spent \$16,000 in repairing and improving Historical Building. Publications: Publications, XII, XIII, containing Historical Review of Waterways and Canal Construction in New York State, by H. W. Hill, Canal Enlargements in New York State, History of the Buffalo Board of Trade, etc. Collections: 30,754 books, increase, 560; has acquired the A. L. Benedict collection of archæological objects. Enterprises: Catalogue of MSS.; bronze tablets to memory of Millard Fillmore and Grover Cleveland.

Livingston County Historical Society, Geneseo, N. Y. President, George B. Adams; secretary, William A. Brodie. Membership, 375; increase, 25. Equipment: Log cabin for collections. Publications: Annual Proceedings. Enterprises: Catalogue of collections in preparation.

American Jewish Historical Society, New York City, 531 West One hundred and twenty-third Street. President, Dr. Cyrus Adler; corresponding secretary, Max J. Kohler. Membership, 261. Funds: Savings bank, \$2,867; from annual dues, \$1,000. Equipment: Fireproof room in Jewish Theological Seminary. Publications: Publications, XVII, XVIII. Collections: 1,100 volumes, several hundred pamphlets; 50 MSS. and Lyons collection; 50 museum objects. Enterprises: Card catalogue of collections, index to certain American Jewish periodicals, calendar of Lyons collection. Organization: Scope of activities has been enlarged to include investigations in general Jewish history, it formerly being limited to American Jewish history.

City History Club of New York, New York City, 21–23 West Forty-fourth Street. President, Mrs. Robert Abbe; secretary, Miss Elsie Hill. Membership, 434. Equipment: Stereopticons, 2,500 lantern slides, filing cases, cabinets of photographs, etc. Publications: Historical Guide to New York, leaflet, No. II (Hudson-Fulton celebration); Excursions, VIII, XII (Historic Brooklyn). Enterprises: Civics teaching and conferences, celebration of Evacuation Day, participation in Hudson-Fulton pageant, care of milestones, exhibition at 25th annual meeting of American Historical Association.

Pennsylvania Society, New York City, 218 Fulton Street. President, Andrew Carnegie; secretary, Barr Ferree. Membership, 1,000; increase, 100. Annual income, \$13,000. Publications: Yearbook, 1909, pp. 216. Collections: 4,000 books and pamphlets relating to Pennsylvania. Enterprises: Establishment of gold medal for distinguished achievement. Plans for erection of memorial tablet to William Penn in Church of Allhallows, Barking, London.

Schenectady County Historical Society, Schenectady, N. Y. President, Charles C. Duryea; corresponding secretary, James R. Truax. Membership, 285. Publiactions: Yearbook. Collections: 100 books; MS. records of consistory of First Reformed (Dutch) Church; MS. records of city officials, 1707–1865; 1,000 museum objects. Enterprises: Erection of bronze tablet to mark site of home lot of Arent Van Corlaer.

Watertown Library and Historical Society, Watertown, N. Y. President, James E. Botsford; secretary, Rev. Henry E. Hubbard. Membership, 100. Funds: Endowment of \$10,000. Equipment: Brick building worth about \$10,000. Collections: 8,000 books; 1,000 museum objects,

- North Carolina Historical Society, Chapel Hill, N. C. President, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton; secretary, C. E. McIntosh. Publications: James Sprunt Historical Monograph, IX, no. 1. Collections: Books have been transferred to library of University of North Carolina; large number of MSS., Steele papers, etc.
- Trinity College Historical Society, Durham, N. C. President, William K. Boyd; secretary, W. G. Matten. Membership, 65; increase, 10. Equipment: Fire-proof vault in Trinity College library. Publications: Historical papers, series VIII, pp. 116, containing diary of events in Wilmington, N. C., 1865. Collections: 2,060 books and pamphlets; 4,230 MSS., acquired papers of W. W. Holden, autobiography of Dr. Brantly Cook, diary of Rev. L. S. Burkhead; museum objects. Enterprises: Cataloguing of collections.
- State Literary and Historical Association, Raleigh, N. C. President, Platt D. Walker; secretary, Clarence H. Poe. Membership, 400; increase, 50. Publications: Minutes and Proceedings. Enterprises: Marking of historic sites.
- "Old Northwest" Genealogical Society, Columbus, Ohio, Memorial Hall. President, Winfield S. Potter; secretary, Frank T. Cole. Membership, 168; decrease, 13. Publications: "Old Northwest" Genealogical Quarterly, XIII. Collections: 2,740 books.
- Sandusky County Pioneer and Historical Association, Fremont, Ohio. President, Isadore H. Burgoon; secretary, Basil Weeks. Membership, 100. Equipment: Alcove in public library. Publications: Pamphlets. Collections: Museum objects, Indian relics.
- Firelands Historical Society, Norwalk, Ohio. President, C. H. Gallup; secretary, A. Sheldon. Membership, 140. Funds: Publication fund of \$500. Equipment: Building occupied jointly with public library. Publications: The Firelands Pioneer, XVII. Collections: Books, MSS., museum objects. Enterprises: Cataloguing collections.
- Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oreg., City Hall. President, Frederick V. Holman; secretary, Prof. F. G. Young; assistant secretary and curator, George H. Himes. Membership, 702. Funds: Appropriation from State, \$2,500; annual income from dues, \$1,250; bequest of \$2,500. Equipment: Showcases, filing cabinets, tables, etc. Publications: Quarterly, X. Collections: 10,000 books; 6,300 pamphlets; 110,000 newspapers; 150 bound volumes of newspapers; 16,647 MSS., acquired papers of Judge Matthew P. Deady, 1850–1880; 1,950 museum objects.
- Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, president, Julius F. Sachse; secretary, S. P. Heilman, Heilmandale, Pa. Membership, 32 societies. Publications: Acts and Proceedings of Fourth Annual Meeting. Enterprises: Editing and publishing bibliographies of Washington and Lebanon counties.
- Pennsylvania-German Society, Allentown, Pa. President, General John E. Roller; secretary, Prof. George T. Ettinger. Membership, 461; increase, 17. Funds: \$2,687. Publications: Proceedings, XVIII, pp. 264, contains many documents—"Diary of a Voyage from Rotterdam to Philadelphia," "Brief History of the Colony of New Sweden," etc.
- Historical Society of Dauphin County, Harrisburg, Pa. President, Theodore Klein; librarian, L. S. Shimmell. Membership, 300. Equipment: House and lot left by bequest; fitted up for use of society. Collections: 2,500 books, increase, 50; MSS.; 300 museum objects,

Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., 1300 Locust Street. President, Hon. Samuel Pennypacker; secretary, John Bach McMaster; librarian, John W. Jordan. Membership, 2,400. Funds: \$372,500. Equipment: New fireproof building. Publications: Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XXXII. Two volumes of Memoirs in preparation. Collections: 108,000 books, increase, 1,132; 4,800 volumes of MSS. Enterprises: Copying of wills and church records, celebration of anniversaries.

Pennsylvania History Club, Philadelphia, Pa., 1300 Locust Street. President, Isaac Sharpless; secretary, Albert Cook Myers. Membership, 54. Publications: Publication, I ("A Contribution to Pennsylvania Historical Bibliography"). Enterprises: Survey of sources of Pennsylvania history, having for object the making of recommendations respecting the filling of gaps in the printed materials; standing committee on European background of Pennsylvania history.

Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pa., 518-582 Witherspoon Building. President, Rev. Henry C. McCook; corresponding secretary, Rev. C. R. Watson; recording secretary, Rev. W. A. Brooks. Membership, 228; decrease, 14. Funds: Invested funds, \$8,978; income, \$1,505. Publications: Journal. Collections: Acquisition of the W. J. Hinke collection of catechisms of the Reformed (German) Church and of a collection of books on John Calvin; acquisition of correspondence of Sheldon Jackson, D. D., relating to the planting of missions in the Northwest.

Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Va., 707 East Franklin Street. President, William Gordon McCabe; secretary, William G. Stanard. Membership, 750. Funds: Permanent endowment fund, \$10,000. Equipment: Brick house, with cases, stacks, etc. Publications: Virginia Magazine of History and Biography. Collections: 10,000 books; MSS.; museum objects.

Green Bay Historical Society, Green Bay, Wis. President, Arthur C. Neville; secretary, Miss Minnie H. Kelleher. Membership, 100; increase, 10. Enterprises: Bronze tablet on site of Fort Howard; participation in opening of Tank cottage and in erection of tablet at Red Banks to commemorate exploration by Jean Nicolet in 1634; historical exhibition.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. President, W. W. Wight; secretary, Reuben G. Thwaites. Membership, 750; increase, 120. Funds: Endowment, \$64,000; annual appropriation from State, \$31,000. Expenses of postage, stationery, printing, etc., paid by State. Publications: Eight bulletins of information; Wisconsin Historical Collections, XVIII; Proceedings, 1908; various handbooks. Collections: 330,000 books and pamphlets, increase, 12,000; 2,000 volumes of MSS., increase, 12 volumes; large number of museum objects, increase, 2,000. Enterprises: Transcriptions of all documents in Federal archives at Washington bearing on history of Wisconsin prior to 1836; participation in calendaring of Mississippi Valley materials in Parisian archives.

Manitowoc County Historical Society, Manitowoc, Wis. President, Emil Baensch; secretary, R. G. Plumb. Membership, 30; increase, 6. Equipment: Shelf in public library and vault for records. Enterprises: Dedicated monument to Chief Mexico at Manitowoc Rapids.

Niagara Historical Society, Niagara on the Lake, Ontario, Canada. President, Miss Janet Carnochan; secretary, John Eckersley. Membership, 160; increase, 20. Funds: Receipts from dues, \$73.75; from provincial legislature and from county, \$220; from sale of publications and other sources, \$67. Equipment:

Building. Publications: Ten Years of the Colony of Niagara, 1780–1790, by Col. Cruikshank (pamphlet No. 17), and, published together in pamphlet No. 18, Early History of St. Marks, Soldier Pensioners, etc. Pamphlet No. 10, Inscriptions of Graves in the Niagara Peninsula, is being reprinted. Collections: 720 books, increase 65; 709 MSS., increase 35; acquisition of MSS. relating to rebellion of 1837–38; 1864 museum objects, increase 45. Enterprises: Placing tablets in society's building bearing names of early settlers, etc.; work on catalogue of collections. Society is branch of the Ontario Historical Society.

Women's Canadian Historical Society, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. President, Mrs. Thomas Ahearn; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Braddish Billings; recording secretary, Mrs. J. B. Simpson. Membership, 76. Publications: Transactions, II, containing 11 papers on Canadian waterways. Collections: 76 books, 48 MSS.

LIST OF DELEGATES AND OTHERS IN ATTENDANCE.

- J. H. Reynolds, Arkansas Historical Association, Fayetteville, Ark.
- F. C. Bissell, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Conn.

Joseph Anderson, Mattatuck Historical Society, Waterbury, Conn.

W. G. Leland, secretary American Historical Association, corresponding member Maine Historical Society, Washington, D. C.

Benjamin F. Shambaugh, superintendent State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City. Iowa.

Mrs. William Reed, president Maryland Society of Colonial Dames of America, Baltimore, Md.

Mrs. Albert Sioussat, chairman national committee of historical research, National Society of Colonial Dames of America, Baltimore, Md.

Worthington C. Ford, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.

A. McF. Davis, American Antiquarian Society, Cambridge, Mass.

D. P. Corey, president Malden (Mass.) Historical Society, Malden, Mass., and Mrs. Corey.

John F. Ayer, secretary Bay State Historical League, Wakefield, Mass.

Dunbar Rowland, director Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Miss.

F. A. Sampson, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

Miss J. E. Wier, secretary Nevada Historical Society, Reno, Nev.

Maud E. Johnson, New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, N. J.

William Nelson, corresponding secretary New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, N. J.

Mabel Ross, New York State Teachers Association, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Frank H. Severance, secretary-treasurer Buffalo Historical Society, Buffalo, N. Y.

Albert M. Friedenberg, American Jewish Historical Society, New York, N. Y.

Max J. Kohler, American Jewish Historical Society, New York, N. Y.

Barr Ferree, Pennsylvania Society, New York, N. Y.

Dr. Lancey W. Watkins, vice president Schenectady County Historical Society, Schenectady, N. Y.

Dr. W. A. E. Cummings, president Ticonderoga Historical Society, Ticonderoga, N. Y., and Mrs. Cummings.

William K. Boyd, Trinity College Historical Society, Durham, N. C.

R. D. W. Connor, secretary North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C.

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Henry E. Bourne, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.

G. Frederick Wright, president Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, Oberlin, Ohio.

Charles R. Roberts, secretary Lehigh County Historical Society and of Pennsylvania-German Society, Allentown, Pa.

Albert Cook Myers, secretary Pennsylvania History Club, Moylan, Pa.

G. P. Winship, Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, R. I.

Charles W. Ramsdell, corresponding secretary Texas State Historical Association, Austin, Tex.

George P. Garrison, recording secretary Texas State Historical Association, Austin, Tex.

Reuben G. Thwaites, superintendent Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wis.

Mrs. J. B. Simpson, Women's Canadian Historical Society, Ottawa, Canada.

J. E. Bradford, Oxford, Ohio.

Charles A. Flagg, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

William Henry Hoyt, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mrs. G. A. Hubbell, New York, N. Y.

Austin Baxter Keep, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

Ralph B. Page, New York, N. Y.

Victor H. Paltsits, State Historian, Albany, N. Y.

W. R. Patterson, New York, N. Y.

C. O. Paullin, Washington, D. C.

Benjamin Rand, Harvard University, Cambridge Mass.

O. E. Tiffany, Westminster, Md.

Miss J. M. Welch, the Algonquin, Buffalo, N. Y.

XX. TENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMIS-SION WITH EIGHT PAPERS AND THREE APPENDICES.

DECEMBER 30, 1909.

APPENDIX A. REPORT OF FIRST ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF ARCHIVISTS.

APPENDIX B. REPORT ON THE ARCHIVES OF ILLINOIS.

APPENDIX C. REPORT ON THE ARCHIVES OF NEW MEXICO.

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TENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION, DECEMBER 30, 1909.

HERMAN V. AMES, CHAIRMAN, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS,

Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

DUNBAR ROWLAND,

Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Miss.

CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM,
American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

CARL R. FISH,
University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS, State Historian, Albany, N. Y.

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TENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION.

DECEMBER 30, 1909.

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 1909.

Several adjunct or associate members have been added to the personnel of the commission, as follows:

Arizona.—Miss Sharlot M. Hall, historian of Arizona, Phoenix. California.—Dr. Jacob N. Bowman, professor of history, University of California, Berkeley.

Nebraska.-Mr. H. W. Hodgkins, Mr. A. E. Warren, Lincoln.

Ohio.—Dr. Isaac J. Cox, professor of history, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati.

The work of investigation of the public archives in a number of States has been actively in progress through the cooperation of the adjunct and associate members of the commission, particularly in the States of California, Colorado, Illinois, Kentucky, Nebraska, and Vermont, and in the Territories of Arizona and New Mexico. Work in the preparation of the above reports has progressed sufficiently to enable the presentation of only two reports at this time, which are submitted herewith as follows: First, a report on the public archives of Illinois, by Prof. Clarence W. Alvord and Mr. Theodore C. Pease, of the University of Illinois; second, a report on the archives of the Territory of New Mexico, by Prof. John H. Vaughan, of the College of Agricultural and Mechanic Arts in that territory.

The work of the selection, and supervision of the transcribing, of documents relating to American history in the English archives for the Library of Congress, which was inaugurated in 1902, has been continued under the direction of Prof. Charles M. Andrews, member of the commission in charge of this undertaking. The total number of transcripts received up to date aggregates about 80,000 folios of foolscap size. They are now in process of being catalogued. They have been selected chiefly from the manuscripts in the British Museum and the Record Office, as also to a less extent from those in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The list of additions to June 30, 1909, is given in the last report of the Librarian of Congress. This collection of transcripts has now grown to such a size that it should prove of great interest, value, and convenience to the student of

¹ Report of the Librarian of Congress for 1909, pp. 211-212.



Anglo-American relations during the colonial period who is able to visit Washington.

By the authority of the council of the American Historical Association a commission was appointed to cooperate in the organization of the International Congress of Archivists, which is to be held in Brussels, Belgium, in August, 1910. The membership of this American commission includes the six members of the public archives commission and five additional persons, as follows:

R. D. W. Connor, secretary of the North Carolina historical commission.

Worthington C. Ford, chairman of the historical manuscripts commission of the American Historical Association, and editor of publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Gaillard Hunt, chief of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress. Henry E. Woods, commissioner of public records of the State of Massachusetts. Waldo G. Leland, secretary of the American Historical Association, and assistant in the department of historical research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

This commission has organized and selected certain of its members to prepare papers to be presented at the congress and to participate in the deliberations of what promises to be a notable international gathering of archivists.

As an outgrowth of the informal conference of the public archives commission with its adjunct and associate members, which has been held each year at the time of the annual meeting of the association, a conference of archivists, open to the public, was held as one of the regular sessions of the present annual meeting. At this conference the work of the public archives commission during the first decade of its existence was briefly reviewed by the chairman of the commission, and a series of papers chiefly relating to the lessons to be learned from European practice in the administration of archives was presented. The program that was carried out follows:

AMERICAN ARCHIVAL PROBLEMS.

 Some lessons to be learned from European practice in the administration of archives, Waldo G. Leland, Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Discussion with especial reference to British archives, Charles M. Andrews, professor, Johns Hopkins University.

With especial reference to German archives, Marion D. Learned, professor, . University of Pennsylvania.

With especial reference to Italian archives, Carl R. Fish, professor, University of Wisconsin.

With especial reference to Dutch archives, William I. Hull, professor, Swarthmore College.

With especial reference to Spanish archives, William R. Shepherd, professor, Columbia University.

With especial reference to Swedish archives, Dr. Amandus Johnson, University of Pennsylvania.

Tragedies in New York's public records, Victor H. Paltsits, State historian of New York. These papers and the abstracts of the discussions are submitted herewith as a portion of this report. The importance of the papers contributed and the interest aroused by this conference would seem to point to an annual conference of archivists, at which an opportunity can be afforded to discuss problems of common interest to American archivists and historical students generally.

Several important acts have been passed during the year relating to the preservation and custody of archives, as also a number of minor measures in regard to the preservation and publication of archive material, in addition to appropriations for the support of State historical societies. First among the latter may be mentioned the act of Arkansas, establishing a permanent history commission. This act is the outgrowth of a temporary commission established by the law of April 27, 1905.¹ The present law provides for a history commission composed of the chief justice, the president of the State University, the president of the State Normal College, and six members to be appointed by the governor. After the first commission the term of office of appointive members is 12 years. The commission is given a salaried secretary with headquarters at the State capitol. The full text of the act follows.

An act to create the Arkansas History Commission and to define its duties.3

Section 1. That there is hereby created and established the Arkansas History Commission. The headquarters of the commission shall be at the State capitol in apartments to be set aside for its use by the governor, or such other place as may be designated at any time by the general assembly. The object and purpose of said commission are the care and custody of official archives, the collection of materials bearing on the history of the State from the earliest times, the editing of official records and other historical sources, the encouragement of historical work and research, and the performance of such other work as may be required by law.

SEC. 2. That the said commission shall consist of the chief justice, the presidents of the University of Arkansas and of the State Normal at Conway, and of six others to be appointed by the governor subject to confirmation by the senate. At the first meeting of the commission the six appointive members by lot shall divide themselves into six classes, whose terms of service shall expire respectively at the end of two, four, six, eight, ten, and twelve years. After the first commission, the term of service of appointive members shall be twelve years. The beginning of the several terms for the purposes of this act shall be January first, nineteen hundred and nine. Appointees to fill vacancies occasioned by death or resignation shall serve merely for the unexpired terms of their predecessors. That said commission shall hold at the State capitol at least one regular meeting each year and as many special meetings as may be necessary, and at said meetings five members shall constitute a quorum. The commissioners shall receive no compensation for their services; only the necessary expenses incurred by them in attending meetings shall be allowed. The commission is empowered to adopt rules for its own government and for the conduct of business committed to its charge, to elect a secretary, and to perform all other acts necessary to carry out the purposes of this act. The commission may call upon the governor for such rooms in the new capitol as its needs require unless another place is designated by the general assembly of the State, and it is hereby made the duty of the governor to set apart said rooms for the exclusive use of the commission.

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¹The text of the act of 1905 is given in the American Historical Association Report for 1905, vol. 1, p. 331.

²This is a revised form of senate bill 47, which, on a technicality, was defeated in 1907.

SEC. 3. It shall be the duty of the commission to receive, classify, and arrange convenient for public use all official archives that may come into its custody; to take charge of and to care for the archives now in the basement of the old capitol and to supervise their removal to the new statehouse; to prepare for publication an inventory of official archives in the several departments of State government; to assist the State officials in the removal of their archives to the new capitol; to collect and preserve all files of such Arkansas newspapers as may be presented to the commission and to bind such of them as the funds of the commission will permit; to have repainted or retouched the old pictures now at the statehouse; to collect the portraits of pioneers, or eminent Arkansans, and the pictures of historic homes and scenes; to collect and preserve aboriginal and Indian relics and memorials of the Mexican and Civil Wars; to collect, classify, and preserve all manuscripts, diaries, journals, and papers of historical value pertaining to Arkansas and Arkansans; to collect and prepare for publication data pertaining to the soldiers from Arkansas in the war between the States and the war with Spain; to select, edit, and publish such State papers as the resources at its command will justify; to cooperate with the secretary of the Arkansas Historical Association in preparing and publishing the future publications of said association, to build up at the State capitol a museum, art gallery, and library, rich in the sources of Arkansas history; to submit to the governor a biennial report, setting forth in detail the work of the commission. All records, papers, archives, and historical material coming into the possession of the said commission shall be and remain the property of the State; said commission shall act merely in the capacity of a trustee for the State.

SEC. 4. The agent of the commission in carrying out the provisions of this Act shall be a secretary elected by the commission, who shall serve at the pleasure of the commission. He shall devote his entire time to the work of the commission, for which he shall receive one thousand eight hundred dollars a year. It shall be the duty of said secretary to carry out the provisions of this act under

the rules and instructions laid down by the commission.

SEC. 5. That any State, county, or other official is hereby authorized and empowered at his discretion to turn over to the commission for permanent preservation any official books, records, documents, original papers, and newspaper files not in current use in his office. When so surrendered, copies therefrom shall be made and certified by the secretary of the commission upon the application of any person interested, which certification shall have all the force and effect as if made by the officer originally in the custody of them and for which the same fee shall be charged to be collected in advance.

SEC. 6. That there shall be placed at the disposal of the commission sixty copies of every State publication except the supreme court reports, the same to be used by the commission in exchanging with other States and societies for their publications. All printing, blanks, stationery, and circulars for the commission, or its secretary, shall be executed by the public printer, and shall be

paid for out of the general printing fund. Approved, May 31, 1909.

Unfortunately, through failure of the Connecticut Legislature to act favorably, the office of the temporary examiner of public records, which was established in 1903, expired by limitation. During the existence of this office the record examiner issued a series of valuable reports containing a list of town records with notes, as also extended information relating to the ecclesiastical records of the several towns of the State. Under his direction, moreover, great improvements have been made in the introduction of safes or vaults for the safekeeping of the records. The cessation of this office leaves only two States, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, with adequate provision for the supervision of the local records. Although the Legislature of Connecticut discontinued this office, it passed an act authorizing any official of the State, county, town, or other office to turn over for

¹ Acts of Arkansas, 1909, pp. 910-913.

preservation in the State library any records not in current use in his office. With the early completion of the new State library and supreme court building, authorized by act of 1907, complete and modern equipment will be provided for the custody of the archives and records of the State. The text of the recent act follows:

An act concerning the preservation of books, records, and documents,

Be it enacted by the senate and house of representatives in general assembly convened:

SECTION 1. Any official of the State or of any county or town or any other official may turn over to the State librarian, with his consent, for permanent preservation in the State library, any official books, records, documents, original papers, or files, not in current use in his office, taking a receipt therefor, which shall be recorded; and said official may in like manner turn over to the State librarian, with his consent, for use of the State, any printed books, records, documents, or reports not in current use in his said office. Nothing herein, however, shall be construed to allow the removal of any books or records affecting the title to any estate, real or personal, within the jurisdiction of the official having custody of such records.

SEC. 2. The State librarian shall embody in his report to the governor a general list of all such books, records, documents, or papers so received, and, upon the request of any person entitled thereto, shall furnish a certified copy of any such record, document, or paper, and said certified copy shall be entitled to the same weight as evidence as though certified by the authority by whom said record, document, or paper was deposited with said librarian. Approved, July 26, 1909.

Owing to the zeal of the State historian of Maine, Rev. Henry S. Burrage, D. D., the legislature of the State amended the act establishing the office of the State historian, passed in 1907, enlarging the scope of the office and making a small appropriation for the assembling and preserving of records and documents relating to the history of the State. The text of this legislation follows:

Resolved, That the sum of one thousand dollars be, and is hereby, appropriated for the year nineteen hundred and nine, and one thousand dollars for the year nineteen hundred and ten, to be expended by the State historian in arranging, classifying, collecting, preserving, and indexing books, manuscripts, records, documents, and papers now or hereafter in the possession of the State of Maine, or in purchasing books, manuscripts, records, documents, and papers relating to the history of the State, so that the same may be made accessible to all persons desiring to use them and who may be entitled to do so. And the State historian shall report biennially to the governor and council the results of the work done under this resolve.

Approved, April 2, 1909.3

It is hoped that with the completion of the new capitol adequate provision will be made for the proper care of the State archives and that the legislature will make more ample provision for the same. The legislature also appropriated money for the further publication of the Baxter manuscripts and for the issue of a monograph by Dr. Burrage, entitled "Maine at Louisburg in 1745." *

An act of the Legislature of Texas, approved March 19, 1909, separated the State library from its rather anomalous connection

*Acts of Maine, 1909, art. 132.



¹ Public acts of Connecticut, Jan. sess., 1909, ch. 175, pp. 1104, 1105.

² Acts and Resolves of Maine, 1909, p. 802, ch. 410.

with the department of insurance and banking and placed it under the administration of the Texas library and historical commission. to be composed of the superintendent of public instruction, the head of the school of history of the State University, and three other persons appointed by the governor for the term of two years. The State librarian is to act as secretary of the library and historical commission. The functions of the commission, in addition to the administration of the State library, relate to the collection and preservation of all the archives, records, and other historical documents, manuscripts, memoranda, historical relics, mementos, and antiquities relating to the history of the State. Prof. G. P. Garrison, of the State University, is the present chairman of the commission. Mr. E. W. Winkler, librarian of Texas State library, is ex officio secretary. The text of the act is too long for insertion in this report, but has been issued as Circular No. 1, and may be obtained by addressing the State library. The State library has been equipped with special provisions for the custody and use of the archives. In addition to the passage of this law the legislature appropriated \$10,000 for the purchase of the Lamar papers, and this valuable collection has now become the property of the State and is in the custody of the State library.

In addition to the above note should be made of the act passed by the Territorial Legislature of Arizona, approved March 18, 1909, creating the office of Arizona historian, defining the powers and duties of the historian and appropriating \$4,550 for carrying out the provisions of the act. The statute provides that the historian shall gather material for and provide a full and accurate history of Arizona. He shall also collect and safeguard articles and objects of historic interest.² The first incumbent of this office, Miss Sharlot M. Hall, as already indicated, has been appointed an adjunct member of the public archives commission for the Territory of Arizona. It is hoped that the scope of this office may be enlarged to include the preservation of the territorial archives.⁸

In the New York Legislature an effort was made to secure an act amending the executive law relating to the powers and duties of the State historian. A bill, having the approval and indorsement of historical scholars and others and favored by the State historian, Mr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, was passed by the assembly; but the senate substituted another bill, the effect of which would have been, if it had become a law, to transfer this office to the education department. Both bills, however, failed and in consequence the movement inaugu-



¹ The text is given in the General Laws of Texas, 1909, pp. 122-127, ch. 70.

² Laws of Arizona, 1909, ch. 94.

²The commission desire to acknowledge their indebtedness to Mr. Clarence B. Lester, legislative reference librarian of the New York State Library, for furnishing references to several of the above items of legislation.

rated in 1901-1902, by Prof. Herbert L. Osgood, to make provision for more adequate supervision of the local records, still remains to be carried out. The text of the bill passed by the assembly follows:1

Section 1. Section ninety of chapter twenty-three of the laws of nineteen hundred and nine, entitled "An act in relation to executive officers, constituting chapter eighteen of the consolidated laws," is hereby amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 90. Appointment of State historian.—The governor shall appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, a State historian, whose duty it shall be to collect, compile, index or calendar, and edit and prepare for publication all official records[, memoranda and data] and other historical materials relative to the colonial wars, War of the Revolution, War of Eighteen Hundred and Twelve, Mexican War, [and] War of the Rebellion and Spanish-American War, together with all official records[, memoranda and statistics], and other historical materials affecting the relations between this [commonwealth] State and foreign powers, between this State and other States and between this State and the United States."

Sec. 2. Said chapter is hereby amended by inserting therein three new sections to be sections nlnety-two, ninety-three, and ninety-four thereof, to read, respec-

"SEC. 92. The State historian may communicate with State and local officers of this State who are entrusted by law with the care or custody of any books, records, documents, or materials of historic value, for the purpose of ascertaining the character and condition of such materials of historic value. He may visit any public office in the State, and shall have access at all reasonable times to any such materials as may be therein; and he is authorized to index, calendar, or have photographed any such materials, subject to such arrangements as may be made with the approval of the said State and local officers,

"SEC. 93. No State or local officer shall destroy, sell, or otherwise dispose of any records, original or copied, or of any archives, in his care or custody or under his control, and which are no longer in current use, without first having

advised the State historian of their nature.
"Sec. 94. Subdivision 1. The State historian shall make an annual report to the legislature, in which shall be stated in concise form the work done by him during the year ending December thirty-first, including a statement of works published, of works in course of publication, of materials ready for publication,

and of materials in course of preparation for publication.

"Subdivision 2. There shall be published as a part of the legislative printing of this State such official records, historical materials, indexes, and calendars, prepared for publication under authority of this act, as the State historian, with the approval of the governor, shall direct. Of every such publication there shall be an edition of such size as the State historian, with the approval of the governor, shall direct. The printing of all such publications shall be subject to the supervision of the State printing board, as other State printing. All plates made for any such publication or publications shall belong to the State and, after the printing of the first edition, all such plates shall be preserved as, and for as long a time as, the State printing board shall deem advisable."

SEC. 3. Section ninety-one of said chapter is hereby amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 91. Term of office, salary, and expenses.—[Said] The appointment of the State historian is to continue for a period of four years from the date thereof. Said historian shall receive for his services [the sum] a salary of four thousand five hundred dollars per annum[, which shall include all necessary traveling expenses], and he shall have the power to employ a chief clerk, whose compensation shall not exceed fifteen hundred dollars per year."

Sec. 4. This act shall take effect immediately.

Prof. Osgood, who has been actively identified with the commission since its establishment, and who contributed the extensive report



¹ Explanation: Matter in italics is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

upon the New York archives in the first annual report of the commission, which has ever since served as the model State report, felt under the necessity last spring of tendering his resignation as a member of the commission, owing to his expected absence abroad and to his increasing obligations elsewhere. His resignation was accordingly reluctantly accepted, but his colleagues count upon his continued interest and cooperation in their work.

Respectfully submitted.

HERMAN V. AMES.
CHARLES M. ANDREWS.
DUNBAR ROWLAND.
CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM.
CARL R. FISH.
VICROR HUGO PALISITS.

12

APPENDIX A.

PROCEEDINGS OF FIRST ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF ARCHIVISTS.

NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 30, 1909.

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CONFERENCE OF ARCHIVISTS.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY THE CHAIRMAN, PROF. HERMAN V. AMES.

The present meeting marks the tenth anniversary of the establishment of the public archives commission. It may, therefore, be appropriate briefly to review its work.

From the first the commission has been careful not to duplicate the work of any existing agency, nor has it undertaken the publication of archives, but it has devoted its attention primarily to an investigation into the character, content, condition, and availability of the public archives of the several States and, to a limited extent, of local archives, and, secondly, to stimulating and promoting legislation by the States which would lead to more adequate provision being made for a rational and scientific treatment of documentary material.

Most of those present are probably familiar with what has been accomplished in the way of publishing information respecting the public archives. Suffice it to say that, including the report for 1908, now in press, some 41 reports have been published on the archives of 30 States and of the cities of New York and Philadelphia. About one-half of these have been preliminary and partial; the remaining reports have been fairly comprehensive and some quite full and adequate.

In addition the commission has published a bibliography of the available printed archives of the thirteen original States for the colonial period and the State period to 1789, compiled by Miss Hasse, of the New York Public Library, which appeared in the report for 1906. A second bibliographical contribution was presented in the report for 1908. This is a list of the journals of councils and assemblies and the acts of the thirteen original colonies and the Floridas preserved among the colonial papers in the Public Record Office in London. This list has been edited by Prof. Andrews and has been so arranged that it presents a record of the sessions of the councils and assemblies in the several colonies, indicating in each case the material which is to be found in the record office. Both of these compilations, it is believed, will serve as useful guides.

It is a more difficult task to estimate the influence of the commission's work in arousing interest in the proper care of the public archives. It is, however, a significant fact that the decade during

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which the commission has been in existence has been characterized by much greater attention being paid to archival matters by the States than ever before, with the resulting establishment by law of various agencies for the supervision and care of the public records. Perhaps it will not be considered an exaggeration to say that the most of this legislation can be traced either directly or indirectly to the influence of the commission. A résumé of the archives situation in 1907 was presented in the commission's report for that year. Since then Oklahoma, in 1908, and in the present year Texas, Arkansas, Connecticut, and Arizona have enacted legislation relating to their archives.

Omitting all reference to minor measures or to simple appropriations for the publication of archives, etc., a summary of the legislation of the past 10 years shows that some 24 States have passed measures of importance relating to the preservation and custody of archives. These measures may be classified as follows:

- 1. Establishment of departments of archives and history: Alabama, 1901; Mississippi, 1902; West Virginia, 1905.
- 2. Establishment of commissions, of divisions of records, of office of archivist, etc.: Pennsylvania, 1903 (advisory commission); Maryland, 1904 (discontinued, 1906); Delaware, 1905; North Carolina, 1903; South Carolina, 1905; Arkansas, 1905, 1909; Illinois, 1905 (advisory commission); Tennessee, 1907 (the office of archivist continued, and a joint legislative committee to investigate archives provided for, 1907).
- 3. For establishing an archives or record office within the State library: Pennsylvania, 1903; Indiana, 1906 (appropriation for director of archives discontinued 1907); Iowa, 1906, 1907 (executive council); Virginia, 1905; Texas, 1909; Connecticut, 1909.
- 4. Allotment of archives to State historical societies: Illinois, 1903 (1897) (department of state library); Kansas, 1905; Nebraska, 1905; Wisconsin, 1907; Oklahoma, 1908.
- 5. Establishment of the office of State historian: New York (1900), 1895; Maine, 1907; Arizona, 1909 (this office to collect, edit, and prepare archives for publication, rather than to have the custody of records).
- 6. Examiner of public records: Following the example of Massachusetts, which established the office of commissioner of public records in 1884, and of Rhode Island, which established a similar office in 1896, Connecticut established in 1903 a temporary office of examiner of public records, but discontinued it in 1909. This leaves at present only two States exercising adequate supervision over their local records.

In view of the number of agencies for the custody of public archives, it was thought by the public archives commission of this

association that the time was now opportune for a new departure insuring a further development of its work. Accordingly, this present conference of archivists has been arranged for the consideration of questions of practical importance to archivists, such, for example, as the methods to be employed in the care, classification, and use of manuscript archives. In order that we may profit from the experience of other countries in meeting similar problems, the first and main topic on the program has been selected. The paper will be presented and the discussion will be participated in by persons who are especially well qualified, by reason of their unusual opportunities, to speak with authority on the particular phases of the subject assigned to them.

It has been suggested that it may be possible, as a result of this and of similar conferences, which it is hoped will follow, to collect sufficient data relating to such subjects as the classification, indexing, calendaring, methods of filing, repairing, and mounting of manuscript documents, and to other incidental problems, to make possible the preparation of a manual or guide for archivists.

AMERICAN ARCHIVAL PROBLEMS.1

By WALDO G. LELAND.

C

The present assembly is the first formal gathering in America of archivists and of those deeply interested in American archives; we have come together to survey the situation, to take counsel, and to discuss those archival problems upon the proper solution of which many phases of the future development of historical studies in America are in no small measure dependent. It is to be hoped that in this and future conferences, and by means of the work to be done and the investigations to be carried on in connection therewith, there shall be laid the foundation of an archive economy, sound in principle, and in practice adapted to American conditions, in conformity to which all our public archives, federal, State, county, municipal, and town, and perhaps even our private archives, shall in time come to be administered.

A preliminary survey of the situation shows us that we have two classes of problems to solve. In one class the problems are concerned more with what we may term the external regulation of the archives—that is, the legislation creating and governing the administration of the archives—in the other class the problems are those of the internal economy of the archives, in other words, the problems with which the archivist must deal upon his own initiative and responsibility.

It is clear that in America the problems of the first of these two classes are the more pressing. Our first duty is to secure the legislation which will insure the proper preservation and administration of all of our public records. The task is the more difficult of accomplishment because of our form of government. In France and in other countries having a highly centralized form of government it is enough to provide for a single central administration, commission, or other body, having full power in archival matters. This central body exercises its authority over the archives of the entire country, those of the communes and of the departments as well as of the

¹A revised form of the paper read at the conference.

national government. It does not need to be pointed out that this is impossible in America; instead of one archives administration we must always have at least 47 (and more as new States are added), all mutually exclusive of each other. The Federal Government controls the archives of all of its offices, whether located in the District of Columbia or elsewhere; each State government controls the records of its own offices and may extend its authority over the records of the city, town, and county offices within its territory. The efforts to secure legislation, then, must be widely distributed.

Perhaps they should first of all be concentrated upon the National Government. That the Government of the United States should be so far behind those not only of all European countries, but also of such countries as Canada, Mexico, and Cuba, as regards provision for its archives is certainly not a cause for national pride. There are in Washington alone over a hundred depositories of records. some of the executive departments a certain degree of centralization has been effected; in others the decentralization is extreme. Access to some bodies of records is too easy, to others too difficult. In many cases the records are grossly neglected, stored in places where their deterioration is inevitable, and not a few are in grave danger from fire. The Library of Congress has done something to mitigate the evil by causing to be transferred to the Division of Manuscripts certain groups of material possessed of especial historical interest. But it is a serious question to what extent bodies of archives should be transferred to a division of manuscripts in a library. Indeed, there is much to be said against it,1 and no satisfactory solution of our national archive problem short of a national archive depot is to be looked for. To this end, it would seem, should be devoted the first efforts of all those interested in American archives. The creation of such a depot or "Hall of records," would undoubtedly do much to stimulate similar action in the various States, and such a depot would serve as a model—as the Library of Congress has done in its own field—as regards archival practice and methods.

In many States something has already been done; in some States really effective measures have been adopted; but in about half the States no provisions have been made for the preservation and administration of the archives. A great variety is to be observed among the measures already taken in various States: We have departments of archives and history, divisions of archives in State libraries, State historical commissions, State historical societies charged with some



¹There can, of course, be no objection to the deposit of such collections as the Continental Congress Papers or the Washington, Jefferson, etc., papers in the Library. The latter collections properly belong there, while the former is a distinct entity and can as well be in the Library as in an archives depot. In principle, however, only exceptional circumstances can make it desirable to deposit in a library groups of documents selected because of special historical interest and taken out bodily from regular series of archives.

of the functions of archivists, and even "State historians." It matters little what form of archive administration is adopted provided its functions are of sufficient scope and are efficiently performed. What is essential is a central depository for the records of the State offices and an effective supervision over the archives of the counties. cities, and towns. With anything less than this we should refuse to be satisfied, and one of the objects of this conference should be to secure throughout the States the adoption of measures which will insure these two essentials. The conference may also well occupy itself with the form which these measures should take. The constitutions and governmental organizations of our States are all very similar; their archives are very much alike; a high degree of uniformity in the legislation affecting them may be secured and is undoubtedly desirable. The details of this legislation should be worked out with reference to all the problems involved. The relations of the archives depot to the other departments of the government, for example, must be determined by law. Under what conditions shall the records of the State offices be deposited in the archives; what powers shall the archivist have over the preparation (e.g., as regards the quality of ink, ribbon, or paper, the methods of duplication, etc.) and classification of the current records of the various offices; how shall records be authenticated, etc.? The supervision of the local records must also be provided for. Undoubtedly some of the larger cities may be left to themselves in such matters, but it is even more unquestionable that it is fatal to allow the smaller localities to neglect their records at pleasure. The experience of Massachusetts is especially enlightening on this point, and the legislation of that State 1 providing for an effective State supervision over local records may be regarded as a model so far as it concerns the safe-keeping of the records.

Another point which is insufficiently covered by legislation with us is that of the papers of public officials. The National Government has spent large sums of money in securing the papers of some of the Presidents and other high officials, many of which are, of course, of private nature, but many others of which are of official character. In France all officials are required to leave with the State papers relative to their official functions. Any such papers found among the effects of a deceased official are seized by the State. The State can also recover all documents which can be proved to have once made part of the public archives, even from those who have acquired or who possess them in good faith.

But enough has been said to indicate the nature of this first class of problems. It is evident that the pressing necessity is to secure legis-

¹ See Massachusetts Revised Laws, chap. 35, secs. 1–23, and chap. 162, secs. 51, 52.

lation, both Federal and State, which shall provide for the effective preservation and administration of all the public records.

Turning to the second class of problems, those relating to archive economy, to the details of archive administration, we must assume for the moment the existence of adequate legislation on the subject. Let us assume, what is actually to be found in certain States, the existence of all the legal machinery necessary for the development of an efficient archive administration. What are the problems confronting the archivist or other official, whatever his title, at the head of this administration?

First of all, there are problems of entirely material nature. It is necessary to find a depository for the archives; if a special building is to be devoted to them there are architectural details to be settled. The two great desiderata are safety and convenience. In these respects valuable lessons may be learned from European experiences. Such buildings as the Public Record Office in London, the Archives Nationales in Paris, the Royal Archives at The Hague, and the new building at Vienna should be studied. An archives depot should not be designed solely by architects; the archivist should have something to say about it.

The problems of equipment are to be met, whether the archives are housed in a separate building or in a building, such as the State capitol or library, which is mainly devoted to other purposes. If the building is absolutely fireproof it is probable that steel shelving, of the type now generally in use, should be avoided, at least for the storage of bound volumes. The well-known file case of the "document" size, which necessitates the folding of papers, is to be avoided at all cost, although it can not be denied that an entire wall filled with these cases, painted a soft olive green with gilt trimmings presents a most neat and attractive appearance. There must also be proper equipment for cleaning the archives, for repairing and binding, for exhibiting documents of especial interest, etc.

Next follow the problems relating to the collection, classification, cataloguing, and communication of the archives. The law determines, at least in a general way, the principles upon which the records of the various offices shall be transferred to the archives. In the execution of the law, however, much depends upon the understanding reached between the archivist and the heads of other departments. From some departments the records may be transferred at more frequent intervals than from others. In general it may be considered desirable that records should pass into the archives as soon as they are no longer in frequent use in the transaction of current business.

A most important question in connection with the collection of materials is that of the collection of other than public archives (such as the records of societies, churches, institutions, business organizations, etc.), and even of manuscript and other material not archival in character. Should the collection of such materials be left to the historical society and the librarian, or should the archivist attempt to secure them? Should he receive on deposit private collections of papers, subject to conditions imposed by the owners? There is also the question of the collection of books and other printed material. To what extent should the archivist attempt to maintain a library, and how should such a library be composed?

The problem of the classification of archives presents certain difficulties. In general, the principle enunciated by the Dutch, and adhered to in most European archives, the "herkomstbeginsel," the "respect des fonds," or "principe de la provenance," should be adopted. The archives should be classified according to their origin; they should reflect the processes by which they came into existence. In the case of old archives it is not always possible to perfect a classification in accordance with this principle, but in the case of the more recent records, and especially of those transferred to the archives depot from time to time, the principle should be adhered to. Nothing is more disastrous than the application of modern library methods of classification to a body of archives. May not the archivist even take a hand in the original classification of the records as they come into existence in the various offices? He certainly should be able to render valuable services in this way, which, if tactfully offered, would be gratefully accepted. Indeed, in some cases (the city of Brussels, for example) the classification and even the filing of all current records is done by the archivist. The various offices of the city government retain no records of any sort. When any documents are needed for the transaction of current business they are promptly supplied by the archivist.

In connection with the classification of the archives arises the necessity of providing a proper nomenclature for the various series. Throughout the different States there are so many series of records similar in origin and character that it would seem possible, as in the case of the French departmental archives, to adopt a nearly uniform nomenclature. Certainly much is to be said in favor of this from the point of view of the investigator.

The problem of cataloguing the archives offers many difficulties. First of all is necessary a general guide to the entire body of archives. This should enumerate the various series, indicating briefly their extent and character; it may even contain a check list of the volumes, bundles, or boxes, in each series. After this guide should come more detailed accounts of the more important series, in which each volume or box would receive a brief descriptive notice. Finally may come calendars of certain classes of important documents. The catalogues just mentioned are intended more especially for the use of investi-

gators in the archives. They may be in the form of volumes, printed or manuscript, or on cards. The experience of those who work much in European archives is that the cards are the least convenient, the printed volumes the most convenient form, and in the case of historical archives they are never superseded. For administrative purposes different catalogues will be needed. A series of muster rolls in constant use for pension and other purposes requires a different kind of catalogue from that suitable for a series of legislative committee papers, rarely, if ever, called for. It was thus that the well-known card-record index of the War Department was created, in order to answer the hundreds of daily queries from the Pension Bureau respecting the military and hospital records of applicants for pensions.

The relation of the archivist to the investigator presents various problems. What formalities of introduction, etc., shall be required? If the investigator is a foreigner, shall a diplomatic introduction be required? What archives shall be communicated to investigators? European practice in this respect is becoming more liberal. The French ministry of foreign affairs permits the use of its archives to February, 1848; the Archives Nationales communicate documents that are 50 years old. While a chronological dead line is convenient. especially for the archivist, it may be questioned if it is not better to decide each case upon its own merits. It is clear that certain kinds of material can safely be communicated to within very recent times. Why, then, should they be withheld because other material can not be so communicated? Other questions relate to the restrictions surrounding the investigators. In French archives only a certain number of volumes or boxes can be communicated during the course of a single day to the same person. Access to the shelves is never allowed under any circumstances. Applications for volumes must be filled out upon certain forms. When the investigator does not present himself in person, to what extent is the archivist bound to answer his queries? Especially to what extent should the attempt be made to answer genealogical queries? Should archives ever be loaned—not to individuals, of course, but to other archive depositories and to libraries for the use of individuals? In discussing the relations between archivists and investigators it must be borne in mind, on the one hand, that to supply historical sources to the investigator is not the principal function, although an important one, of archive depositories, and on the other hand, that the proper and effective administration of archives is a means and not an end.

A host of other problems present themselves for consideration, which can be merely mentioned in passing. What, for example, are the best methods of repairing documents, of restoring faded ink, of flattening papers that have been folded, of reproducing documents

by photographic or other processes? How far may archivists conduct missions in other archives, especially those of foreign countries, for the purpose of securing transcripts? How should exhibitions of documents be organized? What is the effect upon documents of the exposure to light necessitated by exhibitions? Would it not be well to agree upon stricter definitions than we now have of such terms as archives, records, files, manuscripts, collections, series, catalogue, calendar, inventory, index, etc.? Finally, what should be the preparation of the American archivist? We must disabuse ourselves of the idea that anyone can be an archivist. The time was when anyone who liked books and was unfit for anything else could be a librarian, but that time has long since past. The evolution of the archivist will proceed somewhat as has the evolution of the librarian. Of special knowledge, aside from technical matters, the archivist should have a training both historical and legal. Especially should he be familiar with administrative law and the history of administration. In order to know his archives, to understand their origin, to be able properly to classify them, this is indispensable. It may not be necessary to have an American École des Chartes, for our future archivists will not need a profound knowledge of chronology, diplomatic, or palæography, but the time will undoubtedly come when courses will be given in our universities or in the library schools in order to prepare students for archival work.1

In the development of American archives, in the evolution of archival economy, this conference and those that are to follow should play a most important part. By the discussion of common problems and the comparison of experiences sound principles adapted to American conditions may be worked out. In time we may be able to prepare a manual of archive practice similar to that of the Dutch archivists.² But whatever form the activities of the conference may take they can not fail if well directed and sufficiently persisted in to produce notable results.

¹A course is to be offered at Harvard, in 1910-1911, on the manuscript sources of American history and on the treatment and use of manuscript materials, by Mr. Worthington C. Ford.

² By Muller, Feith, and Fruin, translated into German (1905) as Anleitung zum Ordnen und Beschreiben von Archiven, and (1910) into French as Manuel pour le Classement et la Description des Archives (The Hague, A. de Jager).

THE LESSONS OF THE BRITISH ARCHIVES.

By CHARLES M. ANDREWS,1 Professor in Yale University (late of Johns Hopkins University).

8

In considering the history of the British archives we may derive comfort from the fact that 60 years ago the public records of Great Britain lay in widely scattered confusion in a score of repositories, none of them adequate and none of them safe. In the face of great difficulties, in a manner often blundering and unsystematic, the Masters of the Rolls and their efficient deputies and assistants have gradually drawn together this scattered material, have rescued it from seeming destruction, and housed it in quarters that are now the pride of the English world. What one country has done another can do; and though our records in America are often cared for in a manner that is the despair of the historian and the archivist, and though the task is tenfold more difficult owing to the dual character of the records, Federal and state, and owing to the absence of any adequately developed public sentiment in favor of the proper treatment of public documents, nevertheless the case is not hopeless, and British experiences strengthen our hope that in time plans that are at present little more than dreams may eventually be carried out. The difficulties of concentration here are greater than they ever were in England. where even at their worst the records were in the main within the confines of a single great city.

Experience with British archives teaches another lesson, the most important that it is necessary to learn at the present time—the need of preservation. We can not talk of concentration, arranging, cataloguing, and calendaring until the material with which we are to work is placed beyond the danger of destruction. Preservation of existing material is the first need of the moment and everyone interested in archives, those of you who are here present and those who are absent,

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¹ Compiler, with aid of Dr. F. G. Davenport, of Guide to the Manuscript Materials for the History of the United States to 1783 in the British Museum, in Minor London Archives . . . etc., Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1908. Compiler of forthcoming Guide to American materials in the Public Record Office, etc., to be published by the same institution. 349

should make the preservation of documents the first interest to be considered. Official carelessness and neglect is a matter of notoriety, and as long as those in whose custody documents are placed are disregardful of their trust or indifferent to the importance of the material in their hands, so long will the writing of history in this country be hampered and limited. Before England attempted to do much in the way of organizing her record material for public use she gathered it from the lofts and attics, cellars and vaults, where it lay exposed to damp, vermin, fire, and theft, and placed it in quarters that were secure from perils of this nature. The same must be done in this country and agitation along this line should be persistent and lively. Preservation of documents should be the first end to be attained.

Another important lesson may be drawn from British experiences. Official records, when gathered in safe quarters, should as far as possible be turned over wholly to the control and regulations of those who are their custodians. For half a century the Public Record Office in London has been hampered by the restrictions which have been placed by the departmental authorities upon the public use of the documents deposited in the hands of the deputy keeper and his assistants. Only within six months, as the result of the recommendation of an inter-departmental committee, have these restrictions been removed and the documents been submitted to regulations framed by the archivists themselves. The importance of this cutting of official red tape can only be fully realized by those who have suffered from the barriers thrown around the free use of records which are more than three-quarters of a century old. Until within six months many of these records, dating back sometimes a century and a half, have been closed to the public, except under special permit obtained in some instances with difficulty. Such dates as 1759, 1779, 1780, etc., have in the past marked the limit beyond which the searcher could not go, except by personal application to the individual department. Official red tape is in vogue in this country and as long as records remain in departmental hands is likely to be preserved. But when removed into archival custody such red tape should be promptly removed. Great Britain has at last realized the importance of such a regulation; we should not be called upon to experience it at any time.

By Marion Dexter Learned, Professor in the University of Pennsylvania.

It is but natural that the great variety of archives in Germany, ranging all the way from the State archives, municipal archives, and ecclesiastical archives, including parish and church collections, to the archives of private corporations and individuals, should present a great difference of order and method of administration. The State archives furnish the best models and the most fruitful suggestions for us as Americans. These depositories are distributed in Prussia according to the provincial divisions each province having one such depository. In Bavaria the State archives are distributed by the circles or "Kreise." The Prussian State archives include the central depository—the royal privy State archives in Berlin—and the 17 provincial archives: Aurich, Breslau, Coblenz, Danzig, Düsseldorf, Hanover, Königsberg, Magdeburg, Marburg, Münster, Osnabrück, Posen, Schleswig, Sigmaringen, Stettin, Wetzlar, and Wiesbaden. The Bavarian State archives include the central depository the Imperial archives—in Munich, and the eight provincial or circle archives: Amberg, Bamberg, Landshut, Munich, Neuburg, Nuremberg, Speier, and Würzburg. In other States there is usually a central depository located in the capital, such as the royal State archives of the Kingdom of Saxony at Dresden, the royal State archives of Württemberg at Stuttgart and Ludwigsburg, the Grand Ducal archives or the "General-Landesarchiv" of Baden at Karlsruhe, the Ducal archives of Brunswick at Wolfenbüttel, the archives of the imperial lands Elsass-Lothringen and the State archives of the Hanse cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck. These I mention as the most important of those with which I have had to do. In addition to the above mentioned, I have examined also the municipal archives of Breslau, Cologne, Frankfort on the Main, Karlsruhe, and Mannheim, as well as the archives of the Moravians at Herrnhut and the archives of the Franckean Institutions in Halle.

¹Compiler of a forthcoming guide to materials for American history in German archives, to be published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington,

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The following features of the German State archives are especially noteworthy as furnishing good models or suggestions for us in the United States:

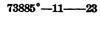
- 1. Organization and administration under State control and supervision.—The German State archives are thoroughly organized and under a more or less uniformly systematic administration. Since the middle of the nineteenth century much attention has been given to organizing the State archives. This is particularly the case in Prus-The State archives of the Prussian provinces, 17 in all, have been united under one system, with the royal privy State archives in Berlin as a central depository. Each of these provincial archives has a staff of from two to ten men devoting their time to the work of the archives, classifying, cataloguing, making special reports for investigators, and carrying on original researches, in addition to the daily routine of delivering documents to the investigators from outside, transcribing, and the like. The chief of this corps of trained men is called "Director" or "Archivdirector," and usually has the title, at least, of "Archivrat." The 17 provincial archives and the royal privy State archives in Berlin are under the supervision of a "General director," who shapes the policy of the administration of all the State archives of the Kingdom. The personnel of the privy royal State archives in Berlin numbers some 25, including the assistants and attendants. In Bavaria there are the royal Bavarian privy State archives, containing the State papers, in Munich as central depository for the ministries, and the imperial archives, as the central depository of the other archival materials in Munich, and in addition eight provincial district or "circle" archives (Kreisarchive) located in the provinces of Bavaria. These archives are all under the general direction of the "Vorstand," or general directorate, of which the president of the Bavarian Academy is the head. In the other States a similar method of organization is in force, but the machinery is naturally much simpler, in most cases being a function of the ministry or of a commission.
- 2. Collections.—This method of organization and administration has transformed the archives from loosely classified aggregations of documents to well ordered and easily accessible collections of scientific materials. Formerly scattered collections of State papers have been brought together in a central depository and "repertorized" and arranged so as to be easily found when required, as, for example, the royal State archives in Marburg, which unites among other documents the State papers of Marburg, many of the official war papers formerly at Wilhelmshöhe, and the old and very precious earlier State papers and other documents formerly found at Fulda, dating from the time of Pippin. To take an example from the Hanse cities, Hamburg has not only the State papers of the Senate but also, among

other valuable materials, the church books, carefully preserved in fireproof apartments. Naturally many private collections come to these well organized archives in the course of time, such, for example, as the invaluable Riedesel Correspondence in the Ducal archives at Wolfenbüttel.

- 3. Archive buildings.—The systematic care of public documents required proper housing of documents. In many cases old buildings such as stone castles could be made fairly fireproof by the use of cement. In other cases the Government built splendid new fireproof structures and furnished them with the newest appliances, as, for example, the archives buildings in Bremen, Breslau, Düsseldorf, Magdeburg, Münster, Stettin, and elsewhere.
- 4. Access and use of materials.—The State archives are closely related to the ministries and are administered in accordance with diplomatic traditions and ministerial precision. Permission to work in these depositories is necessary and may be obtained by forwarding application with proper credentials to the general director of the Prussian archives, to the directorate or "Vorstand" of the Bavarian State archives, or to the corresponding authorities or the ministry in question of the several German States. This formality once observed, access to the materials can be had very promptly, allowing, of course, the necessary time for finding the documents. The investigator is expected to subscribe or assent to the rules of the archives, this assent being sometimes given in the form of the good old German "Handschlag."

A careful account of the documents consulted and the name of the investigator and date and purpose of consultation is kept as a permanent record of each of the archives. Where the case requires, an archivist is detailed to make a brief summary of the documents which the investigator is to consult, thus facilitating the search.

- 5. Relation of State archives to municipal, provincial, and other private collections.—The Prussian Government may serve as an example of the stimulating cooperation of the State and private archives with the historical societies both in making and in preserving collections of documents. While otherwise encouraging the work of these societies the provinces have made substantial contributions of money to their respective historical societies, and the director general of the State archives has aided in the cataloguing of such private collections.
- 6. Research.—The great distinguishing feature of the State archives as contrasted with American archives is that only scientifically trained men are put in responsible positions, men who are able to carry on independent research. In all the State archives it is possible to find men who not only read the documents but know the history



which they contain in a most efficient way. As proof of this the numerous publications issued by these archivists will serve. One needs only to compare the list published by General Director Dr. Koser in the Mittheilungen des K. Preuss. Archivverwaltung of 1900.

- 7. Publication.—One of the greatest services, perhaps the greatest next to the preservation of materials, is the furnishing of means for the publication of archival materials and researches in the materials, in cooperation with the historical societies of the several provinces. This has resulted in a number of series, which have made most valuable sources accessible in print. Here is a great contrast to the haphazard method of publishing documents, so frequently found in America. The keynote of this German work is to be found in the term diplomatic as applied to texts.
- 8. Cataloguing.—The State archives as a rule have inventories or "Repertorien" of the materials deposited. These inventories are not usually calendars in our sense but rather catalogues of fascicles of papers. I found no instances of calendars in the strict sense of the word. The documents are arranged usually in "Convolute," "Fascikel," and "Bände," and these in turn are placed in cases or small compartments large enough for the folio size. The fact that the State papers are usually in the folio size makes their arrangement in the cases much simpler than it would be in America, where documents have varying sizes from scraps and slips to folios. In a few cases the slip (practically card) system is employed to some extent, but usually the "Repertorien" are bound as manuscript volumes. These are not to be consulted without special permission of the archivist.

It will be apparent from the above features of the German State archives that we are far behind in the care and treatment of documents. The Library of Congress at Washington and a few of the State libraries stand out conspicuous among the depositories of State papers as examples of what ought to become general and be insisted upon by the State legislatures as a pressing necessity. Many of our most precious documents have hopelessly perished for lack of such attention. It is high time that the historical societies and the State should work hand in hand with investigators toward the systematic organization and administration of our archives, State, municipal, and private, by those who are scientifically trained and answerable to the highest authority of the State for the proper treatment of these records of American history. The Library of Congress in conjunction with other historical agencies, already at work on the subject, could do much toward the consummation of such a plan under the lead of the national depository in Washington.

THE LESSONS OF THE ITALIAN ARCHIVES.

By CARL RUSSELL FISH,¹
Professor in the University of Wisconsin.

Italians were the first seriously to consider archive problems, and the index room of the Archivio Vaticano affords probably the best opportunity in the world for the study of archive and literary methods to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Since then they have been far outstripped, and many of the lessons to be derived from Italy are those of avoidance. Italy has the same problem as the United States: that caused by decentralization. The evil effects of this are overcome, in part, by uniform archive legislation. This uniformity is in part superficial, but the relief found wherever it extends. and the inconvenience where it ceases, argue that it should be placed first among the objects of those interested in the problem in this country. Particularly it is important that there be a uniform date for the transfer of documents from the various departments to the archive authorities. For certain periods the opening of the Vatican archives has been almost futile owing to the series held in reserve elsewhere. Nearly all studies of papal history lack completeness for this reason, while the uncertainty as to whether such series exist or not is a deterrent to investigation.

In the internal administration of the archives the first duty is that of preservation. I was allowed to use documents in Italy that fell to pieces as they were opened. After that no amount of money or effort devoted to making them easily accessible to the student can be considered as exorbitant. Nothing but the quiet courage of those who do it rescues from condemnation the spectacle one sees at the Vatican of one explorer after another tracing out the same path, which should long ago have been blazed by the pioneer corps. At the same time one should beware of the wholesale methods of library science. The entire Vatican force once spent 20 years in preparing a general index to their whole collection as it then stood, and their work is now almost useless. I never worked more easily than in the

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¹Compiler of the forthcoming guide to the materials for American history in the archives of Italy, to be published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

archives of the Propaganda, which are arranged for its own use upon an old-fashioned but working system; and I believe that the methods of the various offices, where at all reasonable, can profitably be transferred with the documents to the archives. For a detail, the manuscript or printed book catalogue is infinitely easier to use than the card catalogue. In the matter of publishing archive guides, so important where collections are scattered, Italy is rather in advance of the United States. All the larger collections have one or more guides, and the great work of Mazzatinti on the smaller archives is more uniform in plan than the work of the public archives commission of this association, and has the advantage of being brought out as a separate series. The addition to such guides of some practical description of the functions of the various branches of the Government is perhaps less necessary in the United States than in Italy, but should be supplied where any abnormal features exist.

The conception of archives is much more widespread in Italy than in America. Families, churches, monastic orders, societies, etc., understand their significance, and, to some extent, their public character. I believe that with us nearly everyone thinks of archives as governmental only, whereas those of the Steel Trust are much more important than those of Delaware, and should, in time, belong as fully to the public. How fully is a question that archivists should face. I believe that, for instance, the Roman Church is justified in refusing access to certain collections. It will at any rate do so, and I think that a discussion of this problem would lessen the difficulty of gaining access to such as should be revealed, particularly those of families and organizations. For instance, the date 1815 as a closing point for general use is now antiquated, and pressure should be generally exerted to substitute one much nearer our own day.

By WILLIAM I.S HULL, Professor in Swarthmore College.

The United States may learn the following lessons from the Netherlands in regard to the collection and administration of its archives:

1. It was not until the storm and stress of the French Revolution and Napoleonic days that the Netherlanders thoroughly appreciated the importance of caring for their archives. When the Batavian Republic took the place of the old Republic of the United Netherlands in 1795, and when the annexation to France occurred in 1810, and many of the archives were carried, by Napoleon's order, to Paris, the Netherlanders were thoroughly aroused as to the value of the records substantiating their earlier history and the importance of the task of caring for them in an adequate manner.

The people of the United States should not wait for revolution or foreign conquest and spoliation to be aroused to the importance of the same task.

2. The archival activities in the Netherlands are eagerly and vigorously participated in by the nation, the provinces, the towns, and various local organizations, such as the churches and historical societies. As early as 1802 a national archivist was appointed, and in 1875 a separate bureau was organized under the ministry of the interior, entitled the bureau of arts and sciences (Afdeeling van Kunsten en Wetenschappen), whose energetic administration of the national archives has been felt throughout every nook and corner of the land. Some of the provincial governments have even appropriated money and drawn up regulations for the collection and cataloguing of manuscripts relating to the history of villages, polders, and peatlands—for example, in North Brabant and Utrecht.

There should be in the United States a thoroughgoing and allembracing activity on the part of Nation, States, and local bodies in the proper collection and administration of our American archives. 3. There is in the Netherlands a hearty cooperation between the nation on the one hand and the provinces, towns, and other local bodies on the other in the collection and supervision of the archives. This cooperation is manifest from day to day throughout the year, and it is emphasized by the holding of an annual conference of archivists at The Hague. This conference, which has been held yearly since 1891, devotes a careful consideration to archival questions. It publishes a report of its discussions and a magazine, the Nederlandsch Archievenblad, designed to aid in their solution. It has published also a guide for the arrangement and cataloguing of the archives, the Handleiding voor het Ordenen en Beschrijven van Archieven, which has exerted a very great and helpful influence upon the archival activities of the Netherlands and has been translated into two foreign languages, German and French.

National and local, public and private, cooperation is illustrated in many ways. For example, the national archivist has recently secured 318 marine maps in manuscript for the splendid collection of maps in the library of the University of Leiden. He has also supplied to Dutch colonists in Surinam and elsewhere copies of archives in which they were especially interested; he has mediated between various towns and brought about mutually advantageous exchanges of documentary materials; his specialists have deciphered the most difficult manuscripts, restored and mounted those most abused, and catalogued the most important new discoveries in the possession of province or town; and under governmental solicitation and aid at least one church synod has appointed an ecclesiastical archivist to inspect, care for, and report upon its archives and has begun the task of publishing its historical materials.

The advantageous possibilities of such cooperation in the United States are too obvious to be dwelt upon here.

4. In the Netherlands the National Government has been spurred on to make the necessary appropriations for the proper administration of the archives, having increased the said appropriations in 1875 from the sum of about \$1,800 to the sum of about \$42,000, and its annual appropriation since that time has been maintained at that relatively high point. The provincial and town governments, also, appropriate comparatively generous sums for the same purpose.

An adequate portion of our country's great revenues should be appropriated yearly for the proper preservation of the records of the past; and with these public appropriations there should go increasingly large shares of the funds of historical and patriotic societies, diverted if need be from family glorification and annual dinners to this more enduring service. Here, too, is another opportunity for public beneficence on the part of the American millionaire. In Leyden, whose archives date from the thirteenth century, a private citizen has presented the town with an admirably equipped and artistic archive building.

5. One of the features of the Dutch administration of archives which is especially striking to the American student, and which is typical of the great care bestowed upon the archives, is the fact that buildings especially constructed and equipped for the purpose have been devoted in all of the large towns to the exclusive preservation of their archives. Twenty of these towns have not only their separate archive buildings, but their own town archivists as well, appointed to the sole duty of administering the town archives. The care with which the documents are mounted and catalogued is another striking feature of the archival administration in state, province, and town.

The United States with its various governmental subdivisions should not be content until its priceless archives are properly housed in buildings especially adapted to their preservation and made accessible by classification, cataloguing, and supervision by trained experts.

6. The Netherlands officials to whose care the archives are intrusted, are, for the most part, university graduates, admitted to the degree of doctor of law or doctor of letters, who have availed themselves, in addition to their university training, of some months of special training at the hands of some experienced archivist.

With the increased attention in the United States to a training for the civil service, the very special training requisite for archivists who must deal with materials in almost every foreign language should be speedily and fully supplied.

7. In the collection of the archive material scattered throughout the nation it is noteworthy that the Netherlands have instituted a most enterprising and successful historical manuscripts commission whose distinguished representative, Dr. Colenbrander, is very acceptably with us at this annual meeting. It has also sent at Government expense to foreign countries its best equipped historical investigators for the purpose of collecting manuscript materials relating to the history of the Fatherland in the archives of foreign lands. I may mention here the missions of Prof. Blok to Germany, Austria, France, England, and Italy; of Prof. Uhlenbeck to Russia; of Prof. Brugmans to England; of Prof. Bussemaker to Spain; and of Prof. Kernkamp to Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. By these means, and by exchange, purchase, and copying, the archives have been in recent years very greatly and valuably increased by the so-called "Aanwinsten."

Although the United States—thanks chiefly to the public archive commission of the American Historical Association, to the department of historical research of the Carnegie Institution, and to the scholarly initiative of our own ex-president, Dr. Jameson—has made a good beginning on several of these paths, very much more needs to be done; and especially should copies or photographs of manuscripts

in foreign archives relating to American history follow hard upon the descriptions or lists of such materials which are now being procured.

8. From the point of view of publication in connection with the archives the United States may learn much from the Netherlands. The national archivist publishes full reports concerning the administration of his department, the well-known and valuable Verslagen omtrent 's Rijks Oude Archieven, the thirty-first of which has been published this year. A number of the provincial and town archivists also have issued very valuable reports and catalogues, notably those in Utrecht, Drenthe, Zeeland, Groningen, and in Haarlem, Leyden, Middelburg, Rotterdam, Schiedam, Deventer, Kampen, etc. The private investigator is given every facility for exploring the archives and for publishing his materials, but at the same time he is very strictly supervised in his use of the documents, so that the possibility of mutilation or abstraction is reduced to the minimum.

In all of these particulars we in the United States have very much to accomplish.

9. The Netherlands teach, finally, that nil desperandum should be the motto of the American archivist, whether he be at work in his own or other countries. For it has been proven in a number of striking instances that documents whose recovery has been long despaired of nevertheless reappear in strange and marvelous fashion, while discoveries unlooked for have rewarded patient search and research.

American students may congratulate themselves particularly upon the fact that a most scholarly and kindly gentleman, Dr. Johannes de Hullu, is in charge, under Jhr. Dr. van Riemsdijk, the national archivist, of the colonial archives, including those of the West Indies. Dr. de Hullu has been engaged during the past two years in cataloguing an important collection of papers belonging to the old West India Company, and has found among them the well-known letter of Isaack de Rasieres, which had been mislaid for more than 40 years, besides a number of other manuscripts relating to New Netherland. Dr. de Hullu has also listed the national archives' great collection of marine atlases and foreign maps, and in the process has brought to light no less than 4 atlases and 27 maps, one of the latter being a hitherto unpublished map which has found an appropriate place in Dr. Jameson's Narratives of New Netherland.

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THE LESSONS OF THE SPANISH ARCHIVES.

By William R. Shepherd, Professor in Columbia University.

Exclusive, perhaps, of the British archives, there is no collection of public documents in all Europe so indispensable to the historian of the United States as the archives of Spain. Ranging over Florida, the Louisiana region, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California, they include the relations of this country with Spain and her American provinces, both in colonial times and since the era of national independence. While no exact statement is possible as yet, it is safe to estimate the number of documents bearing upon the history of the United States between 1512 and 1857, the date up to which they are accessible to students, at upwards of 800,000.

Although much that is valuable may be found elsewhere in Spain, the chief depositories of papers of this sort are the "Archivo General" at Simancas, the "Archivo Historico-Nacional" at Madrid, and the "Archivo General de Indias" at Seville. That their materials, instead of being concentrated in some large center, as is the case in Paris and London, have to be sought for in three distinct localities, many miles apart, is a circumstance due to the vicissitudes of Spanish history. Such vicissitudes, accompanied by considerable poverty and a spirit of indifference arising out of misfortune, explain also why the buildings that house the several sets of archives are usually of ancient origin and ill adapted for the purposes to which they are put.

With an attitude of mind common to public authorities in other parts of the world, the Spanish Government shows itself to be more intent upon the preservation of records having an administrative value at the present time than of those possessing an interest merely to the historical student. The records are divided into two main groups, namely, reserved and public. In the former are placed papers relating to the private affairs of the royal family—since 1834 in particular, to certain fortifications in Spain, and to all matters less than 50 years old. Being regarded as strictly official in their

¹Compiler of Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States in Spanish Archives, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1907.

nature, these documents are withheld altogether from private examination until the age limit has been passed or until other motives for reservation cease to apply. In the latter group are included all papers not of the kinds mentioned; and since their character is purely historical they are set aside primarily for public and scientific use.

Given the adversities against which Spain has struggled and the practically unavoidable scantiness of the financial appropriation made for the archives, it is remarkable that, instead of thousands, many millions of documents are still extant. The pitifully small sums granted by the Government are quite insufficient to enable the archivists to classify, catalogue, and preserve the papers, nor are their salaries such as would stimulate conscientious and systematic effort. This does not mean that the officials in charge lack technical training. On the contrary, the archivists, librarians, and curators in the public service of Spain are organized into a body known as the "Cuerpo Facultativo de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios y Arqueólogos," the members of which, before entering upon the duties of their profession, have to satisfy the requirements of a special course of study extending over several years.

The dispersion of the various collections at considerable distance from one another, the inadequacy of the housing facilities afforded them, the deficiencies visible in the care of the papers and the occasional evidences of inertia on the part of the officials do not constitute the sole difficulties in the way of the investigator. The original of a given document may be in one depository and the copies of it in another; so that comparisons are not readily to be made. The student who thinks that in order to obtain certain papers in which he is interested all he needs to do is to ask for them becomes acquainted ere long with the fact that the Spanish archives are not conducted on any such principle. The actual number of archivists, the amount of leisure in the midst of their routine duties available for the personal use of investigators, and the extent of their knowledge of American history are rarely sufficient to provide the information sought. Instead, the worker is referred directly to the bundles (legajos) in which the documents are commonly kept, and to various old manuscript indexes and inventories. The latter furnish the shelf numbers and a very general indication of the contents of the bundles. The order of the documents within a legajo is chronological, and that within an index or inventory both chronological and geographical. Lists of individual papers, and even of groups of papers relating to a particular theme are rarely provided. Whenever extant they are accessible in the form of loose slips (papeletas) to which occasionally an alphabetical, as well as a geographical and chronological arrangement is given. None of these manuscript guides, however, may be used by the investigator without special permission of the director (jefe) of the establishment concerned. The superabundance of saints' days, royal birthdays, and other festive events, all of which entail the closing of the archives, is a further trial to the patience of the investigator, regardless of the earnestness with which he may have striven to realize the import of so favorite a word in Spain as "mañana" (to-morrow). Personal research, therefore, is indispensable. Even the copyists who may be employed at a very reasonable rate need looking after. The student who stays at home and contents himself with ordering transcripts to be made will probably find in the consignment whenever it arrives much that is altogether irrelevant to what he asked for.

On the other hand, the difficulties that impede the progress of successful research in the Spanish archives are not in reality so formidable as they may seem. To a very considerable degree they are offset by certain advantages less freely offered by the archives in other European countries. For example, the terms of admission to the collections in Simancas, Madrid, and Seville are practically the same as those to any well-regulated public library in the world. Letters of introduction are unnecessary, the student merely having to satisfy the director of each center that he is trustworthy in every respect and that the work to be undertaken is an important one. This duty complied with, little, if any, red tape is drawn over the pathway of investigation. Invariably courteous in their bearing, the officials are disposed to be helpful to the utmost extent that their knowledge and their or portunities may allow. Providing only that care be taken not to mix the respective contents, several bundles of papers may be examined at a time. Delays in bringing the material sought are rarely encountered. Nor do the bundles have to be replaced in the shelves the same day that they are used. But the greatest boon of all to the worker in the Spanish archives is the total absence of censorship. Either a manuscript is supplied along with an absolute right of copying or of photographing its contents, or it is simply withheld from the outset. Never is the vexatious experience undergone of having some choice passage blue-penciled and the labor of the copyist expended in vain because of some petty regulation devoid of sense or reason. As a just return for this liberality, however, the investigator must promise to send a copy of any work that he may write as a consequence of his researches in any particular center, and must deposit also a copy of any photograph of a document which he may have had made.

Whatever the good intentions of the Spanish archivists, the preceding sketch has shown that they are beset by conditions that prevent them from managing satisfactorily the huge collections placed in their charge. They simply can not take all the precautions needful to insure the preservation alone of the papers, to say nothing of in-

dexing them in any detail. If this be true of the materials dealing with the history of Spain and of Spanish America, in which a reasonable amount of interest would naturally be felt, it applies with far greater force to the documents relating to the United States in which, of course, any such interest is probably lacking. These it is our plain duty to have calendared and, in the case of manuscripts threatened with speedy destruction by reason of neglect, to have suitable transcripts made at the earliest possible moment.

Given the conditions prevailing in the archives of Spain and the incalculable importance of the several collections for the history of the United States, as well as for that of the other countries of the world the relations of which with Spain have been close, an organized effort on their part and ours should be begun to save the documents and to render their contents easily accessible. To accomplish this purpose the most effective agency would be an institute of historical research similar to the classical schools at Rome and Athens. Sure to be welcomed by the Spanish Government and capable of being maintained at a relatively slight cost, the work of such an institute would produce results immensely beneficial to the cause of historical research. Its value is as unquestionable as its expediency is urgent.

THE LESSONS OF THE SWEDISH ARCHIVES.

By Amandus Johnson, Ph. D., of the University of Pennsylvania.

Already in the reign of John III (1568-1592) attention was given to the preservation and classification of the public records and national historians" were employed to "preserve the memory of great events." In the beginning of the seventeenth century a more systematic organization was effected through the efforts of Gustavus Adolphus and (especially) Axel Oxenstierna. On October 26 (n. s.), 1618, an ordinance was issued for "the archives of the Kingdom" and a secretary was appointed to have charge of the same. Other ordinances were made in 1626 and 1661. The secretary, being the most important officer, finally became the royal archivist. Under his guidance the public documents were collected and preserved in the Riksarkiv or public record office. The records of the College of the Admiralty, of the College of War, and of the College of the Exchequer were likewise preserved at the capital and soon attained large. proportions, but without special organization or classification. Various local collections, sometimes of value for historical research, also became important as time went on, but there was no connection between these and the royal archives and it was often difficult for the investigator to gain access to them, while in many cases the documents were badly preserved.

A few years ago the archive system of Sweden was reorganized and "district archives" (Landsarkiv or country archives) were founded where the local church records and other public documents in certain districts should be deposited. In 1901, and again in 1906, royal ordinances were published, prescribing the management and organization of the archives and the duties of the officers. The documents in the royal archives are to be preserved for the public and the Government and historical documents of value are to be published. The royal archivist is to be at the head of the archives in the Kingdom and he is to inspect the district archives and similar depositories of

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¹Thus there is a Landsarkiv at Upsala, another at Vadstena, etc. The plan was due to Prof. Odhner.

public records. Under him are employed several archivists and assistants (amanuenser) in charge of various departments of the Riksarkiv. An archivist with assistants is also in charge of the Kammararkiv¹ (the archives of the Exchequer), the archives of the War Department, the archives of the Navy, and the district archives.² A special officer is likewise in charge of the manuscript department of the large libraries. The Government has been liberal in its appropriations for the maintenance of the archives and a new fireproof building for the Royal Archives has been erected, which is to be greatly enlarged in the near future.

The records in this new building are permanently and safely preserved. Their classification is simple and it is easy to find any desired subject. A strictly logical arrangement was attempted some 15 to 20 years ago, but a few of the manuscripts that were removed from their original collections have been restored to the same. Large "personal collections," consisting of letters, memorials, and many other documents addressed to individuals have been preserved in their "historical collections" (chronologically) and given the name of the original possessor or writer, as for instance "Oxenstiernska Samlingen" (the Oxenstierna Collection); "De la Gardie Samlingen;" "Några Klas Fleming papper" (some Klas Fleming papers), etc. Other papers that are of a strictly commercial, diplomatic, or other public character have been arranged under special heads in chronological order, thus, Handel och Sjöfart (commerce and trade); Kompanier (trading companies); Nya Sverige (New Sweden), 1-III; Diplomatica; Anglia (containing papers concerning English-Swedish relations); Biographica (papers from, to, and about certain individuals, arranged in alphabetical and chronological order); Handlingar rörande (documents concerning) Uppsala Universitet; etc. Valuable material on a certain subject may often be found in a "personal collection" or in a collection different from that where it might topically belong. In that case reference sheets are inserted in the proper collection referring to the particular document in the other bundle. The documents are preserved in convenient bundles, surrounded with heavy gray paper, like the covers of a book with the label (and date) on the back, giving its contents. Very valuable documents are kept in special cases under lock.

A great many of the large collections are catalogued in manuscript volumes (some of which are now published), and there is a general manuscript catalogue of all the classified collections. Meddelanden

¹I was told that it is the intention to remove most of the valuable documents from the Kammararkiv to the royal archives in the near future.

² There are also city archives in the larger towns.

^{*}In the opinion of the writer a manuscript or printed volume is more convenient for the investigator than the card catalogue. He can take the book and sit at a table and look through it leisurely in less time than it would take to look through a card catalogue.

(communications and reports)¹ and catalogues of manuscripts² are published by the archives from time to time.

The archives are organized with the view of serving investigators and giving easy access to the material. The officers are trained archivists and specialists in their various departments, insuring the highest possible efficiency and service, and they are ever courteous and ever ready to give assistance. Several convists are employed by the archives and through these (and also private parties) collated copies of documents can be obtained at a certain price. The official photographers are the "Generalstabens Litografiska Anstalt" and photographs can be obtained through them of any documents. Records are loaned to libraries and other archives all over the Kingdom. If an investigator finds it more convenient to work in the Royal Library or any other library, he can get the particular documents he needs for his investigation brought to his desk without charge from the Royal Archives or from any library or archives in the country by applying to the officer at the head of the manuscript department in the institution in which he works. In this manner documents are even sent to foreign countries. The convenience of this system is evident.3

The aid and convenience of the student using the archives in person are also matters of much concern. In the research room are to be found old and new dictionaries of all languages that are met with in the documents, as well as encyclopedias and geographical and biographical lexicons, that are of aid in deciphering names of places and persons and in reading difficult passages; there are also standard histories and other works, as well as printed documents from the collections. Guards or indices of private and local collections are also found in the research room and a catalogue of the books preserved in the archive library.

Access to the archives of the Kingdom can be had by presenting a recommendation or merely by presenting a card. The one notable exception is the Archives of the Fleet, to which access can be gained by foreigners only through an application to the representative of



¹ Meddelanden från Svenska Riksarkivet. Several volumes have appeared.

³ Before 1902 the catalogues were published in the same series as the reports. Since then the "annual reports and smaller archivistic essays" are published in Ny följd, (new series), I: 1; I: 2, etc., and the catalogues of manuscripts, etc., in Ny följd, II: 1; II: 2, etc.

^{*}Some inconvenience may also arise from the system. In the spring of 1909, when the writer was completing his investigations in Sweden on the History of New Sweden, he desired to reexamine certain Usselinx letters, but the letters were at Utrecht to be copied.

⁴ It is unnecessary to point out what a great aid these printed documents are to the student, who for the first time is to read the originals of an early period, in finding the key to the handwriting in question. By comparing the originals with the printed copy side by side the student will soon be able to read the manuscripts without difficulty. Palseographical works have also been published in Sweden. M. Weibull, Handskriftprof, 1500–1800, Stockholm, 1891; E. Hildebrand, etc., Svenska skriftprof från Erik den heliges tid till Gustaf III.

his country, who secures a card of admission for a certain period from the minister of foreign affairs. The documents are procured, except in one or two instances, by signing a paper describing the bundle or documents required (in the case of a foreigner a special paper is signed specifying the kind of research in which he is engaged and giving his titles and official standing, etc.). A record is kept of all the bundles used by each investigator. The number of bundles allowed to be used at any one time is limited, but there is no restriction in the use of ink, as in some American archives, the only rule being that the student must not rest his notes on the documents while making excerpts, etc., in ink.

But there are also many drawbacks. The Royal Archives alone are housed in a building adapted for the purpose, and as a consequence the accommodations in the other archives are generally poor. The classification and cataloguing has been slow, and a large number of valuable documents, particularly in the Archives of the Fleet and in the Archives of the Exchequer have been ruined, but plans are on foot for the remedy of these defects.

The lessons, then, to be learned from Swedish archives and the points worthy of consideration may be summed up as follows: The convenience of the investigator is one of the first considerations in Sweden, for records are to be used, not only preserved; only trained archivists and specialists in their various departments are employed, giving efficiency in service; the access to the archives is easy, almost too much so, saving time and trouble; records are sent from one place to another, a system highly recommendable; book rather than card catalogues of the manuscripts are used, in the opinion of the writer the more convenient form; official copyists are employed, who make copies at a certain standard price; the research room is well supplied with "aids," simplifying the work of the student; a simple system of classification is employed, with the historical and logical systems combined, and cross references to the documents in the various groups, making it easy to find any desired subject.²

¹ In the Kammararkiv and, if I remember rightly, in the district archives also a verbal request is sufficient.

Material relating to the Swedish archives is to be found in Forty-third Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, London, 1882, Appendix II, 35-52; Kernkamp, "Skandinavische archivalia"; "Over Zweedsche, Norsche en Deensche Archieven," in Nederl, Archievenblad, 1900, 181-200; "Bidrag till Riksarkivets äldre historia," and other articles in Meddelanden från Svenska Riksarkivet; "Våra centrala ämbetsverks arkiv," "Ett par ord om Kammararkivet," "Flottans arkiv på Skeppsholmen" (these articles in Hist. Tidskrift, 1880, 225ff.; 1886, 227ff.; 1897, 159ff.; 1898, 261ff.); "Das Archivwesen im skand. Norden," in Archiv. Zeits.; "Notice sur les archives de Suéde," in Rev. inter. des arch., des bib. et des musées, 1896, 148ff.; "Archivum Americanum in the Consistory of the Archibishop of Upsala," in Pa. Mag. Hist. and Blog., XV, 481ff.; and Ch. V. Langlois, Manuel de Bibliographie Hist., II, 533ff. Some of these articles not being available here, the writer has been unable to make use of them in the preparation of the above sketch.

TRAGEDIES IN NEW YORK'S PUBLIC RECORDS.

By VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS, State Historian of New York.

We do not design to give in this paper a complete list of the dramatis personæ in the tragedy of New York's public records; nor can we trace every assassination of these records to its source. Anything like elaboration would need volumes for a history of the losses and neglect of the records of this State and its local jurisdictions, and such an account is, manifestly, impossible under the circumstances.

Nor is it necessary or pertinent to emphasize to this audience—so well informed as to what is being done in European countries and some of our States—the need of legislation in every enlightened commonwealth for safeguarding, coordinating, and publishing the historical, economical, sociological, and legal sources under State supervision. We have time merely to trip lightly over this vast subject—to point out instances as examples and to characterize conditions that too generally prevail, to the great regret of scholars and the great shame of the State.

In the treatment of archives there is a triune function—preservation, coordination, and publication. In other words, first preserve the records against theft, fire, damp, or wanton destruction; second, when preserved properly in each department of every city, town, village, and hamlet, and in the State by the State departments, the next step is coordination or a proper scientific classification, together with indexes as media for ready accessibility; the third stage follows naturally, because when they are properly preserved and classified, the publication is easy for an expert. This consummation so devoutly to be wished does not prevail in the State of New York; in fact, we lag far behind the activities in the principal European Governments and the conditions in quite a number of the United States. Yet, New York is called the "Empire State," and our State arms bear the motto "Excelsior." But there is an awakening among the students of history in this State, growing out of a world-wide movement, which will bear fruitage and make for the proper administration of public archives throughout the State and under the official direction of the State.

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The conscience of public officials is too often blunt in relation to inactive materials under their charge, because they look too generally upon their records from the standpoint of immediate practical use in administration. The reason why so much has been lost and is now being neglected or destroyed is that there is a natural tendency of men to neglect or destroy such things as are not useful to themselves, or which for the moment seem to have passed their usefulness. For this reason every enlightened government owes it to itself and posterity to enact proper laws for controlling the situation, and should intrust the prosecution of the task to some one who has the instinct, sympathy, conscience, and ability to grapple with it. Time was when the British national records were as disgracefully administered as are some of ours. But, says Hubert Hall:

At length the day came when the Government ceased to haggle over the refitting of the lofts and cellars, the tanks and stables, which had become the last refuge of the greatest national treasures possessed by any country in the world. What was left of our national Archives was transferred to a central repository, and we began to count our losses.

Not only were heavy losses detected, after centuries of neglect, in the national archives, but it was found that the local records had been pillaged by enterprising antiquaries, and that much of the official correspondence of the nation had been carried off by successive ministers to their own estates. More than half a century ago the British conscience found a corrective for these abuses. The conditions which Hall portrays have found their counterpart in our own national and State archives; only, many of us have not yet discovered or applied the corrective for preventing these abuses.

It is true that the State of New York has not been wholly derelict toward the State records. But action has been spasmodic and unscientific—it has not been progressive and successive; it has not been systematic; it has been lacking in perspective. For the local records this much can not be said—they are yet in penumbra; but the local records are also the State's title deeds.

J. V. N. Yates, as secretary of state of New York, made a report to the legislature, in January, 1820, relative to the records, etc., in his office.² This was in obedience to two concurrent resolutions of the preceding session of the legislature, which directed, among other things, that certain regulations and improvements be adopted in the office of the secretary of state "for the better preservation and security of the public records." The second concurrent resolution—

was directed principally to the preservation and arrangement of such of the records as concerned the claims and titles of this State, and of individuals, to



¹ Hubert Hall. Studies in English Official Historical Documents. Cambridge, 1908, p. 7.

² No. 2. In Senate, January 5, 1820. Report of the Secretary of State [etc.], information from pp. 1-3, 32-39.

lands to the value of many millions of dollars. Of this description were the books of grants or patents, of deeds and of mortgages, the field books and maps. Many of these books were rapidly decaying, the binding mutilated and worn, the leaves loose, and some of the Indices imperfect and incomplete. Most of the field books were in pamphlet form, without binding, and exposed from that circumstance alone to injury or loss. The maps had suffered much by lapse of time; and by frequent reference and use many of them were torn, and almost all of them required to be cleansed, repaired, and mounted.

He continues:

As the value and importance of the records in this department forbade the idea of any removal, which might expose them to fraud, piracy, or accident, it became necessary that the bookbinders and workmen employed should conduct their labors in the record-room in this office, under the immediate personal inspection of the Secretary and of his deputy, and under an oath well and faithfully to discharge the trust reposed in them.

Accordingly, skillful bookbinders were engaged. Some of the books were bound, others rebound, others again merely repaired and lettered, and several were permitted to remain in the state in which they were originally found. The field books were reduced, in binding, to a comparatively small number: the maps were cleansed, repaired, numbered, and mounted, and put into portfolios. The books of patents, deeds, and mortgages, and the field books were bound substantially; indexes were examined and corrected; engrossed colonial and State laws, formerly in packets, were bound up in volumes; general alphabetical indexes were made to all the patents, deeds, field books, and maps in the office, and new boxes and cabinets were provided. Mr. Yates's report was accompanied by a short-title catalogue or inventory of all of the records under his jurisdiction, and he also supplied an appendix in which he gave information about lost records, and of his endeavors to trace some of them in Massachusetts and Connecticut. He said: "Several important and much-to-be regretted piracies have been committed, and probably at a very early period, on the records in this office." He found gaps in the series of grants and patents under the Dutch government, in the proceedings of the director general and council during the Dutch régime and in their letter books, etc. He found a description of patents, orders, etc., that Sir Edmund Andros had "taken away for very improper and reprehensible purposes." Some of them found their way back to New York, but others, as he believed, were destroyed by the direction of Andros.

On March 18, 1741, a fire occurred "in the roof of His Majesty's house at Fort George, near the chapel, consuming the house, the chapel, and some other buildings adjacent. Most of the public records in the secretary's office were fortunately rescued from the flames." It is evident that some were lost; but no account of the extent of the disaster has been noted.

Yates traces the history of the removal and loss of records during the American Revolution, involving the transfer of some to the British ships *Dutchess of Gordon* and *Warwick*, and the seizure of others by a military force of the patriots. Samuel Bayard, jr., as secretary, reported to the British governor, James Robertson, on April 9, 1788, with reference to records in the possession of the British, as follows:

That the books when received were in very bad condition, many of them much mildewed and greatly injured, in the binding particularly, owing, as I apprehend, to their having been a long time on shipboard and exposed to great damps, but as far as I have discovered, the writing is yet legible or in very few places defaced. I have used my best endeavors to preserve them, having frequently exposed them to the sun and air, and several times had them brushed through every leaf.

The records in British hands were delivered over to the secretary of state soon after the British evacuation of New York City and were kept in that city until 1793, when they were removed to the city of Albany, the new seat of government.

The first Legislature of the State of New York exhibited an intelligent interest in State and local records. On March 23, 1778, the senate passed a resolution, in which the assembly concurred the next day, as follows:

That the Secretary of this State and the Clerks of the several Counties in the same be respectively authorized to put, or cause to be put, the Records and Papers belonging to their respective Offices into strong and light Inclosures sufficient to exclude Rain, and to keep or cause them to be kept, and from Time to Time to be removed in the same, respectively, to such Place and Places, as they shall severally think most conducive to the Security of such Records and Papers, respectively.

This concurrent resolution also made provision for military guards to protect the records, and the senate said it would concur with the house in passing a special law in case it should "be necessary to justify the carrying of this Resolution into Execution."

In 1817 one William Teller mutilated two volumes of deeds by tearing out several leaves and substituting fraudulent conveyances in their stead. He was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1819. This is not the only instance of piracy and fraud to which the records have been subjected. Only this year the office of the district attorney of New York County reported as to an investigation of conditions in the special sessions and charged that bills were padded and false entries were made of vouchers.

By chapter 120 of the laws of 1881, entitled "An act concerning certain records in the office of the secretary of state and of the comptroller," certain records, documents, and files were transferred

¹Senate Votes and Proceedings. Fish-Kill: Samuel Loudon, 1777, p. 92; Assembly Votes and Proceedings. Kingston: John Holt, 1777, p. 90.

to the custody of the New York State Library, and this act was amended by chapter 274 of the laws of 1907, by which more manuscript materials were transferred to the same jurisdiction. It follows, however, that sets of records are yet separated, and the same is true of records that are intimately related. The idea of centralization is embryonic only. It is questionable whether this wholesale transfer of records to the State library has been a godsend. years they have been crowded into one of the most inadequate rooms of the capitol, with only one crescent window swinging on a pivot as the sole avenue of natural light and air, and subject to heat and stuffiness. All the while these priceless records have been in this tomb the printed books and pamphlets of the library have been nursed by a decimal classification and all the other paraphernalia of modern library economy, and printed genealogies dwell in the sumptuous surroundings of a \$28,000,000 capitol. It is true, of course. that these State records will be removed in a couple of years to the new State education building, and there is promise that more adequate quarters will be given to them there than had been originally allotted to them in the plans, due, as I have reason to believe, to my campaign on behalf of the public records.

The lost records give rise to serious reflections in us. There are cases in which we must depend wholly upon some printed or contemporary or later transcript, the accuracy of which can no longer be ascertained with certainty, because the original is either lost, mutilated, or decayed from neglect. Too often the key of truth has perished, leaving us only the uncertain premises that are afforded by incompleteness.

In 1901 the public archives commission of the American Historical Association published its first report, and the bulk of it was a "Report on the Archives and Public Records of the State of New York and of New York City," by Dr. Herbert L. Osgood. A pioneer effort under private auspices, it has been awarded the highest praise, and it has served many a forlorn student as a guide. Admittedly, it is far from complete for the State. It says to the State and the divisions thereof: "Here is the way, walk ye in it." This report showed that records were found in frame buildings used for business purposes, such as feed stores, glove factories, barber shops, and furniture stores, and that papers were kept in cellars and mildewed, in wooden cases, in wooden desks, loose in packing boxes, in lofts and garrets, and in sheds with household rubbish. The report declares that in two towns of Onondaga County the masses of stored manuscripts were deliberately burned, because they were considered a useless burden. Yet the records are the property of the people, and as such are legally and theoretically accessible to all. Section 941 of

the Code of Civil Procedure provides for the introduction as evidence of—

an act, ordinance, resolution, by-law, rule, or proceeding of the common council of a city, or of the board of trustees of an incorporated village, or of a local board of health of a city, town, or incorporated village, or of a board of supervisors, within the State . . . either from a copy thereof, certified by the city clerk, village clerk, clerk of the common council, clerk or secretary of the local board of health, or clerk of the board of supervisors; or from a volume printed by authority of the common council of the city, or the board of trustees of the village, or the local board of health of the city, town, or village, or the board of supervisors.¹

All of these provisions are presumptive evidence that these records are supposed to be well preserved and in an accessible manner.

We are cognizant of cases of wanton destruction, of "borrowed" records, of papers lost by theft or through carelessness. A few may be mentioned. A number of the early volumes of New York City Deeds (conveyances, mortgages, etc.) are missing from the register's office. A correspondent of ours was recently informed "that several volumes disappeared during the incumbency of the last register, while the office was at 160 Nassau Street, after the old Hall of Records had been razed and before the new building was ready for occupancy." In the summer of 1908 there was returned to the city of New York a volume of the "Minutes of the Executive Boards of the Burgomasters of New Amsterdam," and notarial records of Walewyn van der Veen, found among the effects of the late Berthold Fernow in the State of Maine. This material was not included in, although a part of, the "Records of New Amsterdam," which he had edited for the city. No doubt, he was permitted to take them away for temporary use, as he furnished translations to private auspices for publication.2 It is, however, a curious commentary on the carelessness of administration to find that records could be given out and remain out of an office for years until all knowledge or record of them had passed from memory.

About six years ago a bookseller, now of Peekskill, but then of New York City, offered in his catalogue for \$500 the following item:

Rough Minutes of the Board of Common Council, 1809 to 1831, and of the Board of Aldermen, 1831 to 1847. Bound in 61 volumes of varying thickness, nearly folio in form. These are the original manuscript minutes of these two branches of the city government, only a portion of which have ever been printed. It will be observed that the important periods of the War of 1812, and the Mexican War, are covered.

As soon as I saw the item in the catalogue, I recognized that this was, indeed, a body of most valuable official manuscripts, to which my



¹ Chase: Code of Civil Procedure. New York 1908.

^{*}These translations were printed in the second volume of Minutes of the Orphanmasters Court of New Amsterdam. New York, 1907.

attention had been directed several years before, during a visit to the city hall of New York. I at once suggested that the item should be brought to the attention of the Hon. Seth Low, then mayor, which was actually done. Mayor Low turned the case over to his corporation counsel, Mr. George L. Rives, who made the usual inquiries prior to an execution for a replevin. The bookseller, in his next catalogue, doubled the asking price to \$1,000, and added these words to his note:

These were a part of the archives of the city of New York till some one with ample authority sold them to a junk dealer for old paper, and I happening to find them in his possession in process of being packed for the paper mill, they were thus rescued from oblivion. Some interested person called the city officials' attention to the fact that this "rubbish" had value above old paper price, and the "junker" was asked by the city representatives who interviewed him why he "did not know enough to send them to the paper mills and have done with them?" With too little sense to buy them back and place them where they belong and thus cover their ignorance, an attempt has been made to place me in a false position, because I had sufficient intelligence at command to be able to discern gold from Dutch metal. I can give a clear title to these records, and now offer them for sale at just twice the price they were originally advertised at by me.

In February, 1909, a volume of the court records of Dutchess County, from May 18, 1753, to May 1, 1757, comprising 206 folio pages, was sold by a New York auctioneer. I had brought the item to the attention of persons in the county before the sale took place, but the person who represented these interests at the sale was given a limited bid, and the volume was secured by a bookseller. All reasonable efforts by way of persuasion having failed to secure the restoration of this volume by the bookseller, the grand jury has recently been requested to make a formal demand for its return.

In January, 1909, the New York State Library purchased the original minutes of the town of Esperance, Schoharie County, from the erection of the town in 1846 to November 10, 1881. This volume had been secured by a gentleman who makes a business of going around the State to pick up old books and manuscripts. It was one of several rescued by him just as they were to be fed to a bonfire.

The records of the town of Ticonderoga, as a local correspondent informed me, were burned about 1874.

The town records of Norwich, Chenango County, prior to 1803, are missing. The village records of Norwich, from its incorporation in 1816 to 1843, are lost; the village and town records of Oxford, Chenango County, prior to 1842, are lost or destroyed, and this town was formed in 1793.

A lawyer at Rye has just written that volume A of the records of the town of Rye, Westchester County, which was in the town clerk's office in 1848, when Bolton wrote his history of the county, disappeared subsequently, and could not be found in 1872, when Baird wrote a history of that town. He says:

It was reported that the book was taken by a person to suppress certain records which would prove adverse to claims that he had set up in some litigation. Nothing was known to a certainty, but the house of this individual has since been destroyed by fire.

He then points out specific disputes over rights and easements which can not be definitely settled, because the grants were all in this lost volume. Another correspondent, of White Plains, in the same county, has given information that the earliest town minutes of White Plains are imperfect, mutilated, frayed, and otherwise in bad shape. He also adds: "Valuable records belonging to the county of Westchester are in the cellar of the courthouse unprotected," and speaks of others that "are in an unclassified shape in the basement of the Carnegie Library, not a fireproof structure."

Almost all of the local records of the town of Manlius, one of the oldest settled towns of Onondaga County, were lost in a conflagration about 1890; ¹ all the early records of the town of Marcellus, in the same county, were lost by fire about 1830, ² and those of the town of Van Buren were in part lost by fire in 1861, and this town deliberately burned up another large mass in 1894. The village records of Onondaga County are kept in the local fire-department houses or lockups, usually of frame construction, and fire has wrought havoc among these records.

Prof. Osgood said of the records of the former town of Bushwick, Long Island, that "no trace has been found, though the opinion is expressed that some of them are still in existence." I learned last spring from a correspondent that they are in the Long Island Historical Society, and extend from 1660 to the American Revolution. Liber 13 of conveyances of New York City (1683 to 1687), and Liber 18 (1687 to 1694) have disappeared since 1900 from the register's office. This act in the tragedy is almost a farce, but I believe the volumes are now in the possession of a historical society, having been secured quite recently. The organization of a "Hall of Records Association" in New York City, by members of the Bar Association, Real Estate Exchange, Board of Trade and Transportation, and others, has brought to fruition the stately new "Hall of Records" in this city. Just a year ago there was considerable agitation on the part of the Bar Association of the city of New York in relation to the delay in centralizing the scattered records in the new building. A few years ago truck loads of the mayor's records were taken out of a dungeon in the City Hall and sent to the Lenox



¹ Osgood's Report, p. 154.

² Ibid., p. 155.

Library Building for sorting and elimination. They were about as filthy a jumble as the eye ever rested on; yet, they represent the most valuable materials of the city's administration for about half a century. Among this miscellaneous jumble was easily found, after classification, what is, perhaps, the most important document attesting the city's rights in the so-called "Eleventh Avenue Tracks" case—a matter that has been agitating the people and the legislature for years. The original records of the town of Harlem were secured by a title company of New York City and transferred to a second party so as to avoid inquirers. Few local records in the State would have as great value to litigants and as great interest to historians as these; yet, they are held in private ownership and are inaccessible for public or scholarly uses. Quite too many of our official records and historical sources are buried away by the title companies of the State.

Again, recently the county clerk of Niagara County refused or neglected to turn over to his successor mortgage-tax records, and it was only after the State board of tax commissioners threatened him with mandamus proceedings that he finally gave them up. Our informant, who has also pointed out the meagerness of the town records of Hurley, New Paltz, and other places in Ulster County, wrote:

I have often noticed the carelessness existing in country towns about keeping records. Few town clerks are provided with safes in which to preserve town records. Instead of a town hall the town officers are allowed to keep town records in their own private houses, and very often when they go out of office they neglect or refuse to turn over these records to their successors. I have known of instances [he says] where newly elected officers have had to make repeated demands upon their predecessors in office to obtain town records. If you can create a sentiment among the people that will properly safeguard local records, rich in historical association, you will do something the whole State will some day thank you most heartily for.

Now, I am happy to report to this conference of archivists that the promotion of this line of work has been uppermost in my mind from the day that I entered upon the office of State historian of New York. I immediately began to draft a bill for amending the law relating to the powers and duties of the State historian, and this bill added provisions with reference to the public records throughout the State. The history of the inception, progress, and failure of this legislation has been written and will be printed in the next volume of Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association. This bill was antagonized by the commissioner of education, who demanded a hearing, which was granted. The bill was amended and passed the assembly with only one dissenting vote. In addition to the provi-



¹This address on "The Executive Relation of New York State to Historical Scholarship," has since been printed in Proceedings of New York State Historical Association, vol. IX, (1910), pp. 199 ff.

sions for reorganizing the office, two sections relative to records were in the bill as passed in assembly, viz:

SEC. 92. The State historian may communicate with State and local officers of this State who are entrusted by law with the care or custody of any books, records, documents, or materials of historic value, for the purpose of ascertaining the character and condition of such materials of historic value. He may visit any public office in the State, and shall have access at all reasonable times to any such materials as may be therein; and he is authorized to index, calendar, or have photographed any such materials, subject to such arrangements as may be made with the approval of the said State and local officers.

SEC. 93. No State or local officer shall destroy, sell, or otherwise dispose of any records, original or copied, or of any archives in his care or custody or under his control, and which are no longer in current use, without first having advised the State historian of their nature.

This bill never got out of the senate committee to which it had been referred. Instead thereof a complete substitution was made of a bill which had as its sole object the abolition of the State historian as an independent executive in the administrative government and his subordination under the commissioner of education. Every provision as to public records, methods of publication, etc., was gone. The assembly defeated this substitute by 68 to 25 votes when returned for concurrence in the so-called amendments. The defeat of our original measure in behalf of the public records—mute witnesses of our past history and our present prosperity—may be characterized as the severest tragical blow to New York's public records.

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APPENDIX B.

THE ARCHIVES OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS.

Ву

CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD, Ph. D.,

Assistant Professor in the University of Illinois,

AND

THEODORE CALVIN PEASE.

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History of the archives	
Records at Chester, Randolph County	
Office of the circuit court	
Records at Belleville, St. Clair County	
Office of the recorder	
Museum in Belleville courthouse	 .
Archives at Springfield	
Office of the secretary of state	
Office of the auditor of public accounts	
Office of the treasurer	
Office of the clerk of the supreme court	
Office of the adjutant general	
Office of the superintendent of public instruction	
Office of the attorney general	
Board of commissioners of public charities	
Railroad and warehouse commission	
Board of agriculture	
State board of pharmacy	
State mining board	
Board of live stock	
Office of the superintendent of insurance	 .
State board of pardons	
State board of prison industries	 .
Civil service commission	
State board of health	
Illinois State historical library	
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ARCHIVES OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS.1

CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD, THEODORE CALVIN PEASE.

HISTORY OF THE ARCHIVES.

The archives of the State of Illinois have undergone in the course of their history those usual vicissitudes that have been reported from other States. Removals, fires, and official carelessness are responsible for the loss of most valuable historical material and have made such serious gaps in important series that the soul of the investigating historian is torn by conflicting emotions—joy that anything has been preserved, and sorrow that so much has been lost. The first duty of the reporter of the archives is, therefore, assigned him, for to understand the present conditions it is necessary to start at the beginning and follow step by step the progress of the accumulating documents, not forgetting to notice serious mishaps and retarding influences.

In another volume ² the history of the Illinois archives during the eighteenth century, a period of French officials, has been traced to the year 1790, when the Government of the United States was actually extended over the French villages. Our narrative in this report will begin with the date June 12 of that year, when the clerk of the Kaskaskia court, François Carbonneaux, delivered into the keeping of the recorder, William St. Clair, the documents in his charge—an American replaced a Frenchman, a symbol of the passing of the old in Illinois and the beginning of the new.

Gov. Arthur St. Clair had erected the county of St. Clair for the purpose of governing the French settlements on the Mississippi; but, since the villages were so scattered, it had been necessary to create three districts, Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher, and Cahokia, with establishments practically like counties. No one village was declared the county seat, but the recorder, William St. Clair, selected

¹We wish to make an acknowledgment of our indebtedness to the various State officials for their uniform courtesy while we were examining the archives. It is impossible to name all those who have contributed to this report, but particular mention should be made of Mr. S. L. Spear, of Springfield, who would have written a part of this report had not sickness prevented. His wide and exact knowledge of the archives has been generously placed at our service.

² Annual Report of the Amer. Hist. Assoc., 1905, I. 353-366.

the largest and most prosperous, Cahokia, as his residence; and here first the archives were deposited. In 1793 the county judges of the district purchased the private residence of Jean Baptiste Saucier for a courthouse and jail; and, without doubt, the records were here preserved. They were not long left to the peaceful occupancy of their new home, for the next year there appeared Judge George Turner, the first judge of the territory northwest of the River Ohio to hold court in these western villages. He immediately declared Kaskaskia to be the county seat, and ordered the archives to be brought there. This occasioned the resignation of the recorder, who was, however, persuaded to resume his place at the solicitation of his cousin, the governor.² The latter wrote on June 3, 1795, to the recorder:

As there is no law to compel the register to keep the records at any particular place in the county, and as there are three towns in the county appointed by law for the sessions of the courts, there is no one in particular the acknowledged county town. You are therefore at liberty to keep your office in any part of the county that may not be inconvenient to the people, and Judge Turner was wrong in supposing he had a power to fix a place, and still further wrong in exerting it, to oblige you to fix it in any particular place.

The outcome of this dispute was the division of the county of St. Clair, from which the county of Randolph was separated in 1795, and a division of the records. A glance at the following lists of documents that have been preserved in the two counties will show that the government that centered in Cahokia was more regular than that at Kaskaskia. In fact, the same chaotic conditions seem to have continued in the more southern village during the last decade of the eighteenth century that had existed during the previous years; and it was not until the opening of the nineteenth century and the creation of the Indiana Territory that conditions can be said to have improved.

In 1809 the Territory of Illinois began its separate existence. From now on immigration increased rapidly. The old French population was driven out or completely submerged by the new population. The first governor, Ninian Edwards, and the first secretary, Nathaniel Pope, understood the ways of government and laid the foundations of the present State archives, as distinguished from the county records of the past years. Kaskaskia had become the center of trade and population, and was made the capital of the new Territory. Among the miscellaneous files of the secretary of state there has been found a correspondence which illustrates the limited means

¹This is the old courthouse which was purchased by Chicago and recrected in Jackson

² See Allinson, "The Government of Illinois, 1790-1799," in Transactions of the Ill. State Hist. Soc., 1907, 287.

^{*} Smith, St. Clair Papers, II, 372.

⁴ Alvord, Cahokia Records (Ill. Hist. Coll., II), Introd.

of preserving the archives of the Western Territories, and for that reason its quotation is justified.

KASKASKIA, May 11th, 1809.

Sis: I herewith transmit you an acct for office Rent, with my receipt for that amt. I have resided in this place since the month of December last. I wish to deal candidly with you. I have lived in a house belonging to my wife's father, who certainly would never have charged me any rent. But if a friend should furnish the Secretary with an office for nothing, it being a personal favour, it is no argument against his charging the Government a reasonable price for the occupation of it. Thereupon I submit to you to allow or reject my claim.

I have drawn on you for \$150.00 on account of the contingent expenses of the Illinois Territory.

It is not in my power to make arrangements with the Bank of the U. States to draw my salary, because I do not know how.

With high consideration, I am Sir Yr Mot obt Hble Serv't

NAT POPE.

The Honob ALBERT GALLATIN.

Treasury Department of the United States Dr to Nathaniel Pope Secy of the Illinois Ty.

1809 Mar 31st

To office-Rent from the 7th March 1809 to this day, 24 days at \$12.00 per month

Received the amount of the above acct of Nine Dollars and forty seven cents of Nathl Pope Secy of the Illinois Territory

NAT POPE

[Endorsed] Copy of a Letter to Secy of Treasury of 11th May 1809 and put into Post office 12th May 1809

This Acc is not allowed

TREASURY DEPARTMENT June 8th 1809

SIR

The accounting officers of the Treasury to whom I referred the voucher for office rent annexed to your letter of the 11th ultimo are of opinion that the most regular mode will be for your father in law to sign the account and receipt for the money, which he may afterwards make a present of to yourself or any other person. It is proper however to add, that forty dollas per annum is considered as the highest sum which ought to be allowed for the rent of an office

I am, very respectfully Sir Your Obed Serv't

ALBERT GALLATIN

NATHANIEL POPE Esquire

Secretary of the Illinois Territory

Kaskaskia

Kaskaskia July 4th 1809

SIB

Yours under date of the 8th Ult came while I was making out my return of the Contingent expenses of the Illinois Territory.

I have in consequence made an alteration as to the Office Rent. I have charged the Secretary five Dollars per Month, which is the lowest price, at

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which the Secretary can accommodate himself with such an office as he ought to have for his own use and for the convenience of those persons who may have business in his office. Mr Backus has no agent in this Country except myself, and I have no power of Attorney in writing, but as one of his family I attend to his business. He has never been in this Country since I received my Commission nay not since Jany last. You require me to make my return quarterly and that "No future payments will be made unless they shall have been received." Now, Sir, it seems plain that I am entitled to the usual allowance whether I produce a receipt or not. I state to you that I cannot procure a suitable room for less than Sixty Dollars per annum, suppose that I make an office of a Room in my own house, with whom am I to make a Bargain and from whom to take a receipt? Yet would you refuse to allow me for office Rent? I am sure you would not. I could wish that you would satisfy yourself as to the usual price of Rooms of that description and let me have a credit for so much every quarter. There can be no cheat in it because an office I must have and the Government cannot be injured by the arrangement. As to all other Charges they ought to be supported by proper vouchers because they depend upon the consumption in the office.

Now Sir with respect to my charge of \$12.00 per month for office Rent I beg leave to remark that at the time I made my return I was ignorant of the object of the appropriation for office Rent. I advised with Gentlemen better acquainted with such affairs than myself, they thought it amounted to house rent for the Secretary, as I was not convinced I determined to try the principle by forwarding the account to the 31st of March. knowing that if the appropriation did embrace the Charge that you could correct it. It seems to me that the Secretary ought to have two Rooms—one to lodge in and the other for the public papers of his office. In a Country where Society is very rude and the buildings indifferent it is improper that the public Papers should be exposed, by being left in a house in [which] no one lodged. If I am entitled to two Rooms sixty Dollars would not be sufficient. The foregoing are are [sic] suggestions for your consideration. But I assure you that forty Dollars are entirely in adequate to the object.

You have not instructed me how much of the acct already rendered by me will be admitted or whether any.

I wish to know whether the Secretary is bound to supply the Govr with stationary.

[Endorsed] N. Pope's letter to Mr. Gallatin dated July 4th 1809

With the adoption of the State constitution came the decision to move the capital from Kaskaskia to a more central location. Vandalia was chosen. The archives which were supposed to belong to the county of Randolph were left behind, so that many records which have more than a local and antiquarian interest are still under the custody of the county officials. The State records were loaded into a small wagon in the year 1820, and Sidney Breese, later known as judge, senator, and historian, played the Jehu in this first long wandering of the archives across the prairies. This expressman, custodian, and guard was paid by a grateful State the sum of \$25 for his services.

At Vandalia some loss was experienced by two fires. Several of the executive offices were lodged in what was known as the "Bank house." The building was destroyed by fire on January 28, 1823. How far the records of the secretary of state suffered is indicated by the following document found among the "Miscellaneous file" of that office:

Whereas the destruction of the Bank House of the principal Bank of the State of Illinois, on the night of the 28th instant, by fire, including the offices of Auditor of Public accounts and Secretary of State, makes it necessary for the Legislature to ascertain the extent of the injury done to the public interest, and to provide a remedy for the same: Therefore, Resolved, That the Auditor of public accounts be required to report to the House of Representatives, the extent of the injury, (if any) that the office has sustained in the loss of documents and vouchers properly belonging to it, by the conflagration of the Bank house.

Resolved, that the Secretary of State be required to report to the House of Representatives the extent of the loss (if any) sustained by that office in the destruction of any of the property belonging to it.

Resolved that the President, Directors and Cashier of the principal Bank of the State of Illinois, be required to report to the House of Representatives, the extent of the losses and of what kind (if any) that institution has sustained by the recent conflagration.

CHAS. DUNN, Clk House Rep

[Endorsed on the same sheet.]

GENTLEMEN: In compliance with your request to inform you of the extent of loss the State has sustained by the late conflagration of the State Bank in the Secretary's office, the Secretary reports, that, &c

There was but little individual property burned in the Sec'ys office. All that has come to the knowledge of Secy are the 3 vol of laws of N. Y. belonging to Col Dodge, the 4th vol of Bl. Com. 2 and 3 volumes of Baylie's digestive index, belonging to W. H. Brown. There was probably a few other articles of trifling consequence.

I am gentlemen with great respect

Yours &c.

[Endorsed] Feb 1823 Gov Coles Miscel.

A careful search in the auditor's office and in the legislative papers in the secretary of state's office failed to disclose the reports expected from the auditor and the bank officials. Sidney Breese in his introduction to Breese's Reports (ed. 1831, p. VI), states that he had learned that the decisions of the supreme court made in the December term of 1821 were destroyed in this fire. A letter of Gov. Coles¹ shows that the books and papers of the adjutant general's office were destroyed in a fire that occurred in the winter of 1823.

The statehouse at Vandalia was burned down on December 9 of the same year. This fire caused a serious loss, for the records of the United States land office receiver perished. Whether or not other records were destroyed is uncertain.²

The statehouse, which replaced it, was abandoned in the summer of 1836, and a new one was built at Vandalia; but in 1839 the capital of the State was established at Springfield, and in July of that year



² Ill. Hist. Coll., IV, 54.

² Davidson and Stuvé, Complete Hist. of Ill., 916.

the records of the various offices were removed thither. The archives had grown during the 20 years since the removal from Kaskaskia, as the following warrants from the auditor's report for 1839 (p. VIII) show:

July 5, 1839. To warrants to B. W. Thompson, L. Ginger, B. F. Lee,	
R. Porter, H. Snyder, Wm. Redmond, D. Snyder, Peter Smith, E.	
Davis, and J. Lutt, in full for their services in removing public	
offices from Vandalia to Springfield	533. 33
July 8. To warrants to Wm. Walters in full, for hauling two loads of	
State papers from Vandalia to Springfield	100.00
Sept. 12. To warrants to John Poussardin, in full, for four pine boxes	
furnished for packing books and papers of Secretary's office	4.00
To warrants to John S. Roberts in full, for his services in removing	
Secretary's office	12.00
To Warrants to Philips and McDuff in full, for boxes furnished for	
removing Secretary's Office	3.75
To warrants to James Black in full for boxes furnished for removing	
Secretary's office	25.75
To warrants to Henry Eccles in full, for boxes furnished for removing	
Secretary's office	19. 19
Sept. 12. To warrants to James M. Moore, C. H. Hodge, H. C. Ernst,	
James Reed, and H. Goodman, in full, for services in removing Secre-	
tary's office	23, 00
	_0.00

Only one more removal has to be chronicled. In his report for 1876, the secretary of state announced that the removal of the records of the States to the new statehouse, just built, had been effected without damage. In it the records (except those now in the building of justice) have remained to the present day.

RECORDS, 1790-1818, AT CHESTER, RANDOLPH COUNTY.1

Owing to the scarcity of material for writing the history of Illinois during the years 1790-1818, these records preserved in the counties of Randolph and St. Clair are of the greatest interest.

OFFICE OF THE CIRCUIT CLERK.

Court and Deed Record K, December 6, 1768-December 4, 1782. 256 pp. (pp. 17-20 missing). The contents miscellaneous. The most interesting is the record of the court established by Lieut. Col. Wilkins in 1768. Besides this are interesting documents of the Virginia period, many of which have been published in Ill. Hist. Coll., V.

Court Record I, November 27, 1795-June, 1799. 270 pp. (last 16 pp. detached). Contents: Sales, wills, marriage certificates, promissory notes, etc.

Court Record of Randolph County, Indiana Territory, 1798-1803. 279 pp. Contents: Record of proceedings of court of common pleas.

Court Record, 1801-1805. Court of common pleas. 280 pp.

Court Record of Randolph County, Indiana Territory, 1802-1808. 446 pp. Contents: Record of court of common pleas.

¹ The examination of archives of Chester and Belleville was made by Miss May Allinson.

- Court Record, 1802-1806. Court of common pleas. 363 pp.
- Court Record, 1802-1806. Record of court of general quarter sessions of Randolph County, September, 1802-November, 1806. 113 pp. Last record dated October, 1807.
- County Court's Court Record, July 4, 1803—January 5, 1810. 141 pp. Contents: Record of court of commissioners, of orphans' court, general quarter sessions, court of appeals, and the records of the county for July, 1809—January, 1810.
- Court Record, 1803-1808. F. Record of court of common pleas. 337 pp.
- Court Records, 1809-1813. Complete records of cases decided by the general court of the Illinois Territory at Kaskaskia. 5 vols.
 - Vol. I, September 12, 1809-September 21, 1810. 361 pp.
 - Vol. II, April 12, 1810-September 6, 1813. (Docket and record.) 525 pp.
 - Vol. III, September, 1810-April, 1811. 548 pp.
 - Vol. IV, April 13, 1811-April 16, 1812. 449 pp.
 - Vol. V, April 15, 1812-September 14, 1813. 477 pp.
- Court Record of County Court of Randolph County of Illinois Territory, 1810, March 5-December 18. 74 pp.
- Court of Common Pleas for Randolph County of Illinois Territory, March 4, 1811-April 27, 1814. 351 pp.
- Court Record, February 23, 1813-March 19, 1829.
 - Pt. I, Record of common pleas, February 23, 1813-October, 1814. 181 pp.
 - Pt. II, Record of court held by Hon. Wm. Sprigg, one of the U. S. judges for Illinois Territory allotted to circuit court. 10 pp. 82 blank pp.
 - Pt. III, Record of supreme court of State of Illinois at a circuit court in and for Randolph County, 45 pp.
 - Pt. IV, Record of circuit court for Randolph County, May 2, 1825-March 19, 1829. 66 pp.
- Common Pleas, Court Record, June 20, 1814-March 3, 1824. 341 pp.
- Court Record, 1815-1818. Order Book A. Records from June 19, 1815-October 24, 1823.
- Deed Record, J. 237 pp. Records miscellaneous, dating from last decade of 18th century.
- Deed Record, K. 254 pp. (several pp. missing). Miscellaneous records, 1783-1806.
- Deed Book, L. 169 pp. Miscellaneous records, September 24, 1785-1819.
- Leaves from Record of Court of Common Pleas, December 1, 1801-September 4, 1804. 88 pp. Contents: Court docket, etc.
- Leaves from Court Records, April 9, 1800-April 13, 1811. 27 pp. (10 blank).
- Leaves from Record of Circuit Court, Court of Oyer and Terminer, Nisi Prius and General Jail Delivery, held at Kaskaskia in and for county of Randolph before the Hon. Henry Vanderburgh, judge of said court, November 8, 1808. 16 pp.
- Loose pages from Record of General Court of Illinois Territory, April term, 1811.
- Memorandum Book, Court of Common Pleas, June 17, 1809-April, 1812. 56 pp. No cover. Contents: Court docket.
- Minutes Book, General Court, 1809. 117 pp. Dates: September 11, 1809-September 21, 1810.
- Minutes Book, September 1, 1811-April 9, 1814. 130 pp. Contents: Record of General Court of Illinois Territory, held at Kaskaskia.
- Record Book, 1816-1819. 47 pp. No cover. Contents: Alphabetical list of cases, costs, etc.

Box of loose papers in office of circuit clerk. A large collection of papers tied in bundles regardless of date, character, or subject. Dates range from 1734 to 1860. The following list gives contents by years:

1734-1757, 90 papers. 1771-1774, 40 papers. 1779-1789, many papers. 1789-1796, very few. 1797-1799, large number. 1800-1801, very few. 1802-1803, good many. 1804-1813, very large number. 1815-1818, very few.

RECORDS, 1790-1818, AT BELLEVILLE, ST. CLAIR COUNTY.

OFFICE OF THE RECORDER.

Record A., St. Clair County, April 27, 1790-September 27, 1796. 302 pp. Contents: Deeds from all periods of eighteenth century.

Record B., St. Clair County, March 14, 1800-March 23, 1813. 663 pp. Contents: Same as above.

MUSEUM IN BELLEVILLE COURTHOUSE.

This museum was established in 1906 for the purpose of preserving the records of historical interest. The room is situated in the basement of the courthouse, and is furnished with cases for the exhibition of documents.

Court Docket, May, 1790-January, 1791. 6 pp. Record of court of quarter sessions

Issuing Docket, Common Pleas, 1790. 10 pp. Contents: Records, October, 1790— October, 1791.

Issue Docket. 6 loose pp. Contents: 1790-August, 1791. There are also 2 loose pages for 1792-93.

Leaves from Record of General Court of Quarter Sessions held at Cahokia, May 1, 1792-January 7, 1794. 11 pp.

Common Pleas Docket, Cahokia District, 1793-1797. 27 pp.

Record of Common Pleas, February 4, 1794. 1 loose page.

Special Session of Pleas holden at Cahokia, July 28, 1795. 1 loose double sheet. Leaves from General Court of Quarter Sessions, January 5, 1796-March 11, 1796. 14 pp. No cover.

Leaves from Minutes of Court of Quarter Sessions, February 7, 1797-April 2, 1799. 32 pp. No cover.

Leaves from Record of Minutes of Common Pleas. February 7, 1797-April 2, 1797. 62 pp.

County Record, April 4, 1798-June 16, 1817. 215 pp. Contents: Record orphans' court, county court, etc. Pages 86-215 belong to separate record book.

Record of Court of Commissioners and Assessors, June 20, 1798-December, 1803, 24 pp. (45 blank pp.)

Record of Court of Common Pleas in and for the County of St. Clair, July, 1799-June, 1801. 87 pp. (Badly damaged.)

Record of Court of Common Pleas, June, 1801-March, 1803. E. 127 pp.

Order Book of General Court, September, 1809-September, 1814. 245 pp. Contents: Docket and record.

Leaves from Record of Circuit Court, October 31, 1808. 5 pp. (3 blank pp.) Leaves from a record of a court having criminal jurisdiction. No date. 1 double sheet.

Record G, 1811-1814. Record of General Court of St. Clair County. 509 pp. Marriage Record, A. February 1807-July, 1810. 15 pp. (4 blank.)

Marriage Record, Book B, 1810-1827. 67 pp.

Register of Indentured Slaves, Record A. Begins November 3, 1806. Part 1. Records, November 3, 1805-July, 1819, of agreements between masters and negroes. 72 pp. Part 2. Entries of free negroes. 2½ pp.

Territorial Laws, December 13, 1812-December 24, 1812. 42 pp. (19 blank pp.) Sheriff's fee bill. 2 double sheets.

Land claims. Record, 1798. About 100 pp. Dates: November 5, 1798-November 30, 1798.

Loose papers, 1800-1818. Large number of papers relating to court proceedings.

ARCHIVES AT SPRINGFIELD.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

The fundamental law governing the "Territorial secretary" in the discharge of his duties is found in the ordinance of 1787 (sec. 4):

It shall be his duty to keep and preserve the acts and laws passed by the legislature, and the public records of the district, and the proceedings of the governor in his executive department.

No Territorial statute materially adding to this definition of his duties has been found; and from Territorial times the Territorial secretary and his successor, the secretary of state, have performed the twofold duties assigned above—keeping the executive and legislative records of Territory and State. The constitution of 1818 (art. 3, sec. 20) made it the duty of the secretary of state to keep a fair register of the official acts of the governor, and, when required, to lay the same, and all papers, minutes, and vouchers relative thereto, before either branch of the general assembly, and to perform such other duties as might be assigned him by law. The emphasis here, it will be seen, was laid on the function of his office, as the permanent half of the executive office. He by this enactment became the depositary of the papers of each governor at the end of his term of office. The act of March 1, 1819, however, provided "that all public acts, laws, and resolutions that have been or shall be passed by the general assembly of this State shall be carefully deposited in the office of the secretary of this State; which said office shall at all times be kept at the seat of government." And thus the secretary of state was continued as record keeper of the general assembly. This act also required him to keep a register of commissions, as well as to supervise the printing and distribution of the printed laws.

The constitution of 1848 merely repeated the provision of the constitution of 1818. However the corporation act of 1849, its successors

of 1872 and 1893, the antitrust act of 1891-1893, the illfated primary act of 1908, not to mention numerous other laws, have all added largely to the duties of the secretary of state along new lines. When the huge increase in the volume of his records kept as recording officer for governor and general assembly is considered, it can be realized that his records are the most extensive of the statehouse.

It is fairly certain that some time before the Civil War such inefficient systems of record keeping as there were had broken down under the mass of records. When the reports of the secretary of state required by the constitution of 1870 become accessible as sources of information, they tell a sad story. The report for 1870 speaks of the necessity that the secretary had been under of entirely rearranging his systems of current record keeping. To preserve the mass of public records, laws, journals, stored in the basement of the "Old Statehouse" at Springfield, fires must be continually kept in the record rooms (p. 7). Conditions as to the accessibility of the records are vividly set forth in Secretary Harlow's report for 1874 (p. 28.)

State officers, members of the general assembly, and others who have occasion in any manner to refer to the files and records of the State on file or deposited in this office, are disagreeably impressed with the confused state of the original papers and documents and executive records. Since the earliest history of our Territorial or State government these State papers and records have been accumulating, and now, after three-quarters of a century has passed, present a confused and chaotic mass of important documents, without arrangement, classification, or index by which reference may be made thereto. * * In some instances days have been spent in searching for a single paper, which, with a carefully prepared index, could have been found in five minutes by any well-informed and competent clerk. Nor does the trouble always end in success; the chances are even against success. It frequently happens that the search is given up before the paper has been found, and if ever found it is the result of accident and turns up while searching for another document under similar circumstances and ends again in failure, annoyance, and perhaps loss.

This was and still is the case with the enrolled laws, with the exception of those of the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh assembly, which were temporarily indexed by my predecessor, and those of the twenty-eighth general assembly, which have been similarly indexed by me. With this exception, all the enrolled laws on file since the earliest organization of the Territory and State governments are without arrangement, classification, or index.

We must look to the eight years' administration of George H. Harlow (himself at one time a clerk in the State office) ¹ for the clear recognition of the necessity of action to preserve from loss the past records of the State. A passage in one of his reports suggests that he may have found popular encouragement and support because of the wave of enthusiasm for the preservation of the monuments of the Nation's history that was so current about the "centennial year." At any rate, it would be hard for historians to ask a livelier sense of



¹Report of the Secretary of State, 1874, p. 4.

the value of public archives as historical material and a higher ideal in the making them accessible as such than that laid down in Secretary Harlow's report for 1874 (p. 29ff):

It is my purpose to classify and arrange the files and records as systematically and convenient as possible and to index so fully and comprehensively that any clerk familiar with them can in a few minutes produce any paper or document or refer to any executive record in the office. * * * The plan adopted by me in this, in my opinion, most important undertaking is, in brief, as follows: Commencing with the Territorial organizations, embracing the Northwestern Territory, organized in 1788; the Indiana Territory, organized 1801; Illinois Territory, organized 1809, each exercising legislative and executive jurisdiction within the present limits of this State during the several periods of their existence. The files and records relating to these Territorial governments will be collected and, so far as possible, all missing papers replaced by certified copies from the printed records or transcripts from the originals whenever and wherever they can be found. Then, commencing with the organization of the State government in 1818, the same course will be pursued, the object being to make full and complete files, forming an archive of the State in which may be traced with reasonable accuracy and genuine satisfaction its political history properly authenticated.

To do this, many important papers and documents and in some instances the acts entire of a legislative session must be replaced with certified copies, the originals having been lost or misplaced and not to be found. In such cases the certified copies are made from the regular authorized edition of the printed laws of the Territory or State, or, in the event of no printed copy being obtainable, from manuscript copies taken from the printed laws in the hands of private parties.

The report of 1874 proceeds with the outline for a set of indexes. These were to comprise, first, an index to the enrolled laws; second, "a General Index in which under appropriate headings and subjects will be entered an index to all papers and documents on file not included in the index to the Enrolled Laws;" third, an index to the executive records; fourth, an index in which all legislative acts, etc., relating to the various counties should be indexed county by county. In appealing to the assembly for appropriations to carry on this work Secretary Harlow warned his readers that any delay would result in the irretrievable loss to the State of many valuable papers and documents that might be preserved by prompt action.

In response to this appeal, the legislature gave an appropriation of \$4,000 for indexing and for removing the archives to the "new statehouse;" the larger part of this was used for indexing.¹ This and subsequent appropriations served to maintain the "department of indexes and archives," a subdepartment of the State office founded under the act of March 30, 1874, which required the secretary to keep proper indexes for his department. Its chief for some 20 years was Capt. J. M. Adair.² A careful and thorough index to the enrolled



¹ Report of the Secretary of State, 1876, p. 7.

² Ibid., 1876, passim; information by Mr. S. L. Spear.

laws was completed in 1881 or 1882. At this time or later were also prepared the index to the executive records and the "county index," mentioned above. The "general index" mentioned above has yet to be constructed on a satisfactory scale.

In his report for 1876 Harlow had indicated some of the material that he was anxious to classify and index. His description of it is quoted. It will be noted that most of the material is mentioned in the schedule of the contents of the office given below:

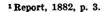
In addition to the large number of valuable papers, enrolled laws, and other important documents deposited in the upper vault of this office and now being carefully classified and indexed, there is in the lower vault [probably vault B] a vast accumulation of papers and documents of more or less value—yellow with age—containing much valuable historical and legislative information comprising no small part of the archives of the Territory as well as of the State of Illinois.

These papers and documents consist in part of the following, viz, bonds of State officers, commissioners of public buildings, circuit and county clerks, recorders and sheriffs. State's attorneys and coroners, fund commissioners, Indian traders, paymasters of Illinois militia, State contractors, notaries public, trustees of various State charitable institutions, and many other bonds of a similar nature. Also bids and proposals for all kinds of State contracts, also receipts for supreme court reports, revised statutes, constitutional convention journals and debates, geological reports, laws, journals, and other State documents, leases of saline lands, auditors' certificates of internal improvements lands, certificates of canal lands, lots and claims, executive record papers, election returns, certificates of election, abstracts of votes, etc., appointments of agents for school and seminary lands and swamp lands, papers relating to State and branch banks, boundary lines of public lands, original engrossed bills, petitions, resolutions, messages, and documents appertaining to the various sessions of the general assembly, maps of the survey of the Illinois Central Railroad, manuscript copies of the constitutions of the State of Illinois, reports of State officers, charitable and penal institutions, original senate and house journals, State and United States census, and a host of other equally important documents.

During the past year or more all the spare time that could be utilized from the regular duties of the porters and clerks of the office has been used in sorting over and arranging in a systematized manner all of this vast mass of material, the official and semiofficial accumulation of many years.

The results that have been attained will prove to be of great value and fully justify the work now being done to perfect a system of indexing so complete that it will be the work of but a moment to ascertain definitely the whereabouts of any paper or document in this office, even though it may have been deposited here years before the organization of the State government.

In the two terms of Henry Dement, George Harlow's successor, the work of indexing was pushed on. Between 1884 and 1886 the election returns for the period 1818–1850 were put in shape.² Like Harlow, Dement was watchful of every opportunity to complete his manuscript and printed document files. In his report for 1888 he mentioned that he had in vain sought the manuscript journal of the convention of 1818, and the manuscript or printed senate journal for





² Report, 1886, p. 5.

the second session of 1819.¹ It is probably in large measure due to the labors of these two men that the archives of the state department are so nearly complete as they are to-day.

On the accession of the present administration, that of the Hon. James A. Rose in 1897, Mr. S. L. Spear, present chief of the index department, found nothing like the "general index" projected by Harlow. Very many of the cupboards and filing boxes were unlabeled and even unnumbered. The system of the office seemed to be purely mnemonic. As soon as possible these defects were remedied and a rough working index of the vaults made. When time could be spared from the current duties of the office (the index department indexes, the printed laws, assembly journals, etc.), changes were made in the direction of closer and more accurate classification. Yet so heavy have the routine duties been in the last three years that little has been accomplished in better classification of past records. The department cherishes the ideal of a close and perfect index to the vaults as one some day to be attained.2 But the State legislature must aid with special appropriations if in the near future the indexing of the office is to come up to the standard which the men of 35 years ago proposed to themselves. Whether the end might not better be reached by intrusting to an "archives department" the care and indexing of the archives not in daily use is another question.

The records deposited in this office are most of them kept in iron vaults; a few record books, most of them in current use, are kept in the main office in glass and wooden cases. Accordingly, the records may be considered reasonably safe from fire. Their safety from damp is a more doubtful matter. Vault "C" was built in the basement between 1893 and 1897. It catches the drip from the capitol steps and is so moist that four-vear-old transfer files in it are covered with mold. Some letter books, reports, etc., have been bundled in wrapping paper before being stored in the iron cupboards. But some books and papers of value not so protected—for instance, the original returns of various State censuses—are badly mildewed and their covers are starting from damp. It is greatly to be regretted that the vault was not long ago vacated. The office also uses two other vaults for noncurrent records, vault "A" on the second and vault "B" on the first floor of the capitol. These are probably the "upper" and "lower" vaults mentioned above in the citation from Harlow's report of 1876. In addition, one vault is used for records of the "antitrust department" and one for "shipping department."



¹ Report, 1888, p. 5.

^{*} Information, Mr. S. L. Spear.

In the analysis given below of the records in these vaults the vault in which any record was found is indicated by affixing its letter. Where a letter is affixed to a classification heading, all items under that head were found in that vault, except where a different letter affixed to some specific item indicates for it a different location. "M.O." indicates that a record is in the office.

I. Constitutional records. (A.)

The manuscript constitutions of 1818, 1848, 1862 (rejected), 1870.¹
These are in tin cases.

Records of the convention of 1847, 2 v.2

Record of the convention of 1862, 1 v.

Records of the convention of 1869-70, vols. A, B, C.

II. Legislative records.

The "Enrolled Laws of Illinois" from 1812 to date, fb. 170.2 (A.)

Index to "Enrolled Laws" 1819-date, 3 v. (M. O.)

Records of the council of revision (to which the constitution of 1818 intrusted the veto power). (A.)

Minutes of the council, 1822-1847, 3 v.

Record of proceedings of the council, 1809–1845. The greater part of this is copied from the above record and still earlier ones. The records of the territorial period are those of the territorial council as a legislative body, 1 v.

Original assembly journals, 1818—date. These are in print with the exception of the senate journal for 2d sess., 1819, the MS. of which is probably still missing.

Resolutions, house bills, and senate bills, 1819-1867. 53 fb. (C.)

House bills, 1869-1885, 57 fb. (C.)

Senate bills, 42 fb. (C.)

House and senate bills, 1885-date, 166 fb. (B.)

Miscellaneous assembly papers; petitions, reports, resolutions, amendments, messages, communications, etc., 1813-date, 65 fb. (B.)

"County Index to Enrolled Laws," 1 v. each county. (M. O.)

"Records of Members of the General Assembly," 1812-date, 1 v. (M. O.)

"Record of Oaths, Members of the General Assembly," 1870-1889, 1 v. (A.)

Same, "No. 2," 1891-date, 1 v. (M. O.)

General assembly reports. These are reports of committees, original minutes of sessions, about 1836 (few if any reports proper of a date so early). Very many bound bill and act records. 1836—date. Thirty iron cases. (C.)

III. Election records.

Election contests, 1822-1869, 6 fb. (B.)

Election returns, 1818-date. Federal, State, and county offices, 77 fb. (B.)

Certificates of qualification for office, 1819-date, 49 fb. (B.)

Records of election returns, 1818-date, 8 v. (M. O.)

Records of county officers, 1809-1874, 2 v. (A.)

Record of nominations, act of 1891, 1892-1904, 2 v. (M. O.)

Record of public administrators, public guardians, deputy, county, and circuit clerks, 1826(?)-date, 1 v. (M. O.)

Record of primary petitions, act of 1908, 1 v. (M. O.)

Record of county judges, county clerks, circuit clerks, and states attorneys, 1872-date, 1 v. (M. O.)

¹Since it has proved impossible to make an independent list of the printed documents of the State, the render is referred to R. R. Bowker, State Publications: A Provisional List of the Official Publications of the several States of the United States from their Organization (New York, 1908), for information concerning the manuscripts, listed in this report, that have been printed.

this report, that have been printed.

Throughout this report "v." will be used as an abbreviation for volume; "fb." for filing box.

III. Election records-Continued.

Record of state officers and trustees of state institutions, 1809-date, 1 v. (M. O.)

- IV. State Census Returns. Census of 1818. Quinquennial State census from 1820. The constitution of 1848 made this census decennial from 1855, the federal census being accepted for the years in which it was taken. The constitution of 1870 made no provision for a state census. (C.)
 - (a) Censuses of 1818-1820, 1 v. Give names of heads of families; free white males in each family—the number 21 years of age and over; number of all other whites in each family; free colored persons; servants and slaves.

Census of 1818. Returns from 12 counties—Randolph, Edwards, and Washington being omitted or missing.

Census of 1820. Returns for 19 counties-complete.

- (b) Census returns for 1835 and 1840. Bound together in three volumes. These are fragmentary. For both censuses together there are returns for but 58 counties out of the 87 in existence in 1840. The census returns for 1840 give names of heads of families, number of free white males and females in each family, number of negroes and mulattoes, number of factories, mills, etc., owned, number of horses owned by each head of family.
- (c) Census returns for 1845. Only a few counties, 1 v.
- (d) Census returns, 1855, 26 v.
- (e) Census compilations, 1860, 1 v.
- (f) Census returns, 1865, 30 v.
- V. Executive Records.
 - "Executive Registers" (of the official acts of the governor), 1818—date, 16 v. (A.) 2 v. (M. O.)
 - "Executive Register for the Illinois Territory Commencing the 25th day of April, 1809." (To 1818), 1 v. (A.)

Sundry records bound in one volume. One of these is apparently the rough entry record for the above, September, 1809—December, 1817. Another is the "Journal of the Legislative Council;" a third, the "Journal of the Territorial Council," 1812–1818.

Indexes to executive records, 1819-1870, 2 v.; to date, 1 v. (M. O.) Record of proclamations by the governor, 1900-date, 1 v. (M. O.)

VI. Extradition Papers.

Warrants 1844—date. For the return of fugitives from justice fleeing from other States. 12 fb. (B.)

Record of warrants of arrest issued by the governor on requisitions by executives of other States, 1869-1909, 1 v. (M. O.)

Petitions to the governor for requisitions, 1871-date, 40 fb. (B.)

Requisitions, 1872-date, 44 fb. (B.)
Record of requisitions by the governor on executives of other States,

1869-1909, 1 v. (M. O.)

"Messengers' Papers, 1871-1893." Letters of authority from the governor of Illinois to messengers sent to other States for fugitives from justice. 10 fb. (B.)

Rejected requisitions, 1 iron case. (C.)

VII. Pardon Records.

Record of pardons, 1861-1907, 1 v. (M. O.)

Records of pardons, 1866-1872, 2 v. (C.)

Pardons granted, 1836-1906, 142 fb. (C.)

VII. Pardon Records-Continued.

Petitions for pardons, 1840-1877, 16 fb. (C.)

Petitions for pardons denied, 1907-date, 23 fb. (C.)

Register of applications for pardons, 1867-1873, 2 v. (C.)

Record of restoration to citizenship of persons pardoned, 1869-1909, 1 v. (M. O.)

Restorations, 1864-date, 11 fb. (B.)

Record of commutations of sentence (current), 1 v. (M. O.)

Paroles, from 1897, 1 fb. (B.)

VIII. Corporation Records.

Domestic corporations (corporations created in Illinois). Each corporation incorporated under the laws of the State has a number assigned it, and all papers, statements, etc., pertaining to it are filed under the number. In this classification no distinction is made between corporations for profit and those not for profit. No. 1 is the Illinois, and Mississippi Telegraph Company, incorporated under the act of 1849. The files include petitions for incorporation, acts of the incorporators, annual statements, etc. 1027 fb. (A.)

Municipal corporations.

Transcripts of records of municipal corporations, 1872-date, 6 fb. (A.)

Records of municipal corporations incorporated under special acts, 1818-date, 2 v., lettered "A" and "B." (M. O.)

Foreign corporations. Copies of charters filed by them; record of name of attorney for Illinois, etc., 1897-date, 76 fb. (A.)

Index to foreign corporations, 1 v. (M. O.)

Canceled corporation certificates, 1883-date, 6 fb. (C.)

Statements for incorporation, 1872-1896, 14 fb. (C.)

Miscellaneous corporation correspondence, 1885-1886, 4 fb. (C.) Indexes to corporations.

1886-date, 6 v., lettered B-G. (M. O.)

Index to corporations chartered by special act prior to 1872, 1 v. (M. O.)

Indexes to corporations 1902, 1904, 2 v. (M. O.)

Card index to corporations. Those still in business separated from those "dead." (M. O.)

Bound records of corporations. Act of 1872 (?). Separate volumes under heads "Religious," "Agricultural and Horticultural," "Educational," "Telephone and Telegraph," "Transportation,," "Cemeteries," "Printing and Publishing," "Manufacturing" (current volume "F"), "Mercantile and Miscellaneous" (current volume "F"), "Insurance," "Mining," and "Benevolent."

Indexes to above, 1902, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 6 v. (M. O.)

Bound railroad records. Act of 1872. Articles of incorporation, deeds and mortgages, by-laws, resolutions, consolidations, are copied into bound books under the various headings above indicated. 33 v. (M. O.)

Bound railroad records. Act of 1893. Leases and sales, articles of incorporation, by-laws, mutual casualty insurance, miscellaneous. 36 v. (M. O.)

Record of transportation companies, 1852-1867, 1 v. (A.) Antitrust records, Act of 1891-1893.

VIII. Corporation Records-Continued.

Files of antitrust affidavits by corporations, 1897—date. These are kept in filing boxes in a small vault in the antitrust office. Those filed prior to 1897 are lying in heaps in packing boxes in the basement, where they were found by the present administration; they can not be examined.

Bound records of the filing of antitrust affidavits and annual reports, 1893—date, 8 v. (M. O.)

Statements and affidavits of foreign corporations, 1908-date, 1 v. (M. O.)

Trade-marks, 1896-date, 10 fb. (A.)

Record of trade-marks, 1891-date, 6 v.

IX. Reports of state institutions and officers, etc. In theory these files should contain the manuscripts of the various reports to the governor, etc.—annual, biennial, and special. In practice, very many of these have not been thus filed of late years. Apparently it has been considered sufficient if copies of the printed reports are on file in the secretary of state's "document library." Accordingly these files are at present in large part catch-alls of special reports, reports of investigations, correspondence relating to appointments to the offices or commissionerships in question, etc. Little of what is unprinted is of any great value. The dates given below indicate roughly those within which material of the kinds described above is present:

Penitentiary reports, 1831-1855 (one bundle), mostly 1868-date, 5 ic. Investigations of penitentiaries, 1871-1874, 1 ic.

Northern insane hospital, 1869-1904, 1 ic.

Eastern insane hospital, 1893-1904, 1 ic.

Southern insane hospital, 1869-1904, 1 ic.

Western insane hospital, 1895 (?)-date, 1 ic.

Central insane hospital, 1870-1903, 1 ic.

Asylum for feeble minded dependent children, 1868-1905, 1 ic.

Deaf and dumb asylum, 1869 (?), and eye and ear infirmary, 1872 (?), 1 ic.

Soldiers and sailors' home, 1888-1909, 1 ic.

Soldiers' widows' home, 1905, 1 ic.

Institutions for the blind, 1869-1905, 1 ic.

Hospital for the incurable insane, 1895-1905, and hospital for insane criminals, 1893-1905, 1 ic.

State board of dental examiners, 1889-1905; examiners of mine inspectors, 1875-1879; and state board of examiners of architects, 1903 (?), 1 ic.

State board of charities, 1871-1905, 1 ic.

Live stock commissioners, 1885-date; also some letters and papers relating to the pleuro-pneumonia episode, 1884; and humane agents' reports, 1884-1905, 1 ic.

Railroad and warehouse commissioners, from 1871. Much relates to appointments, 1871; also inspectors' of 'grain reports, etc., 1896–1897. 2 ic.

House of Correction, from 1874, 2 ic.

State reform school, 1869-1876; also Illinois State Reformatory, 1903-1905; and state home for juvenile female offenders, from 1894, 2 ic.

^{1&}quot;ic." will be used as an abbreviation for "iron cupboard."

IX. Reports of state institutions and officers, etc.—Continued.

Superintendent of insurance (two small papers dated 1895, 1901), 1 ic.

State board of health. Mostly relating to appointments, 1880-date, 2 ic.

State board of pharmacy. Mainly relating to appointments, 1885—date, 2 ic.

Newberry Library, Chicago, 1897-date; also John Crerar Library, Chicago, 1898, 1 ic.

Fish commissioners, 1885-date, 1 ic.

Chicago park commissioners, 1894-1905, 1 ic.

Illinois Central Railroad, from 1884, 1 ic.

Secretary of state, 1870-date, 1 ic.

Auditor of public accounts. Reports, 1823-1836, 1845-1850, and current; also State treasurers' reports, 1822-1836, 1871, and current, 1 ic.

Attorney general, from 1873, 1 ic.

Adjutant general, 1880, 1904 (see also below under Miscellaneous), 1 ic.

"School Reports and State Board of Education Reports," Reports of school commissioners by counties, 1850–1852; report of the superintendent of public instruction, 1865–1866; papers relating to the location of the Southern Illinois Normal School, 1869; reports of Illinois Industrial University (now the University of Illinois) and Illinois State Normal University, 1870–1880, 2 ic.

Soldiers' orphans' home reports, from 1868, 1 ic.

Illinois and Michigan Canal. Letters etc., as early as 1823; reports of McAllister and Stebbins; registered indebtedness under acts of 1843-1845; correspondence, reports, etc., 1837-1838; reports of claims for damages, 1840-1860; reports, from 1860.

X. Bonds.

County officers.

Circuit clerks, 1819-date, 7 fb.

County clerks, 1809-date, 5 fb.

County recorders, 1809-date, 3 fb.

States' attorneys, 1820-date, 3 fb.

Sheriffs of counties, 1809-1842, 1 pkg.

Coroner, 1809-1841, 1 pkg.

Index to bonds of county officers, 1819-date, 1 v. (M. O.)

State officers, 2 fb. Treasurers, 1813-date; auditors; 1816-date; superintendent of insurance 1893-date; attorney general, 1833-date; superintendent of public instruction, 1854-date.

Miscellaneous. Clerk of supreme court 1809-date; clerk of appellate court, 1878-date; librarian supreme court, 1857-date, 1 fb.

Canal commissioners, 1836-date; statehouse commissioners, 1839-1885; mine inspectors, 1833-date; "fund commissioners," 1837-1842; railroad and warehouse commissioners, 1871-date; officers of charitable institutions, 1853-date; officers of the state reformatory, 1891-date; curators state museum, 1893-date; commissioners of penitentiaries, 1857-date; wardens of penitentiaries, 1831-date; inspectors of penitentiaries, 1839-1855; paymasters, 1810-1847; "Vandalia commissioners," "commissioners of public works," etc.; bonds for arms issued to the state militia, 1831-1858, executed by company officers under act of Jan. 22, 1831; also bond of John Tillson, commissioner to purchase arms, 1861, 4 fb.

X. Bonds-Continued.

Bonds of state contractors, etc., 1814-date, 4 fb.

Bonds of notaries public, 1810-date, 204 fb. (C.)

XI. Records of Notaries Public, etc.

Records of notaries public, 1858-1893, 10 v. (A.)

Petitions for appointment of notaries public, 1835-date, 193 fb. (C.)

Record of notaries public outside Cook County, 1901-1907, 2 v. (M. O.)

Record of notaries public, Cook County, 1898-1904, 1 v. (M. O.)

Record of notaries public, Cook County, 1909, 1 v. (M. O.)

Record of justices of the peace, 1830-1837, 1 v. (A.)

Record of justices of the peace and police magistrates, 1809-1892, 6 v. (A); current, 2 v.

Commissioners of deeds, records of, 1845–1855, 2 v. (A); 1845–date, 1 v. (M. O.)

Oath of commissioners, appointment, etc., 1845-date, 12 fb. (B.)

XII. Records of the Board of Public Works; of the Fund Commissioners; of State Debts to 1861. (A, except where noted.)

Fund commissioners' checks and correspondence; reports, funded scrip, receipts and contract for loan, 1 ic. (C.)

Fund commissioners' account of state bonds and "internal improvement scrip," 1837-1846, 1 v.

Fund Commissioners, letters received, 1837-1840, 1 v.

Same, letters forwarded, 1837-1840, 1 v.

Same, "Internal improvement account," 1840-1843, 1 v.

Same, arrears of interest funded, 1857-1859, 1 v.

Same, reports of accounts with Wadsworth and Shelton, state interest commissioners, 1846-1855, 1 v.

Same, proposals, etc., Northern Cross R. R., 1841, 1 v.

Account of drafts of commissioners of public works: First district, 1840, 1 v.; second district, 1840, 1 v.; third district, 1840, 1 v.

"Register of Internal Improvement Scrip, registered and marked 'genuine'" (act of February 28, 1847, sect. 8), 1 v.

State indebtedness bonds surrendered, 1843 (act of March 2, 1843?), 1 v.

Register of bonds (act of 1859), 1 v.

Articles of subscription Terre Haute and Alton R. R., 1 v.

Survey of state road, Vincennes to Chicago, 1832, 1 v.

Report of the state indebtedness investigation committee, 1859, 1 v.

Accounts of the State with various funds and individuals, 1861, 1 v.

Board of auditors of state-house claim commission, 1841-1853, 1 v.

Register of canal bonds, 1847, 1 v.

Register of blank bonds received from Thomas Carlin, late governor, and prepared by him to be issued on account of the Illinois and Michigan Canal (act of March 2, 1843?), 1 v.

Illinois and Michigan Canal bonds and other evidence of state indebtedness presented under the act of February 21, 1843, in subscription for the \$1,600,000 canal loan, 1 v.

Register of Illinois and Michigan Canal Bonds surrendered 1857, 1 v. Illinois and Michigan Canal—report of the claims commission of 1856, testimony, etc., on sale of canal bonds, 1 v.

Illinois and Michigan Canal; register of indebtedness, 1843, 1 v.; 1845, 1 v.; 1847, 1 v.

Illinois and Michigan Canal subscribers to loan, 1847, 1 v.

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XIII. Land Records.

Record of purchases from the State, recorded by survey. "No. 1," 1831-1878 (?), 1 v. (A.)

Patent record—patents to purchasers of State lands, executed by the governor. By date, 1831-1843, 1 v. (A.)

Certificates of purchase (to purchasers of State lands), Vandalia lots; canal lands; Chicago lots; lands in ranges 1-13 E 3d P. M.; Ottawa lots; LaSalle lots. 2 fb. (B.)

Internal improvement lands, 1844-1867, 1 fb. (B.)

School land papers: Selections, leases, correspondence. Papers relating to seminary lands, 1823–1832, and patents to the State therefor. Correspondence: reports of treasurer touching the three per cent school fund, 1821–1833; letters of the commissioners to select seminary lands; letters of the General Land Office touching seminary lands, etc. 1 fb. (B.)

Saline lands. Letters on the Gallatin Saline—leases, reports of committees, assignation of United States leases of the saline to the State, letters to the governor, etc., 1819–1833. Muddy Saline, Shoal Creek Saline, and Vermilion Saline, 1819–1831, 1 fb. (B.)¹

Swamp lands. Affidavits concerning, correspondence touching indemnities, etc. Arranged by counties, (about) 1882-1892, 2 fb.
(B.) Various papers touching indemnity—correspondence of Isaac R. Hitt, indemnity agent for the State at Washington, 1877-1898.
1 ic. (C.)²

XIV. Correspondence, Letter books, etc.

Governors' letter books, 1811-1850. (A.)

1811-1818, 1 v. Many of the letters here recorded are found in the executive files and are printed by Edwards. In the back of the books are recorded various receipts for arms issued in 1812; one is quoted:

"Received this 12th day March 1812 of Ninian Edwards Governor and Commander in Chief in and over Illinois Territory fifty musketts fifty bayonetts, fifty cartridge boxes and thirty pair of pistols for the use of the company of cavalry under my command all of which arms I promise to return whenever they are required except such parts as may be unavoidably lost in actual service against our enemies.

"Also rec'd one pair pistols to be delivered to Col Wm Whiteside

"JAS. B. MOORE."

1818–1853, 5 v. These have all been printed in the Illinois Historical Collections, IV, VII. In the volumes there are no letters from Govs. Ewing and Duncan, and for the first two years of Carlin's administration and for the last 13 months of Ford's. The last volume is composed entirely of letters to Gov. French from Julius Wadsworth, New York, commissioner of the State for refunding under the act of 1847, 1847–1853.

The governors' letter books for 1853-1865 were either not kept by the private secretaries or have been lost. The tradition in the secretary of state's office is that they were loaned and never returned. The governors' correspondence after

¹At least a part of these letters, etc., were recorded in the letter books of the governors, and accordingly appear in Ill. Hist. Coll., IV.

³ There are also a few papers with these—letters, reports, etc., relating to school lands and canal lots, 1842-1869.

³ N. W. Edwards, History of Illinois and Life and Times of Ninian Edwards, Springfield, 1870, and in Chicago Historical Society's Collections, III.

Governors' letter books, 1811-1850. (A)—Continued.

1865, with the exception of two books containing Gov. Palmer's official letters, is preserved in vault C or in the main office, There is no uniformity in the governors' correspondence. It comprises what the judgment of each governor classed as official and is in the form—letter-book or carbon copy system—that each governor adopted. To be classed with correspondence is a mass of applications for office under Govs. Oglesby and Fifer, in seven iron cupboards in vault C.

Letter books of the secretary of state.

1840-1852, 4 v. (A); 1853-1858, 2 v. (C). Nineteen iron cupboards of letter books containing some 250 volumes in vault C from 1869; the rest of the series is in the main office.

The mass of the correspondence of governor and secretary of state of late years can not accurately be estimated; there are some 400 transfer files in vault C, and at least as many more in a gallery in the main office.

The Miscellaneous File. 21 fb. (B.)

This file was instituted as an office convenience for the grouping of various miscellaneous papers and correspondences that seemed to fit in nowhere else. Its nature might be easily, if somewhat inaccurately, defined by saying that from 1821–1834 it parallels, in the nature of its material, the governors' letter books mentioned above. The file is not a current one. A brief résumé of its contents is here given.

For 1809 there is some correspondence of Nathaniel Pope, Secretary of the Illinois Territory prior to the assumption of authority in that year by Gov. Ninian Edwards. One correspondence of this period is quoted above as relating most intimately to the earliest record room of Illinois Territory. Another letter may be quoted here because of its intrinsic historical value.

ILLINOIS TERRITORY Kaskaskia May 11th 1809

Sirs As the tranquility of this Territory depends Materially, (perhaps more than any part of the Union) upon the result of the deliberations of the next Congress, I beg leave to call your attention to it.

From the best information I could obtain since I had directed the affairs of this Territory, I am strongly led to believe that the British emissaries from Canada have been preparing for the Worst and in the Event of a War with England they will exert themselves to arm the Indians of the Mississippi and Lake Michigan and send them upon our Frontier.

They have been endeavoring to collect [the Chiefs of as many] all the forgoing Indians at Detroit in this Month [Invitations have been sent to the Kickapoos who reside on or near the Illinois River to join them] I can not imagine, what can be the object of [this proposed] Convention [of Indians], unless it is to effect a combination against the United States—[It cannot be for the purpose of furnishing them with ammunition because] they British Merchants have deposited at Prairie du Chiens [(Dog Prairie)] about ten or twelve thousand pounds of powder and an equivalent in Balls of various sizes suitable to the guns of the Indians [This quantity of powder and ball is amply sufficient to furnish the Indians of the Mississippi and Illinois Rivers and Lake Michigan with ammunition for an Expedition of six or eight months.]

² In the letter here printed the words and phrases inclosed within brackets are crossed out in the original.



¹ These are in vault A.

The Miscellaneous File. 21 fb. (B)—Continued.

This ammunition will be immediately dealt out to the Indians, when war shall be proclaimed. If that resource can be cut off the Indians will not be able to do us any immediate injury. I therefore suggest the propriety of my having the earliest possible advice of War, (if declared) that I may seize upon all British property in my Territory; I mean such property as can be useful to the Indians in an attack upon us.

This is the first deposit of ammunition ever made at that place by the British, [and as to the manner of its getting there in defiance of the Embargo] I am certainly ignorant. It seems however not to have attracted the notice of Mr. [Nicholas] Boilvain [who is] Indian Agent resident at that [place] post. He must have seen it, yet does not mention it in any of his communications [in his communication] to the Governor of Louisiana Territory [takes no notice of that fact at all]; a neglect on his part [which astonishes me much as he says that the Majority of the Indians are not well disposed to the United States]. This latter [Governor of Louisiana Territory] received it from a private individual [and mentoned it to me] and advised me to sleze [that] the powder and Lead [should be slezed] and have it deposited at [fort brought down the Mississippi to] fort Bellevue and there detained until we should know unequivocally the [intentions] dispositions of the Indians. [differred from him in opinion considering it too delicate a procedure with relations to Great Britain and to the Indians who depended on those stores for their Summer-Hunt Our Friends as well as foes would have been involved in the Calamity and the seizure might produce an irritation in the Minds of the disappointed Indians which would enable the British to effect the Coalition they so much desire. General Clark agreed with me in opinion and said he could but object to the siezure on the part of those Nations of Indians on the West Side of the Mississippi for whom he was Agent and who depended upon that powder and lead for their subsistence.]

I do not know how far the Executive of a Territory is authorized to seize British goods found in his limits in defiance of the Non-intercourse Law. It is quite easy for the British Traders to convey Merchandise of what description they please into this Territory, without passing any port of entry. I believe there are no revenue

officers in this Territory.

A difficulty has arisen among the militia of the Illinois Territory, in this, a considerable number volunteered their services to the President of the United States under the act authorizing the President to accept the services of thirty thousand volunteers. These persons doubt whether the Executive of the Territory has any controul over them, either to make them muster with Militia or to call them out when danger threatens. This doubt embarrasses me extremely

in the organization of the Militia of this Territory.

But I did not think that circumstances justified such a rash and violent measure.¹ General Clark, who is indian agent for several nations who would be benefitted by a distribution of this amunition thought with me that it might be productive of many evils; it might facilitate the coalition among the different Nations of Indians, so much desired by the British. Besides Boilvain having bestowed no attention on that fact (to wit of the Powder and Ball being there) I did not know that such a step ought to be taken upon the information of an Individual. In the event of War this Territory, every foot of which may be called a Frontier ought to be furnished with arms and amunition. Lead can be had here but powder is scarce.

I can not at this moment State the Strength of the Militia; no returns have as yet been made.

I am With high Respect Sir, Yr obt Servt

NAT POPE

The Honble WILLIAM EUSTIS
Secy of War
City of Washington.

¹This paragraph, written on the third page of the original, is evidently intended to replace the long erasure above: "I differred from him . . . lead for their subsistence."

The Miscellaneous File. 21 fb. (B)—Continued.

In addition to these letters there is correspondence relating to the proposed extradition of the murderer of John Rice Jones; there are a few letters from governors of other Territories. There are a few papers for the period, 1810–1813; two or three of 1819.

With 1821 the bulk of material begins to be considerable. It includes routine correspondence with secretaries of state of other States—transmitting session laws, etc. For 1823 there are four letters of Gov. Edward Coles to the governor of Indiana concerning the improvement of the Wabash River. There are sundry letters concerning the "Winnebago War" of 1827—reports by officers to Gov. Edwards, letters to him, etc. A typical one is quoted below.

RANDOLPH COUNTY Septr 10th, 1827.

Dear Sir: I recd yours of the 4th Inst (last evening) informing me of the refusal of the Hostile indians to treat. This letter has been read in the hearing of persons who are your bitter enemies, whose constant cry (since the Indian outrages) was Gov Edwards wanted to make a great deal of fuss about nothing; and a letter from Peter Menard Jr got here about the same time of yours, this letter corresponds with yours, and he being one of those who said much against your proceedings, your enemies has got their mouths shut for the present. I will set out in the morning to have our company filled out I wrote you last week that we had a meeting, but on account of the day being rainy we only got 58—we now have 73, in a day or two more, we will have 96 mounted riflemen ready, and if called on we will cheerfully obey yours orders—we feel much anxiety to serve a tour if you should need us.

Sir I remain your sincere friend James Thompson
Gov Edwards

There are also tenders of military services, returns, correspondence with the War Department touching the removal of the Indians. For 1831-32 there is the correspondence of Gov. John Reynolds with Gen. Gaines, President Jackson, and Secretary Eaton in regard to Indian affairs and the Black Hawk War. From 1832 the mass of the correspondence relates to appointments. In the fifties the material mainly consists of applications for appointment as commissioner of deeds. For the Civil War period there are papers relating to Illinois state measures for attention to wounded and sick Illinois volunteers-accounts, vouchers, letters. There are also tenders to Gov. Yates of regiments, companies, etc.; applications to him for permission to raise troops; also some correspondence of Gov. Yates relating to appointments. There is a large package of letters from Gov. Oglesby, 1865-66. In 1874-75 the files are at their fullest. They include papers relating to complaints regarding the management of state institutions-testimony pro and con; correspondence regarding the "Ku Klux" disorders of 1874; strike riots, etc. The file ends with 1897.

The Executive File.

In theory this file contains the executive acts of the governor which are recorded in the executive registers, and should perhaps as such have been classed among executive records. But its contents in so many instances do not bear out the theory of its purpose—being in character so purely miscellaneous—that it seemed more appropriate to group the file with other correspondence.

An analysis of its contents follows:

A transcript from the State Department, Washington, D. C. Organization of the County of St. Clair, April 27, 1790. Sundry

The Executive File-Continued.

petitions for the appointment of justices of the peace, Illinois Territory, about 1811. Resigned commissions in the territorial militia. A set of documents regarding charges against John Hay that he had influenced French members of the militia not to turn out against the Indians in December, 1811; depositions in his defense, etc. Letters of Gov. Edwards to the authorities at Washington (most if not all of them printed by Edwards, op. cit.), 1811–1813, etc. Copies of Indian "talks;" treaties with the Indians, 1811, 1827, 1831, 1832, etc. Down to 1861 the contents of this file do not differ much from those of the "Miscellaneous File."

There are three MS. copies of Gov. Yates's proclamation calling a special session of the legislature in 1861, including a rough draft apparently in Yates's own hand. There are letters from Secretary Chase, Browning, and others relating to the "direct tax" of 1861. Another proclamation relates to the vote taken among Illinois volunteers on the constitution of 1862. There is an abstract of the returns of this vote. There are many oaths of judicial officers and judges, resignations of notaries public, etc. There is some material, about 1893–1897, relating to trade-marks. The file may be described as a "catch-all."

XV. Miscellaneous Records.

Account books, etc. (C.)

Sundry account books and vouchers relating to the executive mansion, 1865, 1 ic.

Coal accounts of the statehouse, 1881-1885, 1 ic.

Secretary of state's journals, 1873-1894, 5 v.

Secretary of state's ledgers, 1873-1892, 6 v.

Same, cash and fee books, 1867-1898, 30 v.

Same, pay rolls, about 1884, 1 ic. Records of state board of contracts, 1874–1891.

Express receipt books, record of the distribution of laws and reports, 1846-1876, 2 ic.

Bids for contracts, 1890-1894, 2 ic. (B.)

Illinois State Banks. Testimony taken in investigation of the bank ordered December, 1839. Reports of the investigating committee, statements of directors, president, and cashier, etc.

Reports, papers, etc., investigation of 1824. Reports, letters, etc., of cashier, 1821–1833. Reports of Palmyra, Brownsville, and Edwardsville branches, 1825–1831. Reports, etc., of bank at Shawneetown, 1819–1851; bonds of cashiers, 1824, etc.; monthly reports, about 1837–1840. Papers, reports, etc., relating to the state bank at Springfield, 1835–1847; monthly reports, about 1838–1840, etc. 2 fb. (B.)

Papers, reports, etc., relating to the erection of various monuments— Lincoln monument of 1865 the earliest. 1 ic. (C.)

Papers, etc., relating to the old statehouse, completed 1840, and the new statehouse, occupied 1875-6. 1 ic. (C.)

Miscellaneous reports, etc. Vouchers relating to state censuses, 1818–1865—also a few scattering returns. Sundry railroad reports, 1840–1850—fund commissioners' contracts for, etc. Report of the strike commission of 1894. Petitions to the governor in re the Transvaal reconcentration of 1900. Reports of the state ento-

XV. Miscellaneous Records-Continued.

Miscellaneous reports, etc.—Continued.

mologist. A few reports of the adjutant general. Reports of commissioners of various expositions, Paris, New Orleans, etc. One or two abstracts relating to "state war claims," 1867–1871. 1 ic. (C.)

Papers, petitions for pardon, etc., touching the anarchists of the Haymarket riot. 2 ic. (C.)

Personal letters of R. P. Johnson, 1877-1880, 1 ic. (C.)

Printer experts' papers; orders for printing, forms, etc., 9 ic. (C.)

Surveys of state roads-maps, etc., about 1833. (B.)

Opinions of the attorney general, 1867-date, 1 fb. (B.)

Title deeds to state property, 1 fb. (B.)

Shipping department. Records kept in a small vault.

Receipts for laws, 1885-date.

Records of shipment in bound volumes, various headings, 1897-date.

Express receipt books.

Automobile department.

Files of application for license-from 1907.

Records of automobile licenses in bound volumes, 1907-date.

OFFICE OF THE AUDITOR OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.

The office of auditor of public accounts was established and defined. to all appearances, by a law of Indiana Territory of August 26, 1805. which is printed with the Laws of Illinois (ed. 1815, Nat. Pope, comp.). This act provided that the auditor be appointed by the governor: that he keep a fair record of all accounts audited by him. and all taxes due the Territorial government; that he keep a fair list of all certificates and warrants drawn, and receive the treasurer's monthly footing. No other Territorial statute regulating his duties has been found. The constitution of 1818 (schedule, § 10) provided for his appointment by the general assembly. Tradition says that the constitutional convention feared that if the power of appointment were vested in the governor, and Shadrach Bond, as seemed likely, were elected to that office, he would not appoint to the auditorship the man whom the convention favored. An act of March 24, 1819, required the auditor, in addition to the duties prescribed by the Territorial act, "to keep the accounts of this State with any State or Territory and with the United States or any individual;" to audit the accounts of civil and legislative officers; to keep accounts with collectors. The act of March 27, 1819, also directed him to receive lists of the proper rating of the lands and other property of nonresidents; likewise to procure from the United States land offices lists of lands entered by nonresidents. The tax law of 1823 (February 18) required him to sell such lands of nonresidents as were liable for unpaid taxes at the statehouse in Vandalia; the act of 1819 had imposed this duty on the sheriffs. The act of February 27, 1833,

finally transferred this duty to the county commissioners, who were to transmit to the auditor lists of lands so sold.

Meanwhile the duties of the auditor as financial recorder of the State greatly increased. "Internal improvements" accounts, Illinois and Michigan Canal accounts, etc., all came into his hands as keeper of the public accounts. In his report to the assembly for 1844 (p. 23) he called the attention of the general assembly to the dilapidated condition of the books, records, and indispensable papers of his office, and stated that much revenue was lost through their incompleteness or defacement. But although the assembly came to his relief on this occasion with an appropriation for copying the tax books, new streams of business were diverted into his office and again taxed its capacity. The various plans of funding and refunding the State debt, the "free banking act" of February 15, 1851, and the insurance acts of 1855 and 1857, which imposed on the auditor a certain supervision over insurance agencies, which later legislation evolved into the present system of insurance supervision, all added to his duties.

In his report for 1854 (p. 8) the auditor stated that his office room was insufficient. It was not possible to arrange the records in any kind of convenient order or properly to carry on routine business. This statement was repeated in reports for 1860 (p. 6) and for 1863 (p. 6). The winding up of the banking system in the early sixties presumably afforded some relief to the congested office. Various laws ordered, however, the deposit of the United States land office and survey records with the auditor, and by the act of 1887 he was once more placed over a banking system; and not until 1893 was a distinct department of insurance created and endowed with the auditor's old insurance records. In the same year the auditor was required to inaugurate a close system of supervision of building and loan associations.

The records in the auditor's office are kept in three vaults, two of which, the "upper" and "lower" vaults, connect directly with the main office, which is on the second floor of the capitol. The third, the "first-floor vault," is directly beneath the office, with which it is connected by an elevator. In addition certain records are kept in cupboards or open steel cases in the main office, and the records of the United States land offices are in wooden cupboards in a room adjacent to the first-floor vault. The policy of the office has been to use the "lower vault," and to a less extent the "first-floor vault" for current records or those often consulted. As a result the "upper vault" in a greater, and the "first-floor vault" in a lesser, degree contain the archives of the office most interesting to the historical student. There is a good book index to the contents of the "lower vault," and there is a fairly good card index, made during the past year, to the contents of the "upper." A criticism of this last piece

of indexing might lie on the ground that it has been accompanied by no logical rearrangement of the records in this vault or completion of series by correlation with the contents of the "first-floor vault." In the archive system of this office one feels confused by multiplicity of detail. There has been no arrangement of old material along broad and general lines; but it may well be questioned whether such arrangement is possible. The accumulation of material, for reasons indicated above (multiplicity of State accounts, diversity of tax records, etc.), has itself been uneven and fragmentary. In this office and that of the adjutant general, as contrasted with the offices of the secretary of state and the clerk of the supreme court, the writers were given the impression from their necessarily hasty survey that a far larger proportion of the records was "dead"—made up of archives that could not be considered as links in a chain of homogeneous records extending down to the present time. A contrast of the "Enrolled Laws" in the State office with the auditor's records under the banking law of 1851 may serve as one illustration; more might be cited.

The lack of an index to the "first-floor vault" is no very serious matter. The majority of the material in it is in extensive current files or is well labeled, so that the discovery of most of the records in it is comparatively easy.

The following analysis of the records of this office has been based on the indexes mentioned above; but these have been supplemented by an examination of the contents of the "first-floor vault" and in good measure of those of the other two vaults, the offices, etc. It seemed best to base this analysis on subject matter involved and not on the actual location of the records; but in the case of each item the vault in which it is located is indicated. The system of arrangement given below is not entirely logical, but is the most convenient.

I. Tax Records.

Abstracts of entries of public lands supplied to the auditor by the Federal land offices in the State. In stitched folios or paper-bound books.

Abstract of sales, Springfield, Edwardsville, Vandalia, and Kaskaskia offices, 1826–1831, 1 v. $(U.\ V.)^1$

1836-1841, 1 v., superseded. (U. V.)

Kaskaskia office, 1833–1836, 1 v. (U. V.); 1836–1841, 1 v. (F. V.); Shawneetown, 1831–1840, 2 v.; 1841, with list of forfeited and relinquished lands, 1 v. (F. V.)

Vandalia, 1831–1841, 3 v. (F. V.) (Volume for 1837–1841 in U. V.) Edwardsville, 1831–1845, 3 v. (F. V.) (2 v. for 1831–1841 in U. V.) Springfield, 1831–1845, 3 v. (F. V.) (Volume for 1831–1836 in U. V.) Palestine, 1831–1845, 3 v. (F. V.) (Volume for 1836–1841 in U. V.) Chicago, 1835–1847, 3 v. (U. V.)



¹Throughout this analysis "U. V.," "L. V.," "F. V." will be used, respectively, as abbreviations for "upper," "lower," and "first floor" vaults; "M. O." will be similarly used for "main office." Where no location is mentioned, material is in the "upper vault."

Dixon, 1844-1847, 3 v. (F. V.) (Volume for 1844 in F. V.)

Galena, 1835-1838, 1 v. (U. V.)

Quincy, 1831-1839, 4 v. (F. V.) (Volume for 1834 in U. V.)

Danville, 1831-1841, 2 v. (F. V.) (Volume for 1836-1841 in U. V.)

Abstracts of sales, all offices, 1847-1854, 7 v., leather bound. (F. V.)

List of lands sold and relinquished by purchasers, various land offices, 1821-1829, 1 v. (F. V.)

List of forfeited and relinquished lands subject to sale at Kaskaskia and Edwardsville, about 1840, 1 v. (F. V.)

Entries of land prior to 1839, various townships, 1 v. (F. V.)

Land entries, Hamilton County, 1818-1849, 1 v. (F. V.)

Abstract of land sold in Jo Daviess County, 1847, 1 v. (F. V.)

Illinois Central Railroad. Conveyances of town lots, 1857-date, 1 v. (M. O.)

Lands sold by Illinois Central R. R.; loose lists, sundry dates. (M. O.) Tax Lists.

Sundry tax lists of lands, "colored servants," etc., subject to taxation in various counties. These are in folios, those of various dates for each county being stitched together. They fall within the dates 1818–1840; but some years are missing for many of the counties. Lists for counties of Adams, Calhoun, Clark, Clay, Clinton, Coles, Crawford, Edgar, Edwards, Fayette, Franklin, Gallatin, Hamilton, Jackson, Jefferson, Johnson, Knox, Lawrence, Macoupin, McLean, Madison, Monroe, Montgomery, Morgan (2 folios), Peoria (2 folios); of these 1 in F. V.), Perry, Pike, Putnam, Randolph (2 folios), St. Clair, Sangamon, Schuyler, Shelby, Tazewell, Vermilion, Warren, White. In addition there are loose lists for Jo Daviess, 1818; Vermilion, 1862; Sangamon, 1833, 1835 (F. V.); Morgan, 1837, 1838 (F. V.), etc. 1 fb. of lists for Montgomery county, 1821–1827, 1829–1838, 1844. (All in U. V. unless otherwise indicated.)

Lists of taxable lands in Sangamon County, 1832, 1834, 1836, 1837, 1838, 5 v. (F. V.)

Tax Books. Land entered by survey and purchaser, with ruled spaces for tax entry, 1839-1860, 37 v. (M. O.) (See reports to H. of R., Illinois Reports, 1844-1845, passim, for their history.)

Affidavits as to proper rating of land for state taxation by owners, 1819-1824, 2 fb. (U. V.)

Individuals' lists of their lands on which taxes were due, 1826–1827, 1 pkg. (U. V.)

Nonresidents' lands, listing, "B," 1818-1821, 1 v.; nonresidents' back taxes, 1827-1832, 1 v. (F. V.)

Statement of tax assessments, 1839-1907, 29 fb. (U. V.)

Assessment and statement of taxes charged, 1867-1907. (U. V.)

Board of equalization, proceedings, etc.:

Record of proceedings, 1877-1889, 1 v. (U. V.)

Proceedings, "Journal A," 1867-1873, 1 v. (U. V.)

Proceedings, 1890-1901, 1 v. (U. V.)

Proceedings of board, 1868, 1 pkg. (U. V.)

Assessment sheets, 1904, 1905. (U. V.)

Statement of equalized assessment of municipalities with registered debt, 1868–1903, 8 fb. (U. V.)

Minute book of the railroad committee, board of equalization, 1888–1893, 1 v. (F. V.)

Sundry bundles of railroad returns for purposes of assessment, 1872-date. (F. V., M. V.) 8 fb.

Statements by corporations, from 1875, sundry bundles. (F. V., L. V.) Record of committee on capital stock assessment, board of equalization, 1890. (F. V.)

Same, 1894, 1 v.; 1897, 1 v.; date (?), 1 v. (U. V.)

Collectors' Records, etc.:

Collectors' bonds, 1839-1904, 12 fb.

Collectors' credits, 1839-1905, 18 fb.

Memoranda of collectors' settlements, 1858-1873, 16 v.

Memoranda of collectors' settlements, local bond fund, 1870–1873, 4 v.

Rates of equalization and rates of state tax, 1876-1904, 1 fb. (L. V.) Record of the amount of the state tax by countles, 1849, 1 v.

Statement of assessment of taxable property in counties, townships, cities, and towns having registered indebtedness, 1880-1902. (L. V.)

Bids of auditor for real property in suits against defaulting collectors; and sheriffs' affidavits as to its value, about 1840–1860, 1 pkg.

Reports of county treasurers, inheritance tax, current dates. 2 fb. (L. V.)

Inheritance tax reports current dates. 5 fb. (L. V.)

Receipts to sheriffs by auditor for taxes, 1813-1818, 1 pkg.

Suits against defaulting collectors—purchases on executions, record of state indebtedness, etc., about 1850, 1 v. (M. O.)

Suits against collectors, about 1857, 1 pkg.

Miscellaneous papers—collectors' accounts, adjusted and nonadjusted, 1861, 1 pkg.

Delinquent Taxes, Sales for Taxes, Redemptions, etc.:

Record of delinquent taxes, 1853, 2 v. (F. V.)

Same, 1854, 1 v. (U. V.)

Judgment record, unpaid taxes, 1860, 1 v. (M. O.)

Bound newspapers containing advertisements of lands to be sold for taxes. The first volume contains the "Illinois Intelligencer," 1823, August 30, September 13, 20; 1824, October 1, 8, 15; 1825, October 7, 14, 21; 1826, October 7, 14, 21; 1827, October 13, 20, 27; 1829, October 13, 20, 27; 1830, October 2; 1831, September 30. Three volumes for the period 1832–1840, various papers. From 1840 to the nineties the set is complete except for 1865. 64 v. Also one volume "Schuyler Advocate" for November 11, 18, December 9, 16, 23, 1837. (F. V.)

Lists of lands sold for nonpayment of taxes, 1823, 1 v.; 1827, 2 v. (one of these F. V.); 1828, 2 v. (one of these F. V.); 1829, 1 v.; 1829-1830, 1 v. (F. V.); 1830, 2 v. (one of these F. V.); 1831, 1 v. (F. V.); 1832, 3 v.; 1833, 2 v. (F. V.). In the case of there being two volumes for the same year one is usually a corrected copy of another. (U. V.)

Tax sales in 18 counties, 1847-1848, 2 v., "B," "C." (F. V.)

Sales for taxes, St. Clair County, 1842 (U. V.), 1844 (F. V.), 1844-5 (F. V.), 1845 (F. V.), 4 v.

Delinquent Taxes, Sales for Taxes, Redemptions, etc.—Continued. Sales for taxes, Rock Island County, 1845, 1 v. (F. V.)

Sales of forfeited lands and town lots, 1845-6. By counties, 1 v. (F. V.)

List of assessments on forfeited lands and lots, 1845 (?), 1 pkg. (U. V.)

Errors in lands forfeited for nonpayment of taxes, 1846-1851, 1 pkg. (U. V.)

Record of lands and town lots stricken off to the State; by countles, 1840-1841, 1 v. (F. V.)

Sales for taxes, 1847-1899, 51 v. (F. V.); 1885-1886. (L. V.)

Lands forfeited for nonpayment of taxes, 1856-1866. Sundry lists. (U. V.)

Tax sales deeded, 1823-1833, 4 fb.

Certificates to purchasers—tax sales deeded, about 1847, 1 fb.

Certificates of deeded tax sales, redemptions, etc., 1845-6, 1 pkg.

Redemptions from sales for taxes, 1823, 1825, 1 v.; sales for taxes and redemptions, 1826, 1 v.; 1828, 1 v.; 1829, 1 v. (F. V.)

Certificates issued on the treasury for redemption money and for taxes paid on land redeemed, 1824-1836, 1 v. (U. V.)

Lands redeemed from tax sales, sundry dates, 1824-1849, 2 fb. (U.V).

Evidence by minor heirs to prove their right to redeem lands condemned for back taxes (as being heirs of the holder; the right ran until the youngest minor heir had come of age), 1825-1837, 1 pkg. (U. V.)

In addition to the above tax records are sundry record books to fulfill some purposes of taxation on lands in the military district and other special tracts; their purpose can not definitely be made out. They are listed below after having been arranged in what seemed a logical order; a total lack of definite labeling forbids a closer classification.

Sales of military lands for taxes, 1823-1827, 1 v. "No. 1"; 1827-1832, 1 v. "No. 2"; 1832-33, 1 v. "No. 3." (F. V.)

"Claim Book," 1833-1835. Record of taxes on certain lands (?), 1 v. (F. V.)

"Military District No. 1," 1821-1828, 1 v., pp. 1-264. (U. V.)
Arranged in columns with the headings: Date of location; Name;
Name; Date; Rate; Page of record; Location, 1821-1822-1823-1824-1825-1826-1827-1828. (All dates filled up).

"Second Military District," 1821-1830, 1 v. (F. V.) Same arrangement as in preceding volume.

"Military District," 1828-1836, 1 v. "Contains Nos. 1 and 2."
(U. V.)

Arranged in columns with the headings: Name; Name; County; Description, 1828, 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836. (All dates filled up.)

Same, 1837-1843, 1 v. (F. V.) Entries for the years 1837-1839.

"Military District Book A," pp. 1-375. (U. V.)

Arranged in columns under the headings: Description; Owner's name; Acres; 1823, 1824, 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829, 1830. (Under 1825 is the entry "1.60"; under 1826, the entry "1.77.")

Delinquent Taxes, Sales for Taxes, Redemptions, etc.-Continued.

"The Military District Book B," 1823-1828, 1 v. (U. V.) Same arrangement as above.

"Military Lands," 1 v., pp. 1-240. (F. V.)

Arranged in columns under the headings: Name: Name: Description; 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841. (Filled up under the dates 1833-1835.)

Same, 1 v., pp. 241-418.

"District Lands," 1828-1834, pp. 1-276. (F. V.)

Arranged in columns under the headings: Date; Name; Name; Patented; Description; Acres; Page in book; 1828, 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833. (All dates filled up.)

Same, 1834-1838, 1 v., pp. 1-321 (?). (F. V.)

Same, 1 v., pp. 330-464. (F. V.) Contains also pp. 465-726. "School Lands," arranged in columns under headings: Date; Name: Description: Acres: 1837, 1838.

"District Lands," 1 v., pp. 1-375. (U. V.)

Arranged in columns under the headings: Date; Name; Description; County; 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839. (Filled up under the dates 1833-1835.)

- "District Land No. 2," 1 v., pp. 376-556. Same as above. (U. V.)
- "Nonresidents Land Taxes 'A,' " 1819-1834. (F. V.)

II. County and Local Bond Records.

Register of local city bonds—city, county, township, etc.—from 1865. Current volume "I." (M. O.)

Registered township bond ledger. From 1870. Current volume "C." (M. O.)

Local bond fund ledgers. From 1871-1893, 12 v. Current vols. (L. V.)

Local bond fund warrant ledgers, 1872-1904, 3 v. (L. V.)

Record of outstanding coupons on county bonds, 1875-1879, 1 v.

Local bonds, papers relating to, 1870-1898 (?), including registration certificates, copies of bonds, injunctions, resolutions, etc. 6 fb. (L. V.)

Certificate of supervisors to auditor for registration of local bonds issued in aid of railroads, etc. About 1870, 1 fb. (L. V.)

III. Records of the Board of Public Works; of the Fund Commissioners; of State indebtedness.

Board of Public Works.

Reports, vouchers, etc., commissioners of public works, 1837–1843.

Minutes, board of public works, 1837-1841, 1 v.

Record of board of public works (copies of reports of commissioners, 1837-38; semiannual reports of commissioners, June, 1837; reports of accounts of commissioners; returns of expenditures; sundry railroads; estimates—reports of engineers), 1 v.

Letter book, commissioners of public works, 1837-1839, 1 v.

Proceedings of board of public works, 1839-40. Proceedings in re McAllister & Stebbins vs. The State of Illinois. Resolutions of house and senate, 1838-39, calling on board for information, and answers of board thereto. 1fb.

Record of orders drawn by board of public works on the fund commission, 1837-38, 1 v.

III. Records of the Board of Public Works, etc.—Continued.
Board of Public Works—Continued.

Register of engineers and surveyors in the first judicial circuit, 1839, 1 v.

Releases of right of way: The Northern Cross, Alton and Shelby-ville, Alton and Mount Carmel, Pekin and Bloomington rail-roads. Summonses of appraisers of damages to private lands by commissioners of public works, 1837–1839, 1 v.

Contract books of the central internal improvement office for the construction of the Central, Peoria and Warsaw, Alton and Shawneetown, Rushville and Eric railroads. 1 v. each for the second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh judicial circuits. (F. V.)

Bids and contracts for construction of roads and railroads, 1837-1839, 1 v.

Daybooks, central internal improvement office: "A" first circuit, 1837-1839, 1 v.; "A" first district, 1840-41, 1 v.; "A" second circuit, 1839-40, 2 v. (one volume in F. V.); "A" third circuit, 1837-1840, 1 v.; "A" fourth circuit, 1839-40, 1 v.; "A" fifth circuit, 1 v. (F. V.); "A" sixth circuit, 1 v. (F. V.); "A" seventh circuit, 1839-40, 1 v. (F. V.)

Journal central internal improvement office, 1839, 1 v. (F. V.) Central internal improvement office ledger, 1839, "A," second circuit, 1 v. (F. V.)

Fund Commissioners.

Fund commissioners in account with various banks, 1837, 1 v.

Ledger "Fund Commissioners in Account for Internal Improvements," 1837-1840, 3 v.: "A," "B," "C." (F. V.)

Same, 1837-1839, 1 v., copied into above. (F. V.)

Fund commissioners' record, 1839, 1 v. (F. V.)

Printed blank contracts for construction of railroads, etc., partly filled out, 1 v. (F. V.)

Record of reports of fund commissioners to the auditor, 1837.

Also contains settlements with the Bank of Illinois, record of Illinois and Michigan Canal bonds burned, etc., 1 v.

Fund commissioners, reports to auditor, 1837-1842, 1 pkg.

General-fund vouchers, 1837-38, 1 pkg.

State Indebtedness.

"Illinois Stock," ledger receipts for evidence of State indebtedness surrendered to the State in exchange for "funded debt," under act of February 15, 1831, 1831-32, 2 v.

Record of disposal of internal improvement bonds of 1837.

(Amounts redeemed at sundry dates.) 1 v.

Receipts to auditor by governor for state scrip surrendered, about 1840-1850, 1 pkg.

Record of internal improvement scrip surrendered under the act of February 28, 1847, 1847-1859, 1 v.

Register of holders of Illinois bonded indebtedness, act of February 22, 1847, 1 v.

Register of holders of new internal improvement stock, act of February 28, 1847, 1 v.

New internal improvement stock ledger, 1847. "Redeemable 1870." 1 v.

Index to above, 1 v.

III. Records of the Board of Public Works, etc.—Continued.
State Indebtedness—Continued.

Interest bond ledger, 1851. (Issue of 1847.) 1 v.

Transfer records, state stock of 1847, 1848-1859, 3 v.

Registers of transfers, stock of 1847, 1848-1857, 1 v.; 1859-1865, 1 v.

Transfers to auditor in trust for other persons of "New Stock," 1851-1859, 2 v.

Transfer books, state bonds, 1848-1859, 3 v.

Transfer of bonds, bonded debt, about 1850-1870, 5 fb.

Interest agents receipts to governor for interest paid by him on state debt, 1847-1853, 1 pkg.

Statement of state stock and state scrip to be surrendered by McAllister and Stebbins, New York agents, under the act of February 10, 1849 (see preamble of act), 1 v.

Record of state indebtedness on which state taxes are payable, 1851-1859, 1 v.

Transfers of stock of 1857. 1 v.

Printers' affidavits touching state scrip printed, 1858–1860, 1 pkg. Receipts to governor for bonds of Illinois 6 per cent refunded stock issued in exchange for other evidence of state indebtedness, 1859–1874, 1 v.

General stock ledger, 1860-1871, 1 v.

Stock balances (holders of stock and amounts held), 1860-1867, 7 v.

Record of state indebtedness received and canceled. "B," 1866–1872, 1 v.

Registers of bonds, 1870 and 1877, 2 v.

Sundry packages, stub books, blank certificates, canceled shares of state scrip, state bonds, all issues, etc.

IV. School and Seminary Land Records, School Fund, etc.

Record book of sales of school lands; by counties, 1830-1835, 1 v. (M. O.)

Sales of school lands; by counties, 1834(?)-date, 2 v. (M. O.)

Reports of sale of school lands; by counties, 1833-1859(?), 8 fb. (L. V.)

List of errors in school lands, 1850, 1 pkg.

School lands, claims, etc., 1834-1838, 1 fb.

Approved list of school indemnity lands, about 1897, 1 pkg. (L. V.)

Record of seminary lands, purchasers, etc., 1 v. (M. O.)

Record book of seminary lands—sales, etc.—1 v. (F. V.)

Seminary lands: papers relating to them of the thirties and forties; reports concerning; preemption rights on; treasurers' receipts; deeds of seminary lands, etc., 2 fb.

Commissioners of school fund in account with state banks, 1823-1833, 1 v.

Accounts of school funds, 1823-1848, 1 v. (M. O.)

School, college, and seminary funds, 1843-1908, 1 v. (M. O.)

School fund apportionment, 1841-date, 1 fb. (L. V.)

School commissioners' orders for payment from fund, 1845, 1855–1857, 1859, 1 pkg.

School orders, 1860-1900, 5 fb. (M. V.)

Certificate of election, school commissioners, 1841, 1843, 1845, 1 pkg.

V. Other Records of state lands.

Swamp and overflowed lands.

Record of swamp lands, 1 v. (M. O.)

Patents to swamp lands, letters, etc., about 1890-1897, 1 pkg. (L. V.)

Papers of joint committee on swamp and overflowed lands, 1877, 1 pkg.

Papers relating to swamp lands, 1855-1864, 1876-1881; letters relating to; certificates that land is "swamp;" indemnity lists, etc.; statements of accounts of persons to select swamp lands for the state, 1 pkg. (M. O.)

Saline Lands.

Register of Gallatin saline land reserve, 1833, 1 v. (M.O.)

Register of sales of Gallatin saline lands, 1829-1837, 1 v. (M.O.)

Sale book of lands in Gallatin saline reserve, 1836, 1 v. (M.O.)

Lands in the Gallatin saline reserve selected and offered for sale, 1833, 1 v. (M. O.)

Certificates of deeding of saline lands in various districts, 1831–1855 (?). Reports of sales of, same dates. A lease of 1827; sundry reports to auditor, etc. 4 fb.

Records of State Lands, Miscellaneous.

Correspondence with the General Land Office in re State lands, about 1840-1860, 1 pkg.

Book of valuations, Vandalia lots, 1823. (M. O.)

List of notes filed with auditor (given by purchasers of Vandalia lots), act of 1820.

Register of purchasers, Vandalia lots, 1820, 1 v. (F. V.)

Certificates by the auditor of the sale of lands to private individuals, 1828, 1 pkg.

Government patents for lands purchased by the State, 1838-1840, 1 pkg.

Papers, accounts, etc., of William Kinney, connected with the purchase of lands for the State, 1843.

Record of internal improvement lands purchased by the board of public works, 1841-42, 1 v. (L. V.)

Lists of lands sold by the State under the act of 1843, 1844-1845, 1 pkg.

Certificates of preemption on State lands, about 1853-1856.

State lands, 1837-1853: Lands entered under the system of internal improvements charged to divers railroads; selections of lands donated to the State by Congress—Chicago, Danville, and Dixon districts; lists of seminary lands with memoranda as to their sale, 1 v. (M. O.)

Sales of State lands, various counties, 1853-54, 1 v. (M. O.)

State lands sold by the auditor under the act of 1853, 1 v. (M.O.)

Loose papers, various dates, concerning lands, 1855–1880. (M. O.) Record of Gallatin saline; lists of lands and purchasers.

Selections of Illinois and Michigan Canal lands; duplicate certificates sale of canal lands; abstract of final certificates canal lots, Chicago and Ottawa, 1 v. (M.O.)

Register of district lands and saline lands, by counties, 1830-1833, 1 v. (M.O.)

V. Other Records of state lands-Continued.

Records of State Lands, Miscellaneous-Continued. .

Register of district, seminary, saline, canal lands; sundry counties, 1 v. (M.O.)

Record book of land (?) deeds, 1851-1905, 1 v. (M. O.)

District land entries, 1831-1836, 5 v. (nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7). (F. V.)

District land entries, nonresident lands, 1820-21, 1 v.

VI. Civil War Records.

Original paper-bound abstracts—war fund. Nos. 1-192 (of these 14, 109, 111, 161, 168, and 171 appear to be missing).

Army auditors' office journal. 1 v., "A" abstracts 1-33; 1 v., "B" abstracts 34-76 (F. V.); 1 v., "C" abstracts 77-120; 1 v., "D" abstracts 121-161; 1 v., abstracts 167-192 (F. V.).

Army auditors' abstract record, 2 v., abstracts 1-192. (F. V.)

Ledger, 1861 (accounts for war supplies), 2 v., "A," "B."

Army auditors' property accounts (purchase of stores, 1861). 1 v.

Papers relating to Illinois State war claims: Abstracts, seventh, and eighth installments; correspondence, etc. 1 pkg.

Reference book of claims allowed. 1 v.

Pay rolls of sundry companies called out, April, 1861. 1 v.

Pay rolls of companies called to Springfield, April, 1861, and not mustered in. 1 pkg.

Papers relating to transportation of troops, Civil War (bills, etc.).
13 fb.

Register of war bonds of 1861—the "Two Million Loan." 1 v.

Sundry records, 141st Illinois Infantry, Co. K; 1 v. clothing account 1864; 1 v. company orders; 1 v. description book; 1 v. morning reports.

Militia papers—abstracts and vouchers, 1861–1862; certificates of pay due the takers of the militia census of 1862; vouchers for expenses of Abraham Lincoln's funeral. Several pkgs.

VII. State House Commissioners' Records.

Register of certificates covering claims against the State House, 1840, 1 v. (F. V.)

"New State House."

Contract record, 1 v.

Estimate record, 1868-1876, 1 v.

Commissioners' record (minutes), 1867-1878, 1 v.

Record book of commissioners, 1885-1888, 1 v.

Commissioners' record (accounts), 1885-1887, 1 v.

Commissioners' record. "B" (voucher record), 1875-1878, 1 v.

Index to proceedings of commissioners, 1867 (?), 1 v.

State house accounts, 1873-1876, 1 v.

Ledger, 1867-1877, 1 v.

Sheets removed from ledger of commissioners because of errors, 1 folio, 1868–1869.

Journal "A," 1867-1868, 1 v.

Ledger, 1867-1877, 1 v.

Receipt book, 1867-1874, 1 v.

Liquidative journal of sundry daywork on the capitol, 1873-1876, 1 v.

Certificates of accounts due, 1885-1887, 1 v.

Record of stone received, 1871-1874, 2 v.

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VII. State House Commissioners' Records-Continued.

"New State House"-Continued.

Same, basement story, 1870, 1 v.

Same, basement story "B," 1871, 1 v.

Record of stone received (date?), 4 v.

Record of bricks delivered, 1 v.

Specifications, 1 v.

Estimates by a contracting firm-name illegible-1 v.

Sundry time sheets, etc., 1 pkg.

VIII. Account Books, Vouchers, Warrants, etc.

Account Books.

Receipts into treasury, 1824-1868, 5 v. (L. V.)

Treasurers' receipts, 1866-1903, 5 v. (L. V.) And current.

Treasurer's receipts, special funds, 1908-date, 2 v.

Treasurers' accounts, sundry, 1870-1888, 4 v. (L. V.) And current.

Receipt books, 1837-1900, 32 v. (L. V.) And current.

Revenue and warrant ledger, 1817-1850, 8 v. (L. V.)

Revenue ledger, 1850-1859, 3 v.; 1860-date, vols. 6-18. (L. V.)

Warrant ledger, 1851-1886, 21 v. (L. V.) And current.

Journal, 1817-1854, 10 v. (L. V.)

Day book, 1817-1841, 5 v. (L. V.)

Ledger, 1881-1891, 10 v. (L. V.)

Warrant books, 1813-1899, 18 v. And current. (L. V.)

War warrants, 1861-1865, 1 v. (L. V.)

Warrant record, 1829-1837, 1 v.

Cash record (auditors?), 1832-1835, 1 v.

Accounts of auditors with sundry persons, 1857-1859, 1 v.

Unlabeled miscellaneous small accounts, 1835-1855, 2 v.

Odd memorandum book, 1851-1865. Bonds of collectors, swamp land returns, etc., 1 v. (F. V.)

Miscellaneous check pass and express books.

Vouchers, warrants, etc.

Illinois state penitentiary: reports of commissioners, 1862-1870; inventories, 1872; receipts and disbursements, vouchers of, 1870-1906. 67 fb. Vouchers and abstracts, same, 3 fb. (L. V.)
List of convicts discharged. 1 fb. (L. V.)

Southern Illinois penitentiary. Abstracts of receipts and disbursements with vouchers for them, 1877-1906, 36 fb. Same, current, 2 fb. (L. V.) Inventories, 1878, 1879, 1882, etc.

Illinois state reformatory. Abstracts and vouchers, 1891-1906, 36 fb. Same, current, 2 fb. (L. V.) Monthly statements, 1901-1905, 1 fb.

Miscellaneous vouchers, speciai funds, 1894-1896, 4 fb.

Library of natural history. Abstracts and vouchers, 1879–1885, 1 fb.

Law library. Vouchers, 1842-1860, 1 pkg.

State laboratory of natural history. Urbana. Vouchers, etc. 1 lb. (L. V.)

Illinois state normal university. Quarterly vouchers, 1873–1907, 4 fb.

Northern Illinois normal school. Vouchers, statements, etc., about 1896-date.

Southern Illinois normal school. Vouchers, 1874-1907, 8 fb.

VIII. Account Books, Vouchers, Warrants, etc.-Continued.

Vouchers, warrants, etc.—Continued.

Western Illinois normal school. Vouchers, 1901-1907, 4 fb.

Eastern Illinois normal school. Vouchers, 1896-1897, 4 fb.

University of Illinois, 7 fb. (of these 2 in L. V.)

Certificates of board of charities in re appropriations to state charitable institutions, all current dates. 17 fb. (L. V.)

Soldiers widows' home. Vouchers, etc. 1 fb. (L. V.)

Vouchers, 1821-1904, 348 fb. (L. V.)

Current vouchers, game commissioners, etc. Sundry large bundles.

Vouchers for expenses of running the northern boundary, 1831, 1 pkg.

Bills drawn against appropriations for the executive mansion, 1857, 1 fb.

Canceled warrants, 1813-1904, 114 fb. (of these the last 28 in L. V.).

Monthly statement of warrants issued, 1869-1901. (L. V.)

Warrant clerk. Monthly footings, 1850-1868, 2 fb.

Monthly reports of state treasurers, 1821-1903 (1826 missing), 10 fb.

State treasurers' monthly reports of receipts and disbursements, 1880-1901, 3 fb. (L. V.)

Auditors' orders to treasurer to receive funds, 1821-1854, 16 fb. State treasurers' receipts, 1820-1904, 35 fb.

Receipts by auditor, 1828, 1832, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1 pkg. Miscellaneous receipts by auditor, 1818–1835, 1 pkg.

IX. Bank Records, etc.

Journal of the bank of Edwardsville, 1821-1833, 1 v.

Certificates of burning of state bank paper under the act of February 1, 1831, 1 pkg.

Reports of banks in account with the fund commissioners, 1 pkg.

Quarterly statements of account—State in account with the Bank of Illinois, 1837-1843, 1 pkg.

Records under the "Act to establish a general system of banking," February 15, 1851.

Records of organization of state banks under the act of 1851 to 1860, 1 fb.

List of banks that filed certificates of organization with the auditor, 1851-1852. Also powers of attorney to the auditor to draw interest on stocks deposited by banks, 1852-1860, 1 v.

Same, 1851-1858 (also with record of impressions of circulating notes issued to banks), 1 v.

Same, 1858-1860 (without "Record of Impressions"), 1 v, "B."

Certificates of election of bank officers, 1855-1859, 1 pkg.

Statements and reports of state banks, 1852-1866, 3 fb.

Register of officers, state banks, c. 1856, 1 v.

Lists of stocks of various States deposited with auditor by sundry banks, 31 v. (one volume for each bank).

Bank stock ledger, 1853–1857, 1 v. (Return of circulating notes by banks credited against the return to them of state stocks deposited to guarantee their note issues; also *vice versa*).

Same, "D," 1861-1866, 1 v.

Bank stock register, "B," 1854-1861. Accounts with banks as indicated above. Same, 1858-1861, 1 v.

IX. Bank Records, etc.—Continued.

Records under the "Act to establish a general system of banking," February 15, 1851—Continued.

Bank ledger. Evidence of Illinois state debt vs. circulating notes, 1852–1865, 5 v.

Journal record (accounts as above), 1852-1856, 1 v.

Receipts by banks to auditor for circulating notes, 1854-1859; also a register of circulating notes issued, same dates, 1 v.

Same (without "Register"), 1859-1864, 1 v.

Register of circulating notes, "B," 1859-1861, 1 v.

Diary account of circulating notes, 1856-1860, 1 v.

Receipts for circulating notes on which dividends were paid; certificates of destruction of circulating notes, 2 fb.

Receipts for coupons on stocks and bonds deposited by banks, 1854–1857, 2 v.

Affidavits as to the number of circulating notes printed, 1852–1857, 1 pkg.

Record of mutilated notes returned by sundry banks, 1854-1855, 1 v. "No. 1."

Record of circulating notes returned and stock surrendered by auditor, 1855-1858, 1 v.

Record of circulating bank notes canceled, 1858-1866, 4 v. "B,"
"C." "D." "E."

Papers concerning the liquidation of circulating notes, 1860–1866, 1 pkg.

Redemption record—bank circulating notes redeemed by auditor, 1861-1869, 2 v.

Redemption cashbook, 1861-(?), 3 v.

Bank statements, chartered banks, prior to the act of 1887, 1874–1887, 2 fb.

Records under the banking act of 1887-

Applications for incorporation; oaths of fealty by directors; lists of stockholders; certificates authorizing the bank to do business; quarterly reports of examinations, etc. These records are in a large number of filing boxes in the first floor vault. The exact number of boxes in use can not be told; one or more are allotted to each bank.

Sundry MS. reports of examinations, sundry banks, 1903-1907. (F. V.)

Record of organization of state banks, 1889-date, 3 v. (M. O.) Record of bank examiners, 1906-date, 1 v. (M. O.)

Record of examinations—current, 1 v. (M. O.)

Reports of examiners, 1902-1903, 12 fb. (L. V.)

Trust companies.

Act of 1887. Reports of trust companies, examiners' reports, etc. Record of trust company deposits, 1902-date, 1 v. (M. O.)

Homestead loan associations.

Records of associations under the act of 1893, and later acts. These files include: Applications to organize, lists of subscribers to stock, copies of by-laws, certificate of organization, annual reports of secretaries, reports of examiners, resolutions amending by-laws. Filing boxes in first-floor vault. As in the case of banks their number can not definitely be given.

IX. Bank Records, etc.-Continued.

Homestead loan associations-Continued.

Reports of inspectors, July, 1893-December, 1901, 80 fb. (L. V.) Current reports in first-floor vault.

Bonds of officials, homestead associations, 42 fb. (L. V.)

Records of associations, 1895-1897, 2 v. (F. V.)

Records of associations by counties, 1895-96, 3 v. (F. V.)

A few books and trial balances of associations especially investigated by the auditor's office. (F. V.)

Bond records, associations. Current volume "no. 3." (M. O.) Record of associations-current. 1 v.

X. Correspondence.

Eleven large manila bundles marked "old Letters," and dated 1819-1871. The material of the period 1819-1830 is, for the most part, composed of inquiries from nonresidents as to the tax laws of the State and their interpretation, personal notes from the governor requesting information, etc. Many of these are printed in the Ill. Hist. Coll., IV. The following has been extracted as both interesting and typical:

WASHINGTON, (KY) Dec 27th 1819

Sir: I have lately purchased the tracts of land enumerated below which are situated in your State and, from a communication that has been lately made me by Col Key of this place feel somewhat apprehensive that the taxes have never been paid. I must therefore beg the favour of you to inform me whether my fears are well founded, and in case of any neglect on the part of the former owner I would be glad to know the amount already duetogether with the rates of taxation annually levied under your statute. I would also thank you to forward me a copy of the act of your legislature on the subject with all convenient dispatch. regret the necessity I am under of occasioning so much trouble to an entire stranger but having no acquaintance in your State who could afford me the desired information I am in a manner constrained to throw myself on your kindness. There is also another difficulty from which I may possibly be relieved by your advice, I mean the mode of remitting the amount of taxes. The intercourse between my state and yours is so very slender that I derive but little hope from that source If a certificate of deposit in any of the banks of Virginia Baltimore or the district of Columbia will . answer your purpose it will be a convenience to me. If not please point out some other course that may be proper-Please direct to Martinsburg Berkeley County Virginia

Yours etc

THOMAS M COLSTON

P. S. I forgot to make a request which may appear somewhat unreasonable; but as I purchased without knowing that anything was due upon the lands I hope for all the indulgence your laws will allow. The request is—that in case the lands have been advertized for sale the proceedings may be delayed untill I can have an opportunity of dischargeing the taxes,-which shall be done immediately on the receipt of your statement of the amount

THOMAS M COLSTON

Yours with respect ELIJAH C. BERRY Esq

The lands above referred to are as follows:

[List of sections follows.]

In a later bundle is a mass of correspondence of the fund commissioners with Nicholas Biddle and others; notices of shipment of one locomotive, two passenger, and two "merchandise cars" from Philadelphia via New Orleans-part of the equipment of an "internal improvement" railroad—were noted. For later dates

X. Correspondence-Continued.

the correspondence is almost entirely routine—inclosures, etc.—except that there is some correspondence relating to the "free banking system." (F. V.)

In the first-floor vault is one letter book of about 1842; 23 volumes of letter books, 1852-1883; 36 volumes from 1897(?) to 1904. A few were found for the intermediate dates. In the upper vault is one of 1862; there may be some elsewhere not discovered. In the upper vault is a considerable quantity of bundled and enlabeled correspondence. It seems to be between the dates 1823 and 1860. It is routine—inquiries about taxes on specific pieces of land, taxes, etc. Nothing of interest was noted. In the upper vault was also one wooden filing cabinet containing correspondence, vouchers, etc., of about 1875. There are a few letters from O. E. Worthen, connected in the fifties with the state geological survey; a few private ones of O. H. Miner, etc.

XI. Miscellaneous.

Claims, etc.

Court of claims, cases and briefs, 1878-date, 19 fb. (L. V.)

Court of claims, cases off docket. Unpaid claims requiring further evidence. (Current.) 1 fb.

Files of claims for damages done lands by improvements in the Illinois and Little Wabash rivers, about 1877, 3 envelope boxes. General Assembly.

Pay rolls of various general assemblies, about 1875; also the 40th, 42d, 43d. (U. V., I. V.)

Newspaper list, assembly of 1887.

Papers relating to pay rolls, various assemblies; 34th the earliest. (L. V.)

Appropriation lists, recent assemblies, 1 fb. (L. V.)

Constitutional conventions, 1848, 1862. Warrants for pay of delegates, etc.

Auditors' records, miscellaneous.

Reports of auditor, 1823–1828, also 1839–1845. Miscellaneous reports in answer to resolutions calling for information, etc., about 1830–1840. Memoranda relating to reports of auditor, 1823–1827, 1886, 1888, 1 fb.

Papers and documents referred to finance committee, house of representatives, 1871, 1 pkg.

Powers of attorney to auditor, 1838-1863, 3 fb.

Same, life and accident companies, 1 fb. (L. V.)

Authority of auditor to issue quietus to sheriffs, 1840-41, 1 pkg. Opinions of the attorney general, 1833-1843(?), 1 fb. Also sundry other papers: Levi Davis's commission as auditor; suits against sheriffs: reports from state banks in the thirties.

Same, opinions from 1880(?), 1 fb. (L. V.)

Illinois and Michigan Canal.

Illinois and Michigan Canal in account with the State of Illinois, 1823(?)-1836, 1 v.

Statements of State in account with Illinois and Michigan Canal stock, 1841-1857, 1 v.

Lists of lands selected under the Federal donation, 1827–1856, 1 fb. Duplicate certificates of canal lands, from 1830, 1 fb.

Contracts and estimates, 1831, 1869-1871, 2 fb.

XI. Miscellaneous-Continued.

Illinois and Michigan Canal-Continued.

Reports of commissioners, 1869-1907; parts of 1872, 1873, 1885-1888, and 1894 missing, 47 fb.

Abstracts and vouchers, 1874–1908; parts of 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, and 1894 missing.

Militia Records, etc.

Muster rolls of the Illinois National Guard called out in the seventies to suppress riots. (L. V.)

Abstract of warrants for payment of the guard, 1879, 1 v. (L. V.) Pay rolls, vouchers, etc.; "Mormon War," 1845–1846, 1 pkg.

Spanish American War; pay rolls, statements, vouchers. Nine regiments.

Odd Items:

Railroads, schedules of freight and passenger rates, 1858-1865.

Lists of lands granted to the Illinois Central Railroad. 51 v. 1 volume for each county.

Earnings of the Illinois Central Railroad, 1855–1889, 1 fb. (L. V.) Transcripts of locations military land warrants in Illinois, 1817–1818, 2 v. (L. V.)

Record of boundary lines of counties, 1 v. (Only a few pp.) (M. O.)

Township organization record, 1 v. (M. O.)

Certificates of township organization, proceedings, etc., 1 fb. (L. V.)

Property purchased under execution, 1855-1866(?), 1 fb. (L. V.)

Lands purchased by the State on executions, levies, abstracts, deeds. Dates in seventies and eighties. 2 fb. (L. V.)

Papers of Alexander Starnes, trustee for the sale of Joel A. Matteson's lands, 1 fb. (L. V.)

Injunctions in regard to escheated property, 1872–1876, 1 fb. (L. V.)

Orders of deposit, unknown and minor heirs. Dates in the eighties.

1 fb. (L, V.)

Receipts of county clerks and collectors for revised statutes and proceeds of sale. 1 fb. (L. V.)

Sheriffs' receipts for the laws, 1818-1822, 1 pkg.

Lincoln homestead trustees. Contracts with custodian, etc. 1 fb. (L. V.)

Reports of examiners of architects, 1897-date, 1 fb. (L. V.) Petitions of Chicago Traction Companies, etc. (L. V.)

It has seemed more logical to class by themselves two bodies of records in the auditors' office, which have been turned over to the State by the Federal authorities. These are the records of the United States surveys in the State of Illinois and the records of the Federal land offices formerly located in the State.

In his report for 1854 the auditor called the attention of the legislature to the fact that the Federal lands in the State open to public entry were nearly exhausted and that accordingly the closing of the land offices might shortly be looked for. This event would result, under act of Congress, in the turning over the "maps, field notes, and other records of the original surveys now in the office of the surveyor

general" to any State officer authorized by State legislative enactment to receive them. By the act of February 22, 1861, the legislature ordered the secretary of state to receive these documents and deposit them in "the room in the statehouse known as room 4—or such other room as may be fitted up for the purpose." This act was repealed by the act of February 16, 1865, which further provided "that whenever a suitable fireproof building or room shall be prepared, to the satisfaction of the governor, the said maps, plats, field notes, and other records pertaining to said surveys shall be removed and deposited in it."

A further act concerning these records was passed January 10, 1872, which is worth quoting in part at least:

"Whereas the original field notes of the United States described in the title of this bill, made in the year one thousand eight hundred and six and thereafter, are now many of them nearly illegible by reason of the lapse of time and the imperfection of the materials used in recording; and whereas the boundaries of counties and the location of all lands of the State of Illinois are dependent on said field notes for the evidence of their location," the custodian of the survey records should copy them; "said custodian shall use the best India ink" in copying them. An act of July 1, 1874, further provided that when the copying should be finished the survey records should be lodged with the auditor and the office of custodian cease. On the death of the custodian, Capt. W. W. H. Lawton, June 16, 1882, the auditor took possession of the records and published a list of them in his report for 1882. This list is here given in full. Notes have been added to the list in parentheses.

- 52 bound volumes of township plats. (On roller shelves in first floor vault; large folios indexed on plat of the State.)
- 492 bound volumes original field notes of Illinois. Surveys. (495 volumes found. These are in iron drawers in the first floor vault. They are indexed on a plat of the State. They remain the basic land record of the State.)
- 212 bound volumes, Records of Illinois Surveys. (Are copies of the above made about 1850. No cross index with the field notes.)
- 1,593 bound volumes, Lawtons Copies of Field Notes of Illinois Surveys. (Copied in regular surveyors' note books. They are in the Springfield land office cupboard: are never used.)
- 1 bound volume, Record of Surveys in Peoria, Ill. (Springfield case.)
- 1 bound volume, original transcript of confirmations of ancient grants in Illinois and index. (This is in the Springfield case. It consists of folios stitched together and is practically the report of the commissioners for the adjusting of land grants in Illinois, as it appears in the American State Papers, Public Lands, II.)
- 2 bound volumes, copies of last named volume. (Springfield case.)
- 1 bound volume, Index to Illinois Surveys. (Could not be identified.)
- 8 bound volumes, Descriptive lists of Illinois Surveys. (Could not be identified.)
- 1 Alphabetical Index to Private Claims Confirmed. (Springfield case.)

- 1 Alphabetical Index to Private Claims Surveyed. (Springfield case.)
- 1 Numerical Index to Private Claims Surveys. (Springfield case.)
- 1 book, Records of Surveys of Indian Lands, Illinois. (Springfield case.)
- 5 bound volumes, Original Field Notes Surveys of Private Claims. (Springfield case; numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 1808–1820 (?))
- 4 bound volumes, Copies of Original Field Notes, Surveys of Private Claims. (Could not be identified.)
- 2 bound volumes, Copies of Field Notes Private Claims in Peoria. (Could not be identified.)
- 1 bound volume, Index to Copies of Illinois Surveys. (Index to copies of field notes of Illinois surveys sent to the General Land Office. Springfield case.)
- 1 bound volume, Illinois Diagrams accompanying Annual Report (of surveyorgeneral of Illinois and Missouri. 1828-1852. F. V.)
- 1 bound volume, Survey of Indian Grants in Reservations in Illinois. (Spring-field case.)
- 1 bound volume, Record of Private Surveys in Illinois. (Springfield case.)
- 2 bound volumes, Record of Private Surveys in Kaskaskia District. (Spring-field case; one volume is a copy of the other.)
- 2 bound volumes, Record of Private Surveys in Vincennes District. (Spring-field case; one volume only found.)
- 2 bound volumes, Illinois Contracts with Deputy Surveyors. (Springfield case; one volume, 1806-1855; one volume a copy of it.)
- 3 bound volumes, Copies of Letters of Commissioner to Surveyor General. (Springfield case. 1816-1857.)
- 6 bound volumes, Copies of Letters of Surveyor General to Commissioner. (Springfield case. One volume letters of the surveyor general at St. Louis to Illinois land offices; one volume, letters of the surveyor-general to the commissioner of the General Land Office; four volumes, Illinois letters of the surveyor general.)
- 1 bound volume, Index to bound plats of townships. (Springfield case.)
- 2 bound volumes, Indexes to Original Field Notes to Public Surveys. (Could not be identified.)
- 3 bound volumes, Meanders of Navigable Streams. (Springfield case; 1 v. surveys of meanders, Illinois rivers; 1 v. loose sheets of meander surveys; 1 package meanders of Illinois rivers in folio.)
- 1 bound volume, Exhibits of private claims in Illinois Confirmed and Surveyed. (Springfield case.)
- 2 bound volumes, American State Papers, Public Lands.
- 1 bound volume, Field Notes and Plats Mason County. (First floor vault.)
- 1 bound volume, Field Notes and Plats Scott County. (First floor vault.)
- 1 set of Indexes to Field Notes and plats of surveys. (These may be the plats indicated above on which the field noted plats etc. are indexed.)
- A set of maps and miscellaneous papers, most of which bear the endorsement of "worthless."

In addition, the following survey records were found which can not be identified with items in the list reproduced above:

- 7 volumes, uniform in size and binding, copies of field notes of private surveys.
 4 volumes, date between 1808–1837. The date of the others is undeterminable on their face. (Springfield case.)
- 2 volumes, registers of surveys of boundary lines of townships north and south of the base line and west of the second meridian, and east and west of the third meridian, and west of the fourth meridian; north of the base line and east of the fourth meridian. (Springfield case.)

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1 volume, private surveys in Illinois, numbers 356-789. (Springfield case.)
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By the act of May 21, 1879, the auditor was designated the custodian of all transcripts, documents, and records pertaining to the United States land office in Springfield, which the act of Congress of July 31, 1876, had directed to be turned over to the State of Illinois. These records included not only the records of the Springfield office proper, but the records of all the other land offices in Illinois. The records of these last had been deposited with the Springfield office 20 years before, when the closing of the offices had left the Springfield office in charge of all Government lands remaining unsold in Illinois. At present these records are kept in 10 large wooden cupboards (each bearing the name of one of the land offices) in the auditor's first-floor office. They are carefully arranged, each office's records being distinct. Record books are carefully and intelligibly labeled; papers are carefully bundled and labeled. The location is dry, and the records, in their wooden cases, seem to be in danger only in case of fire.

Kaskaskia Office. Established under the act of Congress of March 26, 1804.

Tract book. (Lands in the district arranged by survey.) Ranges 1-11 west of the third principal meridian, 1 v.

Tracts unsold July 1, 1820, 2 v.

Classification book. (Land by survey.) 1 v.

Register of receipts, 1814-1825, 3 v.

Receivers' monthly account book, 1821-1830, 1 v.

Receivers' quarterly account book, 1834-1855, 3 v.

Receivers' quarterly disbursements, 1849-1855, 1 v.

Sales book, 1820-1833, 1 v.; 1820-1826, 1 v.; 1848-1853, 1 v.

Lists of patents and certificates issued, about 1847 (?), 1 v.

"Statement of Lands applied for to Michael Jones, Register and account of Monies received therefor. Showing also those tracts which for failure of Payment of First installment reverted to the United States," 1817–1820, "Also Account of Monies received for Lands sold prior to 1820, and 1820–30." 1 v.

Account of money received, 1814-1819, 1 v.

Register of applications for purchase of land, 1818-1828, 1 v.

Register of applications for purchase of land and of payments made on lands purchased under the installment system, 1818-1830, 1 v.

Account of monies paid to register, 1814-1817, 1 v.

Registers' journals, 1814-1817, 1 v., "A" (Chicago case); 1817-1819, 1 v. "B" (Dixon case); 1819-1822, 1 v. "C" (Chicago case); 1822-1831, 1 v. "D" (Dixon case).

Registers' journal cash system, 1920-1834, 1 v. (C. C.)1

Registers' ledgers general and individual, 1814–1818, 1 v. "A"; 1815–1818, 1 v. "B" (C. C.); 1819–1825, 1 v. "D" (C. C.); 1822–1831, 1 v. "E". Registers' ledgers, cash system, 1820–1834, 1 v. (C. C.)

¹ volume, early descriptive plats of Illinois townships.

¹ volume (plats), check book of district lands. (F. V.)

² volumes, check books of lands. (?) (F. V.)

^{1(&}quot;C. C."—Chicago case; "D. C.," Dixon case; "K. C.," Kaskaskia case, etc.).

Kaskaskia Office-Continued.

Register's individual ledger, 1818-19, 1 v. "C" (C. C.)

Receivers' journals, 1814–1816, 1 v. "A" (C. C.); 1816–1818, 1 v. "B" (C. C.); 1818–19, 1 v. "C" (D. C.); 1822–1831, 1 v. "E" (D. C.)

Receivers' journal, cash system, 1820-1834, 1 v. (C. C.)

Receivers' individual ledger "A", 1814-15 (C. C.); 1816-1818, 1 v. "B" (C. C.); 1819-1831, 1 v. "D" (C. C.); 1837-1855, 1 v. (C. C.)

Receivers' general ledger, 1818-1828, 1 v. "E" (C. C.); 1829-30, 1 v. "F" (C. C.)

Receivers' ledger, general and individual, 1817-18, 1 v. "C" (C. C.)

Copies of letters transmitted by the register, 1814-1830, 1 v.

Copies of letters transmitted to the General Land Office by the register, 1832-1856, 2 v.

Copies of letters to the secretary of the treasury and the surveyor-general by the register, 1832-1852, 1 v.

Letters received by the register, 1814-1827, 2 v.

Circulars received, 1820-1851, 1 v.

Copies of letters transmitted by receiver, 1814-1856, 4 v.

Copies of letters transmitted by the receiver accompanying accounts current, 1815-1833, 1 v.

Copies of letters received, 1814-1816, 1 v.

Monthly abstract of locations on military land warrants and certificates; under act of 1847, 1847-1855, 2 v. Under act of 1850, 1851-1855, 1 v. Under act of 1852, 1852-1855, 1 v.

Townships containing lands within six and fifteen miles of the Illinois Central Railroad line, 1 v.

Tracts selected by the Illinois Central, 1 v.

Route of the Illinois Central-tracing on cloth.

Swamp and overflowed lands inuring to the State, Act of September 28, 1850, 1 v. Also one volume with the surveyor-general's certificate that the land came under the act's provisions.

Kaskaskia memoranda receipts, 1820-1853, 1 pkg.

Application blotter, 1814-1822, 1 bdle.

Monthly register of forfeited land stock and military bounty land scrip received at the Kaskaskia office, 1831–1846, 1 bdle.

Register of final certificates for lands purchased and paid for, 1 bdle.

Statement of public lands—tracts on which one-fourth was paid, reverting to the United States for nonpayment, 1814–1817, 1 v.

Monthly returns of lands paid for by money transferred from lands relinquished or by cash. Parts of 1824, 1825, 1826, 1 pkg.

Statement of accounts of each person in account with the government under the Act of Congress of 1821.

Statement of accounts with view to relinquishments, etc., 1 pkg.

Certificate stubs, 1817-1847, 7 boxes; 2 boxes final and other certificate stubs.

Kaskaskia survey plats, 1 bdle. Field notes Kaskaskia district, 1 bdle.

Abstract of certificates of forfeited land stock under various acts, 1828–1832.

Statements of accounts of sundry persons for extension of time under the Act of Congress of 1821, 1 v.

Lists of persons declaring under the Act of Congress of 1821.



¹An act of Congress of March 2, 1821, to afford further time for payment to persons in arrears on installments of payment on lands.

Kaskaskia Office-Continued.

Relinquishments, Act of 1821, 1 v.

Kaskaskia original check book, 1 bdle.

Forms for instruction of land office registers and receivers, 1 bdle. Instructions for keeping books in Kaskaskia office, 1 bdle.

The Kaskaskia and Shawneetown cases contain sundry records arising out of the claims advanced under the acts of Congress granting land bounties to militiamen in the "Illinois country" in 1790, to heads of families in the country in 1783, and to persons who had made improvements on lands; and confirming ancient grants. The material here to be described formed the basis for the report of the commissioners to adjust these claims, which is printed in the American State Papers, Public Lands, II. Unless the contrary is noted, the material is in the Kaskaskia case.

Plats, 1 box. The majority of these are printed in the State Papers. Those indicated below are not:

Plat, meanders of the Mississippi from the lower line of St. Philip's to a , point below the lower line of Prairie du Rocher.

Plat of the village at Fort Chartres—earlier and less careful than the one printed in the State Papers.

Plat of the "Big Island."

"Miscellaneous Papers," 1 box. Contains:

Transcript of rejected claims ("Am. State Papers, Pub. Lands," II, 115).

- A rough list of claims within the common field of Kaskaskia and lots within the village tract.
- A rough list of donations to heads of families confirmed by the governor and board. (Not printed in this form (?).)
- A stitched folio—petition of the territorial legislature to Congress in regard to hardships arising from interpretations of the United States land laws by Michael Jones, 1814–1815. Also a resolution asking Jones for answers to certain questions, and his replies.
- A stitched folio, register of patents, etc., connected with land claims, transfers, etc. Some as early as 1788. (Gov. St. Clair's confirmation record?) Style of entry:

229 William Briggs patent 401 30 30 Sept 1799.

Sundry MS. drafts of various introductory parts of the printed report of the commissioners.

Odd preemption papers; a few as late as 1850.

An odd stitched folio, apparently a confirmation register of Governor St. Clair's. Style of entry:

The Widow Beaulieu. A piece of land in the Prairie of Cahokia two arpents in breadth from the Rigolet to the Hills joining the Widow Turgeon on one side.

Another piece of land in the same Prairie of two Arpents in breadth from the Rigolet to the Hills joining [name illegible].

Folio list of claims in the common field of Fort Chartres. Printed Am. St. Papers, Pub. Lands, II, 160.

List of Little Village of St. Philips do.; printed, ibid., 192.

A folio of evidence presented before the commissioners, touching the validity of certain claims (unprinted), 38 depositions in all; 5 typical ones, with the heading, are given below.

Prairie Durocher Sept 25th 1812. Before Michl Jones and John Caldwell two of the Commissioners for the District of Kaskaskia came Joseph Lavoye and Gabriel Dechochi Senr who being duly sworn depose and say

Donation of

Charles Aimie.

Joseph Lavoye and Gabl Dechochi state that the sd. Charles Aimie was the Head of a Family in Prairie Durocher in 1785- and Lavoye believes that he resided at the Little Village [St. Philips] in the year 1783.-Lavoye states that sd. Aimie did not reside in Prairie Durocher more than one year after 1785 that he re-

2055 Donation of Pierre Allard. moved to St. Genevieve and lived there until he died. Dechochi states that in 1783 the sd. Pierre was a young man was not married and lived with his Mother and step Father. that he never kept house and lived with his mother untell he died in or about 1802 That sd Allard was about nineteen years of age in 1783

Knows of no other person of the name of Pierre Allard in the Country.

2055 Donation of Antoine Dominique.

Dechochi states that he knew said Antoine Dominique, that he was a Spanish deserter in 1783 lived at Kaskaskia in 1783 and came to Prairie Durocher in the year 1785 as this depont thinks,—and got married at Prairie Durocher in Sept 1785. that he and his wife continued to reside in Prairie Durocher untill after 1788. Kept no House to his, depts knowledge, till he got married.

2055 Donation of Mary Louise Oubuchon.

Decochi states that he knew a woman who was called Mary Louise Oubuchon, who was Married to Jean Cleary (alias Lafour) in 1773 and that they separated about the year 1778 and that some time after their seperation, she took up with an Indian slave of Capt Barbeau and was living in a Cabbin with the said Indian, in the vicinity of Prairie Durocher in 1783 and untill the Indian died in 1790.

Donation of

Widow Traversse. Dechochi states that he knew no widow Traversse That he knew a man called Louis Langlois dit, Traverssé that he had children by an Indian Woman who was a slave to him and who was sold as the property of said Traversse after his death which happened on the 23 of may 1773. that she did not obtain her liberty in the County but was taken out of the Illinois Country by the man who bought her. That the sd Traverse had kept two other Indian women but that neither of them Kept House on or after 1783

"Transcript of testimony taken by the Commission," 1 package. Contains:

One folio, July 30, 1807-November 1, 1809. 90 pp. Depositions of William Shaw, John Doyle, Jean Bt. Barbeau, Thomas Comstock, Beauvais, and Dechochi. These or their substance are probably all printed in Amer. State Papers. The bulk of the testimony is purely negative,—entries against claims of "Know nothing", "Did not know him", etc.

One folio, September 2, 1812-December 23, 1812. 111 pp. and index. Some 700 depositions,-often two and more to one claim. A great part of these—those pertaining to 73 claims—are printed in Amer. State Papers, Pub. Lands, II, 190, 200.

"Transcript of testimony taken by the Commission," 1 package—Continued.

Contains—Continued.

One folio. Testimony taken at Cahokia under the superintendence of Thomas Sloo. September 20-30, 1812. This has not been found in print. It is paged as pp. 112-135 of the above folio. In all about 150 depositions. The following excerpts are made from it:

Claim No.

43 The Witnesses all says that Margaret the widow of Josh. Alarys Donation.

Joseph Alary was a widow in the year 1780, that she lived in Cahokia with her Children until after the high water in 1785 from which time she kept house untill her Death about twelve years ago

There was but one Joseph Alary in the Country to their knowledge

572 Jno Dempsey Improvt.

James Garretson sworn says that in 1786 or 1787 he saw John Dempsey settled on a Tract of land about three miles southwardly of the block house at the Entrance of a small creek descending from the hills into the Mississippi Bottom. That he had a Cabin built thereon lived there several years and raised several crops of wheat, Corn and Tobacco, until obliged on Account of the Indians to fort in 1789 and abandon his house.

A box containing folios, lists of claims confirmed and rejected by the board—various heads. All these are apparently rough drafts of the lists printed in Amer. State Papers. In addition there is a register of claims confirmed but unlocated that has not been identified in print.

One folio—claims to lands in the Illinois country confirmed by various governors. Also lists of names of persons who had claims as heads of families, militiamen, improvers of their lands, holders of ancient grants, etc.

In addition to these records there are five folio volumes that apparently were used as an official register of deeds of land, affidavits, etc., in favor of claimants before the commission. Often the whole series of deeds on which a title was rested is to be found, a series running back to the days of the French commandants. Of these volumes four contain deeds in French and English. At least the first two are referred to in the State Papers; the fifth volume is a translation record of the deeds and depositions in French in the four preceding volumes.¹ A more particular account of these records follows.

"A" "English and French Record." August 28, 1804—April 30, 1805. Contains about 1,000 deeds, grants, depositions, etc. Following are a few selections:

(Page 1.)
Indiana Territory [word illegible] William Henry Harrison Governor and Commander in chief of the Indiana Territory. To all to whom these presents shall come. Greeting. Whereas by the 4th Section of the act of Congress of the third of March 1791 it is enacted that where lands have been actually improved and cultivated at Vincennes or in the Illinois Country under a Supposed grant of the same, by any commandant or court claiming authority to make such grants, the Governor of the Territory is hereby empowered to confirm to the persons who made such improvement, their heirs or assigns, the land supposed to have been granted

^{1&}quot;A." United States Register's Record Book, Amer. State Papers, Pub. Lands, II, 183 (?); "B." Register of the United States in the District of Kaskaskia, ibid., 156. 191; "Translation Book," United States Register's Book of Translations, ibid., 183.

as aforesaid, or such parts thereof as he in his discretion might judge reasonable not exceeding to any one person four hundred acres. Now Know Ye that in pursuance of the said act of congress I have duly examined into the claim laid by John Reynolds assignee of Peter Deshee to a tract of lands containing four hundred acres, situate in the County of Randolph granted by the Commandant of Kaskaskia and into the nature and extent of the cultivation and improvement made thereon. Now to the end the said John Reynolds his heirs and assigns may be forever quieted in the tract of land hereafter discribed, which has been by me judged reasonable to allow to the said John Reynolds in virtue of the said recited grant and improvement and cultivation, I do by virtue of the said act of Congress, and of the powers before mentioned, confirm unto the said John Reynolds his heirs and assigns All that certain tract or parcel of land, now lying and being in the county of Randolph and bounded and described as follows to wit, Beginning at a red oak and running north seventy degrees West two hundred and forty perches to a white oak, thence North twelve degrees east one hundred and thirty perches to an Elm, thence North seventy eight degrees West forty three perches to a stone, Thence North forty degrees East two hundred and eighty five perches to a Stone, Thence South fifty degrees East, one hundred and eighty perches to a Stone, Thence South thirty two degrees West, three hundred and eighteen perches to the place of beginning Situate about one mile above Nine-mile creek in Randolph county, joining lands of John Fisher on the NW Prather and Smile on the NE and NW Nathaniel Hull on the NE Vacant lands on the SE and Prather and Smilie on the SW and containing four hundred acres, to which for anything that appears to the contrary the said John Reynolds is rightfully intitled To have and to hold the said discribed tract or parcel of land with the appurtenances to the said John Reynolds, his heirs and assigns, to their own proper use and behoof forever. In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Territory to be affixed at Vincennes the fifteenth day of July in the Year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twenty eighth

WILLM HENRY HARRISON

(SEAL.) By the Governor's command

JNO GIBSON Secretary

(Recorded 29th Augt 1804.)

(Page 8 of same volume:)

Indiana Territory of the United States Randolph County. This day George Bowers appeared before me a Justice of the peace and Judge of the Court of commonpleas, and made oath on the holy evangelist of Almighty God That he knew John Harris to be an inhabitant of the Illinois Country in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty one, to be the head of a family—and further saith that he was in the house of the said Harris where he lived in the little Village and County aforesald where he saw him have a wife and some children and lived to his knowledge for nine years after in said Village. Sworn before me this ninth day of June one thousand eight hundred and three Pierre Menard (seal)

I hereby certify that the above mentioned George Bowers deposed in manner and substance as above stated in my presence

WM WILSON

(Recorded the 29th day of Augt 1804)

(Page 45 of the same volume:)

Je Louis Bibeau de Cahokia Comté de St Clair Territoire des Etats Unis au nord ouest de L'Ohio reconnois avoir Vendée cedé quitté transporté et delaisee des maintenant et a toujours a Denis Valantin de Cahokia sus dit Teritoire ses dit hoirs et ayant cause les cens acres de terre qui mont été donné par le Congres en Gratification comme milicien et comme ayant été enrolée et Servi dans la Milice dan le mois d'Aeust de l'anné Mille Sept Cents quatre vingt dix Ainsi quil a été accordé aux autres miliciens

qui ont servi dans la Milice cette anne la, C'est pourquoi moi Louis Bibeau de Cahokia Sus dit Territoire Sus dit j abandonne au dit Denis Valantin ses hoirs et ayant cause Les Susdits cens Acres de Terre ayant recu La Somme de Vingt Piastres pour parfait payment des sus dit Terres et je le tien quite et tous autres dont quitance etant plainement Satisfait car ainsi convenu et En temoingnage de quoi jai passe mon Sceau et Signé apres Lecture faite Cahokia le Deuxleme may mil Cents quatre Vingt Dix Sept

marquee
Louis X Bibeau (SEAL)

Signe Selle et Livre en presence de Jn. Dumoulin ISIDOBE LA CROIX.

- "B." "English and French Record," June 5, 1805-September 18, 1806. 397 pages and index. Some 650 entries. Apparently the book referred to in Amer. State Papers, Pub. Lands II, 156, as the "United States Registers Record Book."
- "C." English and French Record," December 31, 1804-October 26, 1805. 491 pages. Some 320 entries. The following is extracted:
 - A Messieurs de Bretel Major Commandant et Delaloirc Flancourt Commissaire aux Illinois.

Messieurs: Supplie tres humblement Jacques Michel Dufrene (?) disant qu'il desireoit faire un petit Dechifre sur le terrein de la Comme [commune] qui en sur La Deventure de sa terra a l'imitation du Sr. Louis Turpin pour y faire a son Example Grange, étable, Jardin, et autre commodité à sa Bien Seance tant pour la facilite de la culture de la dite terre quatres [quarré] s'il vous Plaisaient y condescendre pour quoi il a Recour qu'ils vous plaise luy accorder deux Arpents de long a prendre de la ligne du trait quarré au Devanture de la terre a venir Sur la comune et de la largeur de la ditte terre ne peusant Point qu'un terrein si modique puisse prejudicier au Publique et Servit au Suppliant d'une Grand utilité et ferrez Bien Aux Cas le 10 May 1745

JAQUES MICHEL

Vu les pose cy dessus nous accordons, concedé et concedons aux supliant deux arpents de long a prendre de la ligne du trait quaré de la Devanture de sa terre a venir Sur la Commune de la largeur de la ditte terre aux conditions que le dit terrein [word illegible] été concede a personne et de S'y etablir sous l'an et Jour de la presente a faute de quoy le dit terrein sera Reuny au Domain du Roy et au Suppliant de faire la Declaration au Greffe pour etre mis sur le Papier terrien Donne au Fort de Chartres Le Douze May mil sept cent quarante cinq

LE CHE DE BERTEL DE LA LOËRE FLANCOURT.

"D" "English and French Record." 317 pages. February 1806-June 10, 1814. some 200 entries.

(Page 31) Recorded 10th October 1805:

A messieurs les magistrats de la cour du District des Cahos, Isaac West a l'honneur de vous prier de lui conceder comme un bon et fidelle Citoyen une concession de treize Arpents et Demie de large sur la superficie de quatre Cent quarante arpents tenant par un bout au Sud ouest a la ligne du Sr ouache (?) par le sud a Mr Francois Saucier et des Deux autres bout aux terres non concedees, sur la Branche du Nord du Ruisseau de Mr ouache qui n a jusque a present Ete Concedé ny demandé a personne aux Cahos le 19 fevrier 1787. Vu la present requete la cour assemble a concedé et concedé a Isaac West la terre par lui demandé en sa Requete de lautre part de toute sa Grandeur largeur longuere et Etendue qui Contiendra treize arpents et Demie de large sur la superficie de quatres Cents quarante Arpents, aux conditions qu'elle ne portera prejudice a personne et qu'elle Sera Sujette aux charges Publiques donné au Cahos le 19 Fevrier 1787 At Girardin

JOSEPH (X) LAPANCE LOUIS (X) CHATEL MTH SAUCIEB CLEMENT (X) ALARY SAUCIER LABUXIERE Greffler.



English Translations of French Records in vols. A, B, C, D. Made in 1807. Referred to in *Amer. State Papers*, Pub. Lands, II, 183, as "United States Register's Book of Translations." 209 pages. Some 650 deeds, etc., recorded.

"Preemption Affidavits 1804-1806." A bundle of papers; most of these are recorded in books "A" and "B."

"Claim Notices 1804–1805." 2 bundles. Deeds, affidavits, depositions, etc., touching claims for ancient grants, militia rights, donations, head rights, etc. These are entered up in the books described above. Some original deeds found here date back to 1780.

Shawneetown Land Office. Established by Act of Congress, February 21, 1812.

Tract books, 4v.

Entry book, 1814-1819, 2v.

Applications for entry, 1818–1819, 1v.

Receivers' quarterly accounts current, 1834-1856, 6v.

Quarterly disbursements, 1849-1855, 1v.

Register of receipts, 1820-1855, 3v.

Register of receipts installment system, 1814-1831, 2v.

Register of forfeited land stock and repayment receipts, installment system, 1814–1817. 1v.

Registers' journal cash system, 1820–1834. 1v. (V. C., 4. e., Vandalia case.)

Registers' journals, 1814-1816, 1v. (It appears in journal "A.") (V. C.)

Registers' journals, 1814–1819, 2v., "A", "B"; 1821–1831, 3v., "D", "E", "F". (V. C.)

Registers' ledger, cash system, 1820–1834, 1 v. (C. C., i. e., Chicago case.) Registers' individual ledger, 1814–1817, 1 v. "A" (V. C); 1817–1818, 1 v. "B" (C. C.); 1818–1820, 1 v. "C" (C. C.)

Registers' general ledger, 1829-1831, 1 v. (C. C.)

Registers' "General Accompt", 1814-1829, 1 v. (C. C.)

Receivers' ledger cash system, 1820-1834, 1 v. (C. C.)

Receivers' ledger, cash footings, 1817-1831, 1 v. (C. C.)

Receivers' journal, 1814-1817, 1 v. "A" (C. C.); 1817-1818, 1 v. "B"; 1818-1820, 1 v. "C"; 1820-1825, 1 v. "D"; 1825-1831, 1 v. "E".

Receivers' journal, 1814-1818 (copied in the above), 1 v. (V. C.)

Receiver in account with the United States treasury, 1846–1849, 1 v. (V. C.) Receivers' accounts, 1814–1820, 1 v. (V. C.)

Individual accounts ledger, 1814-1819, 3 v.., "A", "B", "C". (V. C.)

General ledger cash system, 1818–1829, 1 v. (C. C.)

Sales book, 1820–1835, 1. v.

Applications and withdrawals, 1814-1818, 1 v.

Class book (list of lands by survey), 1814-1818, 2 v.

Abstract of land sold September 1854, 1 v.

Description of corner lines, 1850, 1 v.

Register of treasury notes received, 1815, 1 v.

Register of forfeited land stock, 1828-1854, 1 v.

Shawneetown field notes, 1 v.

Receivers' letter book, 1814–1836, 1 v.; 1844–1853, 1 v.; 1846–1855, 1 v.; 1855–1856, 1 v.

Registers' letter book, 1814-1837, 1 v.; 1853-1854, 1 v.

Registers' and receivers' letter book, 1849-1854, 1 v.

Shawneetown town lots, 1814–1831, 1 v.; registers' journal of, 1814–1816, 1829 (V. C.); registers' ledger of, 1814–1829, 1 v. (V. C.) receivers' journal of, 1814. (C. C.); receivers' individual ledger, town lots, 1814 and 1816, 1 v.; certificates under act of Congress of 1814, Shawneetown lots, 1 bdle.

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Shawneetown Land Office, etc.-Continued.

Monthly abstract of location of military land warrants, act of 1847, 1847-1855, 1 v.; act of 1850, 1 v.; act of 1852, 1 v.; act of 1855, 1 v.

List of swamp and overflowed lands with certificate of the surveyor general as to the character of the land, 1 v.

List of the swamp and overflowed lands selected by the State under the act of 1850, 1 v.

Plats of townships containing lands within six and fifteen miles of the Illinois Central Railroad (in the Shawneetown District), 1 v.

Sundry stub books, private entries of land.

Certificates of relinquishments, 1821-1827, 2 bdles.; 1827-1829, 1 bdle.

"Entry records", 1 bdle.

Declarations under the act of March 2, 1821; 3 bdles.

Schedule of lands preempted, 1 bdle.

Declarations, relinquishments, preemptions, etc. (These declarations and relinquishments are, apparently, certificates of purchase on installment and payment of first installment, evidently surrendered on relinquishment of part of the land thus entered on credit) 1814–1822, 71 pkgs. Preemptions to 1855, 9 pkgs.

Registers of receipts and abstracts of land warrants; transcribed in bound volumes.

Receivers' receipts, 26 bdles.

Commissioners' letters, 1815-1855, 27 bdles.

Surveyors' letters, 1817-1854, 1 bdle.

Treasury letters, etc., 1814-1823, 2 bdles.

Edwardsville Land Office. Established by the act of April 29, 1816.

Tract book, 5 v. (one of these commenced as "Kaskaskia.")

Old tract books transcribed into the above, 2 v.

Entry book, 1816-1830, 3 v.

List of townships in the district with the dates at which they became subject to entry, 1 v.

Register of entries of quarter sections and quarter-quarter sections; nothing to show dates.

Sales book, 1820-1831, 1 v.

Receivers' quarterly account book, 1834-1855, 3 v.

Receivers' quarterly disbursements, 1849-1855, 1. v.

Register of receipts, 1820-1855, 3 v.

Register of receipts, installment system, 1816–1822, 1 v.; duplicate of above, 1816–1819, 1 v.

Registers' ledger "A", 1816-1829, 1 v.

Registers' ledger, cash system, 1820-1833, 1 v. "A"; 1832-1834, 1 v. "B."

Registers' ledger individual accounts, 1816-1830, 4 v.

Registers' journal cash system, 1820-1834, 2 v.

Registers' journal, 1816-1831, 3 v.

Receivers' ledger individual accounts, 1816-1831, 3 v.

Receivers' ledger, "A", 1816-1818, 1 v.

Receivers' ledger cash system, "A", 1820-1832, 1 v.

Receivers' journal, 1816-1831, 5 v.

Receivers' journal cash system, "B", 1833-1834, 1 v.

Ledger, 1835-1836, 1 v.

Monthly abstract of locations on military land warrants: act of 1847, 1847–1854, 1 v.; act of 1850, 1851–1855, 1 v.; act of 1852, 1852–1855, 1 v.

Edwardsville register of forfeited land stock and military bounty land scrip; also abstract of certificates of forfeited land stock, issued under acts of 1828, and 1832. 1 pkg.

Edwardsville Land Office, etc.—Continued.

Same, 1 pkg.; also memorandum of money received from individuals in payment for land purchases.

Registers' letter books, 1816-1855, 5 v.

Receivers' letter book, 1800-1835, 4 v. (Many of these form letters received from the General Land Office.)

List of swamp lands in the district with certificate of the surveyor general. 1 v.

List of swamp lands inuring to the State under the act of 1850, 1 v.

Declaratory statements under the act of September 4, 1841. 1 pkg.

Edwardsville township plats, 1 pkg.

Edwardsville application blotter, 1816-1817, 1 pkg.

Memorandum register of receipts, 1820-1851, 1 pkg. A few missing.

Register of certificates by number, 1 pkg.

Field notes of surveys, 1 pkg.

Abstract of relinquishments, form "B", 1 pkg.; same, form "C", 1822, 1 pkg.

Monthly abstract of lands relinquished to the United States under the act of 1824. 1 pkg.

Monthly return of lands paid for by transfers of money paid on relinquished lands act of 1824. 1 pkg.

"Land Records,-Relinquishments", 1 pkg.

Certificate stubs, sundry.

Certificate checks, 25 pkgs.

Certificates and relinquishments, 6 pkgs.

Official letters and circulars, 1816-1849, 9 bdles.

Commissioners' letters, 1816-1855, 10 bdles,

Powers of attorney, 1 bdle.

Office accounts, 3 bdles.

Surveyor-generals' letters, 1 bdle.

Certificates of further credit, act of 1821, 3 bdles.

Affidavits of those desiring to enter military scrip—that they believe the land to be entered is unoccupied, 1831, 1 bdle.

Sundry miscellaneous maps and charts.

Palestine Land Office. Established by the act of May 11, 1820.

Tract book, 3 v.

Receivers' quarterly account book, 1834-1855, 7 v.

Register of receipts, 1821-1855, 2 v.

. Sales book, 1821-1830, 1 v.

Ledgers, 1820-1834, 3 v.

Receivers' ledger, "B", 1843-1853, 1 v.

Registers' journals, 1821-1834, 4 v.

Receivers' journal, 1821-1834, 1 v.

List of townships in district with dates at which they were opened to private entry. 1 pkg. Also return of lands sold in Vincennes district, afterward in the Palestine district; of lands forfeited under acts of 1821, 1822, 1823, 1824, 1826, etc.

Letters transmitted by register, 1822-1855, 3 v.

Letters transmitted by receiver, 1822-1855, 1 v.

Monthly abstract of locations on military land warrants act of 1847, 1 v.; act of 1850, 1851-1854, 1 v.; act of 1852, 1853-1854, 1 v.

Register of forfeited land stock and military bounty land scrip, 1831–1855, 1 v.

List of swamp and overflowed lands inuring to the State, 1 v.

Palestine Land Office, etc.—Continued.

List of swamp lands with surveyor generals' certificate, 1 v.

Lands within 6 and 15 miles of the Illinois Central Railroad, 1 v.

Plats of townships containing the above mentioned lands, 1 v.

Certificate stubs, 1821-1850, 6 boxes.

Commissioner's letters, 1832-1855, 10 bdles.

Circulars from the Department of the Treasury and General Land Office, 1833–1855, 3 bdles.

Letters to register, 1833-1845, 1 bdle.

Swamp land contests, 1 bdle.

Letters of surveyors-general, 1831-1855, 1 bdle.

Maps and charts, miscellaneous, 9 bdles.

Vandalia Land Office. Established act of May 11, 1820.

Tract book, 4 v., A. B. C. D.

Register of patents received from the General Land Office. "No. 1," date, (?); "No. 2," 1847; "No. 3," 1851-1855; 3 v.

Register of receipts, 1823-1855, 4 v.; 1834-1839, 3 v.

Sales book, 1821-1834, 1 v.

Receivers' quarterly account book, 1834-1837, 2 v.

Receivers' journal, 1823-1834, 1 v.

Ledger, Sales of public land and incidental expenses, 1823-1834, 1 v.

Sales ledger, 1821-1834, 1 v.

Registers' journal, 1825-1834, 1 v.

Receipts into Treasury for revenue purposes, 1848-1849, 1 v.

Field notes, various townships, 2 v.

List of lands in Vandalia District, sold at Shawneetown land office, 1 v. Townships, with periods at which they became subject to entry; also list of unsold tracts, 1854, 1 envelope.

Register of preemption declarations, 1841-1854, 1 v.

Register of suspensions and cancellations, 1850-1853, 1 v. Also docket of swamp land cases.

Registers' letters, 1820-1856, 4 v.

Circulars, maps, letters relating to land office business, 2 v.

Register of cancelled entries and of redelivery of warrants, 1852–1855, 1 v. Register of forfeited land stock and military bounty land scrip received at the Vandalia office, 1831–1836, 1 v.

Monthly abstract of locations on military land warrants: act of 1847, 1847-1855, 2 v.; act of 1850, 1851-1855, 2 v.; act of 1852, 1852-1855, 1 v.; act of 1855, 1855, 1 v.

Map of military bounty lands.

List of swamp and overflowed lands, 1 v.

Same, those inuring to the State, act of 1850, 1 v.

Register of lands selected by the Illinois Central Railroad, 1 v.

Book of plats of townships containing land within 6 and 15 miles of the Illinois Central railroad.

Record of judgments for debt and costs and their execution, of Raphael Widen, justice of the peace. 1 v. Book of folios stitched together.

Register of suspended land entries, 1851-1855, 1 v.

Certificate stubs, 8 pigeon holes full.

Commissioners' letters, 1820-1855, 16 pigeon holes.

Letters and circulars from the Treasury department, 1821-1855, 1 pigeon hole.

Letters and papers from the surveyor general, 1822-1856, 1 pigeon hole.

Vandalia Land Office, etc.—Continued.

Military warrants suspended and cancelled, 1849–1855; affidavits in preemption cases, 1830–1841; swamp land contests, 1855; miscellaneous papers and letters, 4 pigeon holes.

Plats of townships embraced in Massac, Green, Clark, Jackson, Counties, 4 pkgs.

Surveys in Woodford County, 1 pkg.

Roll of township plats, etc.

Springfield Land Office. Established May 8, 1822.

Tract book, 4 v.

Register of receipts, 1823-1874, 5 v.

Receivers' quarterly account books, 1834-1878, 4 v.

Abstract of lands unsold at Shawneetown office, 1855, 1 v.

Same, Edwardsville office, 1 v.

Springfield memorandum book. Register of certificates granted (Date ?) 1 v.

Docket of contested cases, 1857-1874, 1 v.

Registers of receipts issued under the act of 1862, 1863-1874, 1 v.

Applications for repayment of purchase money on illegal entries, 1858-1876, 1 v.

Springfield declaratory statements, 1841-1857, 2 v.

Sales book, "A", 1 v; "C", 1831-1834, 1 v.

Registers' journal, 1823-1834, 2 v.

Registers' ledger, 1823-1834, 2 v.

Receivers' journal, 1823-1834, 2 v.

Receivers' sales book, 1829-1831, 1 v.

Receivers' ledger, 1823-1834, 2 v.

Register of patents, delivered, 1859-1875, 1 v.

Monthly abstract of locations of military land warrant certificates: act of 1847, 1847-1864, 1 v.; act of 1842, 1856-1857, 1 v.; act of 1850, 1852-1872, 1 v.; act of 1855, 1855-1859, 1 v.; act of 1860, 1861-1870, 1 v.

Register of suspended and cancelled locations of military land warrants,

Register of swamp and overflowed lands, 1 v.

Illinois Central Railroad, selections within 6 and 15 miles of line, 1 v.

Registers' letter book from 1857, 1 v.

Same, 1823-1847, 1 v.; 1857-1859, 1 v.; 1859-1869, 1 v.

Letters from the commissioner to the register from 1855; relating to the Kaskaskia, Shawneetown, Edwardsville, Vandalia, Springfield, Palestine, Danville, Dixon, and Chicago districts; some 150 packages.

Surveyor-generals' letters, 1 bdle.

Office accounts, 6 bdles.

Certificate stubs, 1823-1848, 4 boxes.

Treasury circulars, 1826-1873, 1 bdle.

Treasury letters, 1 bdle.

General Land Office, circulars and letters, 3 bdles.

Receivers' receipts, 7 bdles.

Commissioners' letters, 1824-1858, 17 bdles.

Miscellaneous letters, from 1819, 9 bdles.

Declarations and relinquishments, 1830–1860, 8 bdles.

Letters to the register, 1840-1855, 14 bdles.

Selections seminary and school lands, Springfield district, 1 bdle.

Preemption papers, 1 bdle.

Miscellaneous papers, 4 bdles.

Miscellaneous papers, 1 box.

Danville Land Office. Established Act of February 19, 1831.

Tract books, lettered A-N; J probably omitted.

Receivers' quarterly account book, 1834-1845, 6 v.

Register of receipts, 1831-1856, 5 v.

Receivers' monthly account book, 1849-1856, 1 v.

Receivers' weekly account book, 1837-1853, 1 v.

Register of scrip and forfeited land stock received in payment for land, 1831-1856, 1 v.

Register of treasury notes of 1837 received, 1838 (September-November), 1 v.

Memoranda of land sales, 1855, November 26, December 7, 1 v.

Miscellaneous records; odd lists, 1834-1855, 2 v.

Danville plats and field notes, 1 v.

Letters and circulars, 1831-1856, 5 v.

Letters transmitted by the register, 1831-1855, 3 v.

Letters transmitted by the receiver, 1831-1855, 2 v.

Monthly abstract of locations of military land warrants: act of 1847, 1 v.; act of 1850, 3 v.; act of 1852, 1 v.; act of 1855, 1 v.

List of swamp and overflowed lands in the district, 1 v.

Same, list of state selections, act of 1850, 1 v.

List of vacant lands on the Illinois Central Railroad right of way, 1 v.

Commissioners' letters, 1831-1856, 16 bdles.

Letters to the register, 1846-1857, 2 bdles.

Preemption declarations, 1841-1855, 23 bdles.

Powers of attorney, 1835-1855, 1 bdle.

Preemption cases, 10 bdles.

Quincy Land Office. Established Act of February 19, 1831.

Tract book, 9 v.

Register of receipts, issued by the receiver of the public money, Quincy, 1831-1855, 5 v.

Receivers' quarterly account book, 1834-1855, 4 v.

Sales book, 1835, 1 v.

Registers' journal, 1831-1834, 1 v.

Registers' ledger, 1831-1832, 1 v.

Receivers' journal, 1831-1852, 1 v.

Receivers' ledger, 1832-1852, 1 v.

Invoice book, 1834-1836, 1 v.

Certificate of purchase stub book, about 1832, 1 v.

Abstract of purchases from 1835 (by receipt numbers); also register of preemption claims, 1839-1842, 1 v.

Register of declaratory statements under the preemption act of 1841, 1841-1855, 1 v.

List of government lands in the Quincy district at the date of establishment, 1 v.

Alphabetical list of purchasers of quarter sections, 1832-1847 (?), 1 v.

List of lands subject to entry, July 1, 1855, 1 v.

Register of certificates granted purchasers by the register, 1838, 1 v. (only 3 pp.).

Letter book of register, 1832-1853, 1 v.; 1831-1849, 1 v.

Receivers' letter book, 1831-1851, 1 v.

Abstract of locations of military land warrants under the act of 1847, 1847-1855, 2 v.; act of 1850, 1851-1855, 1 v.

Locations of land by military warrants, arranged by townships, 1 v.

Register of forfeited land stock and military scrip, 1833-1838, 1 v.

Quincy Land Office, etc.—Continued.

List of swamp lands with certificate of surveyor general as to the nature of the land, 1 v.

Same, list of state selections, 1 v.

Miscellaneous records, none of importance, 1 v.

Sundry loose lists of sales of lands by townships, about 1832-1835.

Plats of townships in the district, etc.

Correspondence, 1832-1855, 18 bdles.

Commissioners' letters, 1830-1855, 10 bdles.

Letters of treasurer and surveyor-general, 1 bdle.

Proclamations of land sales, 1 bdle.

Declarations, affidavits of preemption, etc., 1830-1848, 1 bdle.

Chicago Land Office. Established, Act of June 26, 1834.

Tract book, 5 v.

Sales of quarter and quarter-quarter sections, 1839-1840, 1 v.

List of lands within the district sold at the Danville and Palestine land offices, 1 v.

Register of receipts, 1835-1855, 3 v.

Quarterly account book, 1835-1855, 4 v.

Chicago district quarterly disbursements, 1 v.

Receivers' monthly accounts, 1839-1843, 1 v.

Receivers' accounts current, 1849-1855, 1 v.

Sales sheets, 1835, 4 v.; 1838, 1 v.; 1839, 2 v.; 1840, 1 v.; 1841, 1 v.; 1842, 1 v.; 1843, 1 v.; 1843–1851, 1 v.; 1852, 1 v.

Register of treasury notes of 1837, received at the land office, 1839–1843, 1 v. Register of weekly returns, 1839–1846, 2 v.

Chicago depositary, weekly accounts current, 1846-1853, 1 v.

Declaration register (by dates), 1841-1854, 2 v.

Register of declarations (alphabetical), 1841-1842, 1 v.

Declaration blotter, 1841-1843, 1 v.

Application blotter, 1844-1846, 1 v.

Docket of contests, 1842-1849, 1 v.

Chicago district protests, 1841-1842, 1 v.

Letters from the commissioners of the General Land Office, 1835-1841, 3 v.

Letters and circulars from the General Land Office, 1830-1855, 3 v.

Circulars of instruction, 1839-1847, 1 v.

Public letters, received at the receivers' office, 1835-1853, 4 v.

Letters transmitted, receivers' office, 1845-1855, 2 v.

Receivers' letter book, 1835-1845, 1 v.

Letters of the registers' office, 1835-1855, 4 v.

Letters from the commissioner to the register and receiver, 1842-1853, inclusive, 1 v. for each year.

Field notes, 1 v.

Register of military land scrip received, 1843-1850, 1 v.

List of swamp lands in Chicago district, 1 v.

Register of swamp and overflowed lands inuring to the State, act of 1850, 1 v.

List of land certified to the State for the construction of a railroad from Chicago to Mobile, (the Illinois Central) act of September 28, 1850, 1 v.

Plats of townships containing lands within 6 and 15 miles of the Illinois Central right of way, 1 v.

Preemption declarations, 1841-1854, 52 bdles.

Same, relinquished, 1842-1854, 2 bdles.

Chicago Land Office, etc.—Continued.

Depositions and evidence in contests over claims to preemption rights, 1841-1845, 3 bdles.; proofs of 1834-1852, 6 bdles.

Surveyor-generals' letters, 1835-1855, 1 bdle.

Commissioners' letters, 1832-1855, 2 bdles.

Commissioners' circulars, 1 bdle.

Letters to the register, 1 bdle.

Notices of treasury drafts, 1 bdle.

Abstract of warrants located, 1853-1855, 1 bdle.

Seminary and State lands selected by the State of Illinois, 1842-1845, 1 bdle.

Memoranda of surveys deposited at Chicago from the receiver at Green Bay and Milwaukee.

Papers relating to military bounty lands; affidavits for entry of land on military scrip.

A few receivers' receipts.

Galena Land Office. Established Act of June 26, 1834. Moved to Dixon about 1840. No cupboard for this office; only one or two records in the Dixon cupboard that can be identified as part of those of this office.

Galena land office receipt record, 1835-1836, 1 v.

Receipt record sales of town lots, Galena, 1837-1838, 1 v.

Dixon Land Office.

Tract book, 14 v. (first 3 marked "Lands now in Chicago District").

Receivers' quarterly account book, 1835-1855, 6 v.

Register of receipts, 1835-1855, 6 v.

Cash book, "No. 1", Galena and Dixon land offices, 1836-1841, 1 v.

Registers' sales blotter, 1841-1846, 2 v.

Accounts of the treasurer of the United States, with the receiver at Dixon, 1841-1843, 1 v.

Preemption sales, 1839-1840, 1 v.

Commission sales and accounts, etc., 1841-1848, 1 v.

Register of treasury notes received, 1843, 1 v. (Also accounts of the treasurer of the United States with the receiver at Dixon, 1845-1848.)

Register of certificates to purchasers, 1844-1855, 2 v.

Applications for purchase, 1839, 1 v.

Record of notice of entry on lands subject to private entry, 1841-1844, 1 v. Register of letters received from the General Land Office, and sent to the same, 1841-1844, 1 v.

Letter book of the register, 1835-1841, 1 v.; 1840-1844, 1 v.

Letter book of receiver and register, May-October, 1840, 1 v.

Letter book of receiver, 1835-1852, 2 v.

Letter book of register, 1848-1855, 4 v.

Military land warrants, locations under act of 1847, 1847-1855; with register of certificates to purchasers, 1848-1849, 2 v.

Conditional locations under act of 1847 on which conditions have expired, 1848–1850. 1 v.

Abstract of military land warrants located under act of 1850, 1851-1855, 2 v.

Locations of military land warrants under the act of 1852, 1852-1855, 1 v.

List of swamp lands in the district, certified to by the surveyor general, 1 v. List of swamp lands selected as inuring to the State, act of 1850, 1 v.

Plats of townships containing lands between 6 and 15 miles of the Illinois Central Railroad, 1 v.

List of lands granted the Illinois Central Railroad, 1 v.

Correspondence, 1836-1855, 10 bdles.

Dixon Land Office-Continued.

Letters and circulars from the General Land Office, sundry dates, 16 pigeon holes.

Preemption proofs, 10 pigeon holes Certificates, 6 pigeon holes.

OFFICE OF THE TREASURER.

The treasurer's office is not now an office of record. There are, however, a few books belonging to the treasurer's office heaped up on a set of shelves in the supply department office. As these had to be reached by a long and unstable ladder in a room with insufficient lights, it was not possible to make any very thorough examination. Some volumes of receipts into the treasury, 1823–1827, were noted. There is a book labeled "Journal A No. 1," 1821–1829. In all about a hundred books are in this place, but many of them are blank.

OFFICE OF THE CLERK OF THE SUPREME COURT.

The beginnings of the development of the Illinois supreme court to 1819 are admirably epitomized in the following entries of its first record book:

September Term 1814 5th day 1

At a General Court of the Illinois Territory begun and held as Kaskaskia in the County of Randolph on Monday the 5th day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fourteen and of the Independence of the United States the thirty ninth

Present The Honble Jesse B. Thomas Judge

Ordered that Court be adjourned until to morrow morning 10 O'Clock

J. B. THOMAS

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August Term 1815 7th day

In pursuance of an Act of Congress passed the 3th [sic] day of March 1813—Entitled an Act regulating and defining the duties of the United States Judges of the Illinois Territory

Be it remembered that in pursuance of the Aforesaid Act a Court of Appeals was begun and held at the Court house in the Town of Kaskaskia for the Illinois Territory on Monday the 7th day of August in the year of our lord one thousand Eight hundred and fifteen and of the Independence of the United States the fortieth The Honorable Jesse B Thomas and William Sprigg Judges Present—

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Monday July 12, 1819

At a supreme court began and held on the Second Monday of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and nineteen and of the Independence of the United States the Forty Fourth at Kaskaskia the seat of Government for the state of Illinois in conformity with the constitution of Said state and the act of Assembly entitled "an Act regulating and defining the duties of the justices of the Supreme court approved 31st of March 1819 Present the Hon Joseph Philips chief Justice and John Reynolds one of the Justices of the said Court.

¹The earlier record of the general court of Illinois Territory is in the court-house at Chester, Randolph County.



By the constitution of 1848 the supreme court was divided into three "grand divisions," located in the northern, central, and southern parts of the State. There was a corresponding division in the records of the court which continued until, after 1902, all three divisions of the court with their records were united at Springfield. A year or two ago the records were removed from the old capitol to the new Building of Justice. The various records were undoubtedly confused in their removal to Springfield in 1902. They were still more confused in their transport to the new building, especially the books mentioned below. A regrettable feature in this building is the lack of fireproof vaults for the storing of records. The mass of those of the supreme court are in a locked room in the basement in wooden pigeonholes and on wooden shelves.

The papers, reports, etc., connected with the various cases that have come before the court are carefully arranged and indexed. It seems that in the past these papers have been much depleted by vandalism and carelessness. In particular, seekers for Lincoln autographs have assailed them with such effect that it is now almost an impossibility in any way to find one. There are in addition some 150 bound volumes of court records at the least. These have been much disarranged by moving to the new building, and it has been impossible to list them all or to speak with authority as to the completeness of series of records. In order to do this it would be necessary to arrange the records by title, date, and division, a manifestly impossible thing to do in the scope allotted this survey. It is believed that all the books of the period prior to 1860 have been listed, volume by volume. The heads under which the records of the later period fall are indicated below.

Court Record book (the one from which quotation has been made above), 1 v., 340 pages, of which 46 are blank; index, 22 pages in addition. The first 38 pages contain the record of the "General Court of Illinois Territory"; pages 38-91 the record of the court of appeals for the August terms of 1815 and 1816 and the June terms of 1817 and 1818. On page 92 the record of the supreme court begins. Last entry, December, 1823. In the back of the book are the rules of the court and the "Roll of Attourneys" admitted to practice. Sixty-five entries; first entry, July 14, 1819; last entry, February 22, 1833. The fact that these names are in different handwritings suggests that in some cases at least they may be signatures of the attorneys admitted. Minute book of the Supreme Court November 22, 1824-February 1, 1827, 1 v. 224 pages. No rolls of attorneys or rules of court

Same, February 11, 1827-December 8, 1831, 1 v. With rules of the court and rolls of attorneys, June 7, 1828-February 18, 1840.

Record of proceedings, 1831, 1 v.



¹ It might be noted in this connection that but one was found in the whole course of the survey, and that in a bond given in connection with the location of the capital, 1839-40.

² It should be said that many of these books, especially for the earlier dates, are in very poor condition as a result of dampness.

Record of proceedings, 1834–1843(?), 1 v. Record of proceedings, 1838–1840, 1 v.

Record of proceedings, 1844-1850(?), 1 v.

Dockets. 1836, 1 v.; 1836-1839, 1 v.; court docket, 1840, 1 v.; judges docket, 1840, 1 v.; 1840-1842, 1 v.; 1842-1847, 1 v.; 1848, 1 v.; docket(?) third division, 1849-1851, 1 v.

Bar dockets, clerks' dockets, clerks' memoranda dockets, etc; often two or three for a year; usually insufficiently labeled. Bar docket, 1842, 1 v.; dockets as indicated above, 1849, 2 v.; 1850, 2 v.; 1851, 4 v.; 1852, 3 v.; 1853, 2 v.; 1854, 3 v.; 1855, 3 v.; 1856, 2 v.; 1857, 3 v.; 1858, 2 v.; 1859, 2 v.; execution docket, first division, 1853–1859, 1 v.

Process book, 1837-1842, 1 v.

Praecipe book, 1838, 1 v.

Execution book, 1837-1853, 1 v.

Judgment record, 1849-1858, 1 v.

Fee journal, 1825-1830, 1 v.

Fee book, 1842-1846(?), 1 v.

Lists of attorneys to 1851 with list of books in library at that date, 1 v.

Sundry indexes to the above.

After 1860 the records are included under the following heads:

Judgment records; affirmed. Judgment records; reversed.

Final order records: reversed and remanded.

Special order records.

Clerks' docket.

Clerks' memorandum docket.

Court docket.

Judges' docket.

Bar docket.

Conference docket.

Execution docket.

Judgment docket.

Fee books.

Journal record.

Record of opinions.

Court record.

Minute books.

Interlocutory orders.

Submission record.

OFFICE OF THE ADJUTANT GENERAL.

The adjutant general, as his office was originally designed (act of Indiana Territory of September 17, 1807, printed as part of the Illinois code of 1815; act of March 26, 1819), was a mere aid of the governor in his function as commander in chief of the militia. The act of 1819 made it the duty of the adjutant general to receive returns of certain militia elections (the others were certified to the governor direct), to certify regarding them to the governor, to file militia returns of the form prescribed by the militia law in his office, and to forward abstracts of them to the governor and to the authori-

ties at Washington, D. C. He was in addition to serve as inspector general. The act of February 8, 1821, in addition required him to procure commissions for militia officers from the secretary of state, to register and to forward them. He was also under this act to keep a file of certificates of elections in his officerat the seat of government.

The adjutant general continued to be bound by law to discharge such duties until the Civil War. The numerous acts designed to tinker the "universal service" militia system into efficient order made no change in these. The militia act of May 2, 1861, provided for annual militia censuses, with returns to the adjutant general's office. It was in fact the Civil War, for which this act was designed as a preparation, that by the very vastness of the flood of duties it poured on the military authority of the State raised the office to an important height. The act of February 2, 1865, was a somewhat tardy recognition of the new importance of the adjutant general. He was to issue and sign all military orders of the governor; carefully to preserve all military correspondence; to keep muster rolls of Illinois volunteers, and rosters of commissioned officers; he was to report annually; finally, all records and military papers in the office of the secretary of state were to be transferred to his care and to constitute part of the records of his office. Though his position under this act was to last only during the war, or so long as the governor deemed necessary, the act of March 10, 1869, made the office permanent and annexed to it the duties of chief of ordnance. The later militia acts, that have evolved first the "volunteer system" and then the Illinois National Guard from the old universal service militia system, have largely increased the duties of the adjutant general, as an examination of the records listed below will make clear.

The records to be found in this office and their condition can best be considered in connection with this sketch of its legislative history. The mass of militia returns that the laws above cited would lead one to expect are conspicuous by their absence. A fire that destroyed the records of the office in the winter of 1823 (Ill. Hist. Coll., IV, 54) is perhaps responsible in part for this condition. The mass of records, indicated as having been found in this office for the period prior to the Civil War, were probably for the most part deposited under the act of 1865. A guess might be hazarded that the similarity of part of the material dating from 1811 to that in the executive files of the secretary of state is due to an unskillful, if conscientious, attempt to live up to the requirements of the act of 1865, by transferring to the adjutant general all documents that were in any sense military records; and this led to a consequent division of the above-mentioned The muster rolls of the Black Hawk and Mexican Wars have been copied from records in Washington. As for the period immediately preceding the Civil War, Adjt. Gen. Fuller, in his report for 1861-62 (p. 11), states that his predecessor turned over to him only 25 bonds for arms, issued to militia companies, and 37 certificates of election for the period 1857-1860. A better commentary on the complete breakdown of the old militia system could not be offered.

The character of the papers, etc., of this period, as well as that of a great body of Civil War and post-Civil War books and documents, is apparently unknown to the clerks in the office. These records are kept in no apparent order in large iron cases. While they are here preserved in safety from fire and damp they are not accessible to students; and this is not a source of wonder. A great gulf separates these relics of the old militia régime from the present-day administration. The rapid changes in law have given no opportunity for continuity in the records; nor is there any call for information to be drawn from these older files, such as has resulted in the ordering of the major part of the records of the contributions of Illinois in the Civil War.

The following report has been prepared from an examination of the records, of necessity hasty and imperfect:

Territorial Militia Records, etc.

One bundle of papers labeled "War of 1812"; it includes (a) muster rolls, inspection returns, morning reports of various militia companies, mostly of the war of 1812—some of earlier dates, 56 pieces. (b) Letters to Governor Ninian Edwards and others from Isaac White, N. Boilvin, Greenup, D. Bissell, Russell, Rector, etc. Some of these are merely election returns of companies, some relate to Indian affairs (there is a rough draft of an Indian "talk", etc.) 1810–1815, 56 pieces. The following specimens have been selected, almost at random:

[Isaac White to Ninian Edwards.]

U. S. SALINE 28th July 1810

DEAB SIB: I received your letter by Colo Rector with very pleasant emotions and am highly gratified to know that my conduct is approved of by you, the commissions were also Received and Several of the officers sworn in immediately the most of them being present at a drill muster, we continued the muster two days and were much improved by it. I hope you will not attribute by importunity to any sinister motive but I really wish that there could be new companies allowed in Fords Fergusons and Evans Companies districts. A Volunteer Company in Shawnee Town District would remidy the evil complained of in that quarter, the law makes 64 rank and file a Company, but may be extended to 80. 4 Companies a battalion. 2 Battalions a Regiment. There is four of these companies that has upwards of one hundred rank and file now I can no more tell what is to be done legally with all over Eighty than I can tell what would be done with five companies to a Battalion or three Battalions to a regiment. Maj'r Ferguson and Capt Evans think that it will be Morrally impossible to Compell all the men in their district to meet in one place to muster.

By returns made to me William Alcom [?] has been elected Capt Gab'l Tisworth [?] lieut Saml Waters Ensign in the Company formerly commanded by Majr Furgessen. Thomas Griffith Capt Thomas Wells Lieut Walker Dannel Ensign in Daniels Setlement though I am told that Wells has absconded. It will be a great favour to these Gentlemen if you should Commission them, to authorise the nearest Justice of the peace to swear them in. William Powel has been elected Lieutenant and James Mc Daniel Ensign in Captain Evans Company. I have two blank commissions (which were intended for Capt Fer-



gessons Subalterns) which I will fill up with the names of Powel and McDaniels if you have no objection if you will allow of a Volunteer Company to be raised in this Battalion I wish you would appoint Leo⁴ White Captain H Henry Kenyon Lieutenant and John Forester Ensign if they will accept, and I think they will. Kenyon is my Adjutant and a very Clever fellow, and the appointment of Forrester would conciliate the minds of the people in that district fifty two out of a hundred and six voted for him as their Capt. I enclose you a Subscription raised by Campbell, but he is not Eligable and Such a Character as I think you would not appoint. I also inclose a petition handed me by Maj'r Fergusson for a Justice of the peace in the neighborhood of Fort Massack, I am not acquainted with the person but Maj'r Fergusson speaks highly of him and upon further acquaintance with Maj'r Fergusson I realy think highly of him.

I am with profond Respect Your Excellency's Most Obt Servt

ISAAC WHITE

[N. Boilvin to Nathaniel Pope.]

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN Jan 22 1810

Dear Sir: Wm Bates acting Governor of the Territory of Louisiana has informed me, of your having complained to him, that I have granted Licenses within this Territory to trade. Several Persons have applied to me for Licenses, but I have referred them to you, and I told Mr Pollier and others to inform themselves thereof below. I am sorry any Misrepresentations should have been made by some Persons, as I told every one I would not act without Orders from the Government of this Territory. A fatal Catastrophe occurred here on the 26th of Last Month. Felix Mervier a blacksmith by trade, was Killed by francois LaChapele, a Baker, the latter in a quarrel fired a Pistol loaden with large Shot, 32 of which were found to have entered in Merviers left breast he was deprived of Life instantly. The Perpetrator has escaped, I have offered an Reward for his Apprehension but nothing has been heard of him as yet. An Inquest was held on the Body of Mervier, and the Jurors brought in Wilful Murder

I am with Respect Dear Sir Your obt Servt

N BOILVIN Agt

P. S.—As I have told Mr Pollier when he went below, that I would not grant any Licenses for this Side of the Mississippi, and that he should enquire himself, as I had no Power to do so, you would oblige me to inform me early in the Spring and give me Instructions what I shall do, and if you give me Instructions to grant License, please to Send me the form, and the Duty thereon, as I have said to Pollier that I perhaps gett Orders from below, and I wish to know how to act in this Case

N. B.

One bundle of muster rolls, morning returns, etc., similar to the above. Also an envelope containing sundry letters from Bissell, Boilvin, and others as well as the following:

[Andrew Jackson to Ninian Edwards]

HEAD QUARTERS DIVISION OF THE SOUTH

Nashville 25 July 1815

SIR: I have received your letters of the 11th and 16th Instant respecting the hostile disposition which is continued to be manifested by several of the Tribes of Indians with whom you had to treat.

In consequence of Gov. Clark having stated in a letter of the 16th Inst that on returning to the Portage des Sioux [?] he would write me more fully on the subject, I have declined taking measures until the arrival of that letter,—for calling out a sufficient force of the militia of Tennessee and Kentucky to put an end to all disturbances in that quarter and to secure permenent tranquility

to our Frontiers. I have this day written the Sec: of War on the subject stating that if I shall receive a confirmation in the letter which I expect of what has been already communicated to me, I will take immediate and effectual measures for the Occasion.

I must now request that you will lose no time in informing me whether the Indians continue to display a hostile attitude—how many Tribes do so—their strength—whether they have crops growing, and where their most populous villages are situated.

If the conduct of any of them should render a special communication necessary you will forward it by express. Col Miller, for the present is ordered to take Command of that Section of the Division, and is authorized to call out from the militia such auxilliary force as may be necessary for the protection of the Frontier, and to act in all things thereto appertaining with a sound discretion until the arrival of Gen'l Smith with the Regulars. Genl Bissell has been ordered to New Orleans.

I have the honor to be very Respectfully Sir Yr Most Obt St ANDREW JACKSON

Major Genl comdg D. of the South

His Excellency Gov EDWARDS.

One bundle of material about 1817. Militia election returns, petitions and applications for appointment; certificates by the adjutant-general to the governor of the genuineness of militia elections, the bases for the issuance of commissions, 1823–1826.

State Period, 1818-1860.

No trace of correspondence, returns, etc., for this period was found, between 1826 and 1846.

Commission record, 1 v. 208 pages. Commissions recorded under "General Staff," the various regiments, and county battalions. The first entry is August 24, 1819—"James B. Moore Major Genl 1st Division Resigned;" the last entry is of 1835.

Same, 1835–1858, 1 v. Arranged by regiments, First to the One Hundred and Fourth. Also a list of volunteer officers of Illinois for the war with Mexico. 1846–1848.

Commission Record, 1830-1843, 1 v. By date of issuance.

"Commission Record," 1809-1836, 1 v. Evidently copied or compiled from earlier records about 1843. The last record in it is of three commissions in 1854. First to the Fiftieth regiments.

Same, Fifty First to Ninety-eighth regiments, 1821-1837 (?), 1 v.

Black Hawk War Muster rolls, etc., 1 fb.

Same, First (or Fifth), Second, Third, Fourth, Illinois Volunteers, Mexican War. 1 fb. (The contents of these two filing boxes are copied from records at Washington.)

A set of filing cases containing various papers filed according to county. Among these a few brigade inspectors' reports, 1847-1849. Also a few papers about 1855-1856. Searching through all the filing cases in this set was impossible; but search for a few of the oldest and largest counties failed to reveal earlier correspondence.

Militia election returns, 1858-1861, 1 bdle.

State period, 1861-1865.

The working office record is a series of volumes in which have been transcribed and compiled such records of the Illinois contributions to the Union army as are accessible. These comprise usually the particulars of the muster-in rolls—description of recruit, country or State of birth, occupation, age, whether married or single, place and date of enlistment, date of muster out, discharge, or promotion, or date and particulars of death in action if known.

7th to the 156th infantry regiments, 71 v.

State period, 1861-1865-Continued.

1st to 17th cavalry regiments, 9 v.

1st and 2d artillery regiments, 2 v.

29th Colored, 1 v.

Reorganized and revived regiments, 5 v.

The records from which these have been compiled are in a series of filing cases, containing muster in and out rolls, returns of election of officers, muster-in rolls of new recruits, miscellaneous papers, etc.

7th-156th Infantry, 294 fb.

1st-17th Cavalry, 50 fb.

1st and 2d Artillery, 9 fb.

29th Colored, 2 fb.

Miscellaneous companies, "15-day" men, "Cairo Expedition," copies of muster-in rolls of the "Six Regiments" of April 15, 1861, 8 fb.

The files arranged by counties mentioned above under State period. 1818–1860, contain also lists of able-bodied men in the various counties, 18-45 years of age, with information as to whether or not they had already enlisted under the General Orders of the War Department, 99 (#1862, draft). The lists for Cook County towns are found elsewhere, bound in two volumes, as well as those for Lake County (1 v.), Rock Island County (1 v.), and Adams County (1 v.).

The files also contain reports of enrolling officers, July-August, 1862, and company reports of enlistments, call of July, 1862 (for Cook County these are in separate packages elsewhere); in some cases the militia rolls of counties, July-August, 1861; muster rolls of home guards, with elections of officers, August-September, 1863; reports of militia companies about April, 1864. The following is an interesting example that was chanced upon:

SHELBYVILLE April 26 1864

To A. C. FULLER

Adjutant General of the State of Ills

Sir I rec your order of April 15 and Make the following Report these Crossed are enlisted in the 54 Ills vol. [List of 43 men follows] all these that are not Crossed with the exception of one are Able for Service when an order is issued for them to turn out as for By Laws the U S tactics is our principal law as for drill we have progressed as well as could be expected not having any arms to drill with as for other information i have this to Say that About the 31 of March I saw the Copperheads of this Settlement gathering at the house of one Marcus Richardson Sheriff of Shelby Co armed to the number of from 30 to 40 and I took the opportunity to See what they was doing as Soon as it was dark So that i Could Silp on them But they dispersed Soon after I got close enough to Begin to hear what they was Saying and All that i Could Make out what they intended was to find out the Strength of our men i suposed at Mattoon and then for their Spy to Report the next day at the house of one Wm Stewartson But dident do any thing more we would like to have Some arms and Equipments if they are to Be had any Posible way as the K G C¹ threaten opposition to any enforcement of the laws

Yours Respectfully

D Y MILLIGAN
Captain Commanding Holland Guards

Record of Illinois regiments compiled about 1865. 1 v. Gives roll of first enlisted officers, by whom mustered, when, where, occupation, married or single, country or State of birth, promotions, discharge, death, etc.; aggregate strength and historical memoranda of career. (Printed Report of Adjutant-General, 1861–1866, vs. 1, 2.)

¹ Knights of the Golden Circle.

"Appendix A," roster of officers of Illinois volunteers, 1861-1865. 7th-35th Infantry, 1 v.; 36th-66th Infantry, 1 v.; 67th-106th Infantry; 107th-156th Infantry, 1 v.; Cavalry and Artillery, 1 v.

Record of Illinois soldiers who died at Andersonville, to March 18, 1865. 1 v. Gives number of grave, rank, regiment, and company, date of death, residence. Copied from the prison record, by Sergeant-Major Johnson, himself at one time a prisoner. (In printed report, 1861-1866.)

List of Union soldiers buried at Camp Butler, Quincy and Alton and of "Rebel" soldiers buried at Camp Butler. 1 pkg.

List of Union and "Rebel" dead buried at or near Camp Butler, 1 v. With grave number, when known; some names, grave unknown.

Commission Records.

Commission Record; appointments and promotions of Iilinois volunteers, etc. April 22, 1861-March 5, 1862, 1 v. Index, 1 v.

Commission record "No. 2", March, 1862-October, 1862, 1 v.; "No. 3", October-December, 1862, 1 v. Index, 1 v.

Commission record, January, 1862-March, 1869, 1 v.

Indexes to commission records, 1862-1863, 2 v.

Commission record, arranged alphabetically, April 22, 1861-1866 (?) 1 v. List of officers resigned, discharged, etc. Alphabetical. 1861-1865, 1 v.

List of officers discharged, 1865, 1 v.

Volunteers.

"Tenders for the Six Regiments" (April, 1861), 1 pkg.

Register of independent companies accepted, April 19-23, 1861, 1 v. List of companies tendered, and sundry general and special orders of the adjutant-general, spring of 1862.

Tenders of companies for three years, 1861-1863, several packages.

"New call, 1862", three-year men accepted, 1 pkg.

Tenders of companies for three years, 1862 under the "new call", 1 pkg.

Tenders of troops, July-August, 1862, 1 pkg.

Papers relating to the "hundred days' call" of 1864. Lists of recruits, telegrams, correspondence, etc., 1 pkg. The following was noted.

MT VERNON ILLS May 9/64

Hon R. M. YATES Springfield Ills.

DEAB SIE I feel it my Duty to inform you In regard to a company that is now being raised in this town for the 100 Days call, the Captain of this company is the editor of this little rebel Sheet so long bin hissing its treasonable Poison over our County he declared he will not have a G. D. Republican in his company he Declares he will not have a man unless he is against the Administration of the War and that his company will be a company of true Knights of the G. C. I think it write that you should know what kind of men these are Before you give them Comissions

Yours with Respect

Z. C. WILLIAMS

[Endorsed in pencil]

ADJT GEN-

We will watch this case—I will not commission [name illegible] if he is a Copperhead.

Applications for appointments as, and recommendations of surgeons and assistant surgeons, 1 pkg.

Roster of Illinois veteran volunteers, 1863-1865, 1 v.

Return of volunteers mustered into the United States service to October 1, 1863, 1 v.

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Volunteers-Continued.

Summary of volunteers furnished by the various counties to each regiment, to October 1, 1863, 1 v.

Register of the men from each county in each regiment and company, undated, 1 v.

Returns and accounts of enrolling officers, October-November, 1862, 1 v. Register of the whereabouts and personnel of recruiting parties, 1863, 1 v. List of recruiting agents, 1864, 1 v.

Record of companies recruited in various counties, July, 1862 (?), 1 v.

Various papers relating to recruiting, 1864, 1 pkg.

A large number of paper bound muster-in rolls. Usually one to each company; from their number apparently approximately complete for the Illinois regiments. These are apparently the first muster rolls of the various companies that voluntered for three years, before being formed into regiments. They have not been used as record books for more than a few months after the date of enlistment. There are some marked "Additional Recruits, ——— Regiment".

Sundry packages of muster-in rolls. It is not easy to see why these have not been filed by counties as the others have been.

Sundry packages of papers relating to substitutes—lists of unassigned substitutes various Congressional districts.

Militia Records.

Reports of the counties under the general militia law of 1861. 1 v. Militia returns,—number in organizations, by counties, August, 1862 (?), 1 v.

Men subject to military duty in Cook County, 1861, 2 pkg.

List of those liable to duty in Perry County, September 1, 1861, 1 pkg.

Same, Jo Daviess County (?); neither date nor title, 1 v.

Tenders of new organizations, state militia, 1861, 2 pkgs.

Militia tenders under order No. 3, 1862, 1 pkg.

Register of militia blanks furnished to the counties, 1862-1863, 1 v.

Commission record, state militia, home guards, 1862-1875, 1 v.

Bounty Claims.

Record of claims in behalf of Illinois soldiers for bounty, 1865–1866, 1 v; October-December, 1866, 1 v.

Record of claims for additional bounty, Act of Congress of 1866, January-April, 1867, 1 v; April, 1867-February, 1875, 1 v.

Several packages of papers, correspondence, etc., relating to the above.

Stubs of certificates of enlistment, June 3-November 2, 1864-1865, 1 v.

Ordnance Records and Accounts. These are often insufficiently labeled.

Records of ordnance and ordnance stores received, shipped, and issued May 1, 1861 (?), 1 v.

Return of ordnance in arsenal, 1861 (?), 1 v.

Ordnance and ordnance stores received and issued, December, 1861, 1 v.

Ordnance stores on hand and received, 1861, 1 v.

Account of arms received and ammunition issued, etc., 1861-1862, 1 v.

Ordnance and ordnance supplies received from the United States, 1862-1865, 3 v.

Ordnance and ordnance stores issued, 1862-1865, 2 v.

Ordnance expenditures, 1862, 1 v.

Ordnance purchases, 1862, 1 v.

Register of military property received to January 1, 1863, 1 v. "No. 1." United States stores issued from the arsenal, 1863-1866, 1 v.

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Ordnance Records and Accounts, etc.—Continued.

State arsenal issue book, 1863-1871, 1 v.

Ordnance and ordnance stores issued, 1865, 1 v.

Ordnance and ordnance stores received from regimental officers, 1865, 1 v.

Ordnance and ordnance stores issued to the regular army, 1865-1866, 1 v.

Arsenal expense accounts, 1862, 1 v.

Arsenal pay-roll, 1862-1864, 1 v.

Cartridge manufacture account pay-roll (?), 1861, 1 v.

Papers relating to ordnance receipts and issues, 1 pkg.

Routine Records of the Office.

Orders of the adjutant-general. General orders, 1861-1865, 1 v.

Scrap book—proclamations of the governor, general orders, legislative acts relating to the militia, etc., April 1861—February 1865 (mostly of 1861), 1 v.

General and special orders, 1861, 1 v.

Telegrams received, various subjects, several packages.

Telegrams, apparently all from the Washington authorities—secretaries of war, adjutant-generals, General Halleck, etc., April, 1861-March, 1865. Among these is the original of the famous despatch.

WAR DEPARTMENT, Washington Apr 15, 1861.

His Excellency RICHARD YATES

Call made on you by tonights mail for six 6 regiments of militia for immediate service.

Simon Cameron, Secy of War.

Several miscellaneous packages of letters.

Endorsement books, containing a brief of each letter received with memoranda as to action taken, reply made, etc., 1862-1865, 3 v.; 1865-1868, 1 v.

Letter books, all letter-press; 31 volumes for the civil war period (to May 1865). The series begins with one numbered in pencil "3,"—first letter, May 6, 1861. The whereabouts of the first two books, if they ever existed, is unknown. The books contain little material of great importance. They are mostly routine, replies to questions of form, general orders, etc.

Correspondence of state military agents; correspondence with Col. B. F. Bumgardner, state military agent for Illinois soldiers, 1865, 1 v.

Same, Col. Owen Long, 1865-1866, 1 v.; same, papers, 1 pkg.

Voucher records, etc.; "Abstract K" (no date). Voucher record of vouchers issued by quartermaster-general, State of Illinois, 2 v.

Abstracts "A", "D" (no date). Voucher records, 1 v.

Journal of office expenses, 1863-1865, 1 v.

Miscellaneous Records.

Illinois state war claims; settlement of 1867, 1 v.; correspondence, etc., 1869, 1 v.

Manuscript of report of adjutant-general to governor, 1864, 1 v.

Expenditures and liabilities of counties, war of the rebellion, 1 v.

Poll book; vote of the First Cavalry on the (rejected) constitution of 1862, 1 v.

Register of Illinois soldiers in Nashville hospitals, 1865, 1 v.

Camp Butler; morning reports, August, 1861-December, 1862, 1 v.; 1865, 1 v.; orders, etc., 1861-1863, 3 v.; transportation orders, 1862, 1 v.

Camp Douglas, morning reports, 1861-1862, 1 v.

Record of sundry blank books, forms, etc., issued to regiments, 1863-1864, 1 v.

Miscellaneous Records-Continued.

Seventeenth Infantry record books; regimental orders, August, 1862-March, 1863, 1 v.; sick list Co. E, 1863-1864, 1 v.; clothing account Co. E, 1862-1864, 1 v.; morning reports, Co. E, July, 1862-December, 1863, 1 v.; "Description Book", Company E, 1 v.

Seventy Third Infantry, Company A, clothing account, 1863-1865, 1 v.

Eightieth Infantry, general order book, September, 1862-January, 1864, 1 v. Same, record of guard mount at Nashville, Tenn., July-August, 1863, 1 v.

One Hundred and Thirty-Eighth Infantry, regimental order book, June—October, 1864, 1 v.; letter book, June—September, 1864; 1 v.; description book, 1 v.

One Hundred and Forty-Fifth Infantry, Company B, order book, 1864, 1 v.; clothing account, 1 v.; description book, 1 v.

Records 1865-1898.

Commission record, 1875-date, vols. A-F.

Order book (general orders, etc.), 1875-1878, 1 v.1

Special order books, 1875-1897, 17 v.1

Letter books, May, 1865—date. Not in order, probably complete. They are mostly filled with correspondence regarding applications for certificates of service. There are also a few general order books, not all labeled.

Endorsement books, 1877-1896,(?) 7 v.

Register of telegrams received, 1885-1898, 1 v.1

Voucher ledger, 1881-1896, 3 v.

Record of the division of the "Military Fund," 1879-1880, 1 v.

Arsenal accounts, 1877, 1 v.

Arsenal expenses, 1877-1879, 1 v.

Record of supplies issued to Illinois National Guard, 1877-1881, 1 v.

Record of state property in the hands of the Illinois National Guard, about 1895–1898, 1 v.¹

Property book, quartermasters' department, receipts and issues, 1896–1897, 2 v.1

Invoice book, quartermasters' department, articles issued, 1884-1893, 1 v. Receipt book, articles received, 1884-1893, 1 v.

Property book, receipts and issues. Cross indexed with the above two books, 1 v.

Invoice of quartermaster-generals' supplies, Illinois National Guard, 1898, 1 v.

Distribution of revised adjutant-generals' reports, 1861-1866, 1 v.

Discharges from service, 1877-1882, 3 v.1

Veterans' roll, Illinois National Guard, officers resigned or retired 1896–1899. 1 v.¹

Roster of the Illinois National Guard, 1896, 3 v. (one volume for each brigade)¹

Index to roster of the Illinois National Guard, 1877, 1 v.

Minutes of board of auditors, Illinois Soldiers' College, 1867-1871, 1 v.

Register books of the "Reunion of 1878," at Springfield in connection with the transfer of battle flags from the arsenal to the capitol. Infantry, 1 v.; cavalry, 1 v.; artillery, 1 v.; veterans of Mexican and Black Hawk were 1 v.

Same, record of proceedings, 1 v.

Record of G. A. R. posts (?), about 1868-1870, 1 v.

Visitors' book, Memorial Hall, 1 v.

¹The general and special orders, at least in part, some telegrams, and summaries of the property accounts indicated above are printed in the reports of the adjutant general.

Records 1865-1898-Continued.

Proceedings of Co. D, Seventh Regiment, formerly the Washington County Guards, 1877-1889, 1 v.

Same, cash book and ledger, 1878-1881, 1 v.

Minute book of Mason Guards, 1877-1881, 1 v.

Records 1898-date.

Roster of Veterans Spanish American war, bound volumes.

Records of Illinois regiments, muster rolls, etc., 13 fb.

Commission record of the "Provisional Regiments," 1 v.

Register of the Emergency Military Hospital at Springfield, September-October, 1898, 1 v.

Muster-in rolls, etc., similar to those described above.

Returns and drill reports of the Illinois National Guard and Naval Reserve; by regiments, 11 fb.

Property returns; also some drill reports and returns current dates; by regiments, 12 fb.

Bonds of officers intrusted with state property, 2 fb.

Annual returns of the National Guard and Naval Reserve, 3 fb. (current). Proceedings of courts martial, courts of inquiry, boards of survey, 3 fb. (current).

Returns to the quartermaster-general of the United States, of property held by the National Guard. By the governor, 1898–1906, 2 fb.

Returns ditto, ordnance, 1887-date, 3 fb.

Enlistment papers of men in the National Guard, by regiment and company, 112 fb. (current).

Current files of letters to regiments, inventory and inspection reports, current vouchers, etc.

In addition to the above records in the vault and main office, are a few vouchers, etc., of not great interest in a basement storeroom.

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

This office was created by an act of February 28, 1854. The superintendent was required by the act to file all papers, reports, and public documents transmitted by school officials of the State. The act of February 16, 1857, required him to report on certain subjects biennially to the governor. It is the intention of the superintendent in the near future to have the material in his vault and office carefully classified and indexed. Except for the fact that there is no index to the contents of the two-story vault which serves this office, the manuscript records seem to be in fairly good condition. In addition to these manuscript records there is a large collection of published matter in the office—textbooks, educational periodicals, etc.—of considerable value and interest. A summary of the manuscript material in the office follows:

County superintendents' reports to the superintendent of public instruction.

These reports, of course, contain different material at different periods. The contents of one of 1873 is here briefly indicated. For each township: number of persons under 21; number between 6 and 21; whole number of school districts; those having five months of school or less; those having more;

number of male and female teachers and pupils; libraries in district; amount of school lands sold during the year; amount of those still unsold; number of stone, brick, frame and log schoolhouses; years' accounts; records of examinations for teachers' certificates; number of teachers' institutes, etc.; number of teachers with normal school training in the district; activities of the county superintendent, schools visited, etc. To 1874, the reports are in loose sheets done up in packages. From 1861 to 1874, they are complete except for 1863, 1865. From 1874 they are in five volumes each year, except for 1877 which never has been bound, to 1879. Half of the reports for 1880 could not be found; from 1881 to date there are four bound volumes for each year.

Correspondence connected with these reports has at times been filed separately and kept in separate bundles: 1879, 1 pkg.; 1880 2 pkg.; 1881, 1 pkg.; 1882, 3 pkg.; 1891, 1892, 1893, 1 pkg. for each year; 1894, 2 pkgs.; 1897, 1898, 1 pkg. each. Also in the first story of the vault are 6 filing boxes of this, 1900-1905. Miscellaneous correspondence, 1857, 1 pkg.

Correspondence, 1883-1907, 194 transfer files.

Letter books; the earliest 1865; the latest current dates, 101 v.

Three sets of tin filing boxes of old pattern are arranged by counties. The first set contains routine correspondence, answers to questions, etc., 1865–1880. The second set contains material of the same sort, 1879–1890. The latest set contains letters putting questions on points of legality, etc., 1891–1902. Some material touching teachers' institutes, etc., 1907–8.

Papers relating to teachers' institute licenses, applications and recommendations for, 1887, 1 fb; 1888, 2 fb; 1889, 1 fb; 1891-1902, 7 fb.

Receipts for teachers' institute licenses, 1889-1901, 1 fb.

State teachers' certificates—testimonials presented for admission to examinations for, 1875, 2 fb; 1876, 2 fb; 1878, 1 fb; 1879–1880, 1 fb; 1881, 1 fb; 1882, 1 fb; 1883, 1 fb; 1884, 1 fb; 1885, 1 fb; 1886, 1 fb; 1887, 1 fb; 1888, 2 fb; 1889, 1 fb; 1891–1905, 8 fb.

Miscellaneons papers connected with the above, 1872-1875, 1 fb.

Correspondence relating to certificates, 1881, 1 fb.

Receipts for state certificates from county superintendents, 1899-1903, 1 fb.

"Oral Examination;" envelopes containing cards with names of applicants for teachers' certificates, 1876, 1880-1881, 2 fb.

Proceedings of the board of education; minutes, reports of auditing committees, reports of the Natural History Museum, Normal University, vouchers, etc.: 1862–1863, 1 fb; 1865–1866, 1 fb; 1867–1869, 1 fb; 1870–1871, 1 fb; 1873, 2 fb; 1874, 1 fb; 1875, 1 fb; 1876, 1 fb; 1879, 1 fb; 1879–1880, 1 fb; 1881, 2 fb; 1882, 1 fb.

Sundry files under the names of the various States and territories, also Canada, etc. They contain correspondence from the educational departments of these States, applications from their citizens for positions, etc., 1869–1883.

Normal University; bids for the location of the university from Peoria and Bloomington; proposals for its construction, etc., 1 fb; bids and vouchers, 1871-1878, 1 fb; miscellaneous reports, 1876-1878, 1 fb; reports of the treasurer, 1875-1878, 1 fb; correspondence from the university, about 1878, 2 fb.

Papers of the Illinois State Teachers' Association: roll of members, 1868–1892, 1 v.; minutes of meetings, etc., 1866–1880, 1 v.; 1890–1893, 1 v.; 1894–1895, 1 v.; ms. minutes of meetings, papers read, etc., 1878–1881, 1891–1901, 9 boxes. Record book, Society of School Principals, 1870–1880, 1 v.

A set of examination papers of teachers in Lanark, Carroll County, 1877. Current receipts for biennial report, etc.

Opinions of attorney-general, 1869-date, 2 fb.

Duplicates of reports to the United States Commissioner of Education, 1880-date, 1 fb.

Certificates of inspection of sundry schools for awarding of "diploma of equipment"—for excellent equipment, etc., 1902-1908, 1 fb.

Sundry testimonials in behalf of teachers, 1878, 1 fb.

Corrections in county superintendents' reports, 1872, 1 fb.

Sundry vouchers, 1875-1877, 1 fb.

Circulation of newspapers in each county for the State, 1876, supplied by the county superintendent, 1 pkg.

Applications for the position of custodian of the Lincoln Monument, 1895, 1 pkg.

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.

No enactment has been found defining the duties or office of the attorney general for Territorial Illinois. The office, however, was provided for by the constitution of 1818 (schedule No. 10). It was clearly the intention of the constitutional convention of 1847 to "abolish" the office (Journal of Convention, p. 534; in the address to the people in commenting on the convention's work they speak of its action in "abolishing" the office). Yet, oddly enough, the constitution of 1848 in another place (Art. III, sec. 29) expressly forbids the attorney general to have a seat in the general assembly. The office lapsed, until it was recreated by the act of February 27, 1867, which provided for the appointment of an attorney general by the governor and senate forthwith, and his election thereafter by popular vote.

The records of this office are kept in a room in the basement of the new court building. A schedule of them follows:

Opinion records. Vols. 1, 2, 3, 1873-1893, contain the opinions duly copied out by hand. Vols. 4-9, 1893-1905, are letter-press. These are indexed by title. The records of the present administration which dates from 1905 are kept in the main office.

Letter books, 1875-1905, 39 v. Current letters, informal opinions, etc.

Old letters, etc.; a great many of these are kept in large transfer cases but have fallen into confusion; one file for 1874; another for about 1884; a third contains miscellaneous papers, some of 1881 and 1890 being noted.

Correspondence, 1875-1880, 12 transfer files; 1887-1889, 1 file; 1893-1904, 72 transfer files.

Legal papers, 35 pkg., relating to cases at law; motions, etc. All are of comparatively recent dates. Labeled "File case No. 1," etc.

Printed briefs and abstracts of cases in which the attorney general acted; small number, recent dates.

Two lists of corporations certified to by the secretary of state as having failed to comply with the anti-trust law of 1893; for 1901 and 1902. Also an undated list of corporations.

BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS OF PUBLIC CHARITIES.

This board was created by legislative enactment of April 9, 1869. It was given at first only powers of visitation and recommendation;

these powers were considerably augmented by a subsequent act of April 16, 1875.

Visitation of almshouses, 1877-1878; by counties, 3 v.

Visitation of jails; by counties; Adams to Montgomery (the others missing), 1876–1878, 2 v.

Records of visitation and charitable and penal institutions, by counties, 1879-1880, 6 v; 1881-1882, 6 v; 1883-1884, 6 v.

Financial statements of Illinois Charitable Eye and Ear Infirmary, 1876-8, 1 v.

Same, Illinois Asylum for Feeble Minded Children, 1875-1878, 1 v.

Same, Illinois Southern Hospital for the Insane, 1875-1878, 1 v.

Same, State Reform School, 1875-1878, 1 v.

Same, Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, 1875-1878, 1 v.

Same, Illinois Institution for the Blind, 1875-1878, 1 v.

Same, Northern Hospital for the Insane, 1875-1878, 1 v.

Same, Central Hospital for the Insane, 1875-1878, 1 v.

Quarterly financial statements of the above institutions and in addition the Eastern Hospital for the Insane, and the Soldiers' Orphans' Home: 1879–1880, 10 v.; 1881–1882, 10 v.; 1883–1884, 10 v.; 1885–1896, 10 v.; 1887–1888, 10 v.

Soldiers' and Sailors' Home 1886, 1887, 1888, 1 v. Included with the reports of the above institutions after this date.

Quarterly statements continued, 1889–1890, 11 v.; 1891–1892, 12 v.; 1893–1894, 11 v.; 1894–1896, 13 v. (include statements of Home for Female Juvenile Offenders for these dates and succeeding ones).

Quarterly statements, Industrial Institution for Blind, 1895-1896, 1 v.

Statements of the above institutions, 1896-1908, 98 v. These include, since 1897-1898, statements of the Soldiers' Widows' Home; since 1899-1900, those of the Western Hospital for the Insane; since 1901-1902 those of the Asylum for the Incurable Insane; since 1903-1904, those of the School for the Deaf; and since 1904, those of the St. Charles Boys' School.

Annual financial statements of state charitable institutions, 1879-1908, 80 v.

Record of bonds of superintendents and treasurers of state charitable institutions, 1881-1893, 1 v.

Record of the bonds of commissioners, 1894-1897, 1 v.

Registers of inmates, various institutions, from 1901: one volume each the Northern, Eastern, Central, Southern, and Western Hospitals for the Insane, Asylum for the Incurable Insane, Institution for Insane Criminals.

Register of insane not committed to state institutions, 1901.

Record of auxiliary boards of visitors; by counties, 1901-date, 1 v.

Records of childrens' associations, 1 v.

Commitment papers of insane committed by courts, Nos. 1-20,000 (bundle containing Nos. 12,200-12,400 missing?), 99 bundles; Nos. 20,001-22,400 in filing boxes.

Current vouchers in pigeonholes.

Current journals and voucher records.

Current ledgers, 1899-date, 3 v.

Some 20 letter books—the "carbon copy" system was installed some three years ago. The first 5 or 6 letter books, 1872-1894 (?) are probably in the basement storeroom.

In this storeroom located in the basement (the other records mentioned above are kept in the main office) are great masses of old vouchers, some old reports by treasurers of institutions, and the few

letter books mentioned above, mixed with old account books. It was impossible to determine accurately what was in the room; but none of the material probably was of great value. This is undoubtedly the worst basement storeroom in the capitol. After much effort an appropriation to provide for arranging these records in the main office has been obtained by the board.

THE RAILROAD AND WAREHOUSE COMMISSION.

Created by act of July 5, 1871.

Secretary's journal, 1873-1875, 2 v.

Docket of complaints, 1889-date, 3 v.

Acts of commission on complaints to it, 1885-1887, 1 v.

Docket of railroad-crossing cases tried by the commission, 1889-1908, 2 v.

Decisions by the commission, 1897-1907, 1 v.

Records of the commission, proceedings, etc., 1871-1902, 7 v.

Records of the commission-railroads, 3 v.

Records of the commission-warehouses, 1879-1886, 2 v.

Record of accounts of the grain inspection department, 1889-1900, 1 v.

Scrap book, form letters, etc., 1897-1908, 1 v.

Original manuscript of yearly returns of the railroads to the commission, 1872-date, over 500 volumes.

Complaints received by the commission, 1878-date, 39 fb.

Papers relating to interlocking arrangements, 1889-date, 38 fb.

Railroad-crossing petitions, 14 fb.

Protection to crossings, act of 1891, 5 fb.

Opinions of the attorney general, 1902-1906, 2 fb.

Petitions, etc., 2 fb.

Monthly statements of grain inspection, pay rolls, etc., 1902-date, 7 fb.

The above records are in the main office or in an adjoining vault. There are, in a lumber room in the basement, mixed with printed reports, etc., the following:

Letter books, 1871-1875, 2 v.; 1877-1888, 9 v.; letter book, schedule rulings, 1889-1895, 1 v.

Transfer files, 1882-1884, 3 transfer files.

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE.

Created as successor to the Illinois Agricultural Society by act of April 15, 1872. At present, and probably for some time past, the printed reports of the board include all material found in its manuscript records. Accordingly no particular attempt has been made to preserve those records. This statement, made by the chief clerk of the office, would doubtless apply to several of the other offices of similar type.

Minutes of the board of agriculture; State Agricultural Society minutes, 1853–1864, 2 v.; 1865–1875, with roster of officers of the society, 1853–1860, 1 v. (basement); minutes of the board of agriculture, 1876–1877, 1 v. (basement); 1889–1907, 1 v.; 1907–date, 1 v.

Ledgers, 1895-date, 3 v.

Cash book, 1898-date, 2 v.

Journals, 1897-date, 1 v.

Voucher record, 1887-1889; 1 v.; 1901-date, 1 v.

Shipping register, 1876-1884, 1 v.

Register of fertilizer license fees paid, current, 1 v.

State Fair records: record of exhibitors, 1908—date, "2", 1 v.; record of stall fees, 1907—date, 1 v.; register of suspensions of horses and owners, 1904—date, 1 v.; current record of race entries, 1 v.; record book of stock registered with the board, 1909, 1 v.; cash books, 1895—date, 3 v.; voucher record, 1895—1897, 1 v.; duplicates of yearly reports of races run to the American Trotting Association, 1889—1908, 16 v.; expense record, State Fair and Fat Stock Show, 1897—1908, 1 v.; judges' books, entry books, etc.

Letter books, from 1878, 123 v. The present office force uses the "carbon copy" system and the use of letter books has accordingly been discontinued.

Transfer files, from 1877, 260 files.

Illinois State Agricultural Society record books, 1853-1864, 2 v.

Sundry records relating to the Illinois commissioners for the exposition of 1893: correspondence, letters from Director-in-Chief John P. Reynolds; specifications, bids, contracts; reports to the secretary of state, 1893; a few committee reports; correspondence touching exhibits in the Woman's Building, etc., 43 small filing cases (basement).

Vouchers of the Illinois board of World's Fair Commissioners, 30 filing cases (basement).

Journal of the commissioners, 1 v.

Record of proceedings of the commissioners, 1 v.

Visitors' register Illinois Building, 1893, 1 v.

STATE BOARD OF PHARMACY.

Established by act of May 30, 1881.

Register of registered pharmacists, 1881–1884, 1 v.; 1885–1886, 1 v.; 1886–1887, 1 v.; 1888, 1 v.; 1889–1890, 1 v.; 1890, 1 v.; 1895–1899, 1 v.; 1901–1906, 1 v.; 1906–date, 1 v.

Index to registered pharmacists, 1893, 1 v.

Registered assistant pharmacists, 1881-1884, 1 v.; 1885, 1 v.; 1886-1887, 1 v.; 1888, 1 v.; 1889, 1 v.; 1890, 1 v.; 1895-1899, 1 v.; 1901-1906, 1 v.; 1907-date, 1 v.

Minutes of the board, 1881-1890, 1 v.; 1890-1895, 1 v.; 1896-1898, 1 v.; 1899-1901, 1 v.; 1902-1905, 1 v.; 1906-1909, 1 v.

Successful applications for registration as apprentice; by register number, 31 fb.

Applications for registration as apprentice rejected prior to July 1, 1901, 1 fb. Applications for apprentice prior to July 1, 1901, 1 fb.

Apprentice applications withdrawn, 1 fb.

Apprentice applications, miscellaneous, 1 fb.

Apprentices failed on second examination, to 1908(?), 1 fb. (Two examinations allowed on each application.)

Alphabetical index to registered apprentices; current, 1 v.

Stubs of certificates issued to apprentices, 1897-1900, 5 v.

Assistant pharmacists; successful applications for examination, by present license number, 1889-date, 78 fb.

Rejected applications for assistant pharmacist, 5 fb.

Registered pharmacist; successful applications for license, 1881-date, 60 fb.

Rejected applications for registered pharmacists, 1881-date, 11 fb.

Rejected applications for assistant and registered pharmacist, prior to 1886, 1 fb. Rejected application by M. D.'s and graduates in pharmacy and assistant pharmacists for registered pharmacist, 1 fb.

Registered and assistant pharmacists; failures on examination for, 24 fb.

Applications for registered and assistant pharmacist withdrawn, 6 fb.

Renewals of license, assistant and registered pharmacist, 1905-1908, 49 fb.

Applications for reregistration as assistant or registered pharmacist, after lapse of previous registration, 2 fb.

Examinations failed, for licentiate in pharmacy prior to 1890, 2 fb.

Complaints of violations of the pharmacy law, and prosecutions, 1898-1899, 1 v.

Accounts of law expenses, correspondence, concerning, etc. 1898, 1 v.

Index to permits to sell domestic remedies and proprietary remedies (date ?),

Record of examinations; men passed assistant and registered pharmacists; and failed, 1884-1909, 1 v.

Cash books, 1883, 1 v.; 1884, 1 v.; 1890, 1 v.; 1891-1900, 1 v. each year; 1907, 1 v.; current, 1 v.

Cash accounts, 1881-1890, 1 v.; 1891-1894, 1 v.; 1894-1901, 1 v.; 1907, 1 v.

Journal, current, 1 v.

Ledger, 1884, 1 v.; 1886-1889, 1 v.; 1893-1896, 1 v.; 1908-1909, 1 v.

Blotters—fees of assistant and registered pharmacists, 1881-1882, 2 v.; 1882-1883, 2 v.; 1884, 1 v.; 1885, 1 v.; 1885–1886, 1 v.; 1886–1887, 1 v.; 1888, 1 v.;

1889, 1 v.: 1890, 1 v.

Correspondence stored away in bundles and in transfer files.

STATE MINING BOARD.

Created by act of June 18, 1883; law amended, 1891, 1895, 1899.

Minute book of examining board, 1891-1893, 1 v.; 1897-1904, 1 v.; 1904-date, 1 v. Records of successful examinations; for mine inspector, mine manager, hoisting engineer, and fire boss. Name of applicant, address, age, birthplace, place of examination, kind and length of experience, certificate number and date. Hoisting engineer, 1897-1898, 1 v.; 1897-date, 1 v.; mine inspector, 1897-1906, 1 v.; mine manager, first class, 1897-date, 1 v.; mine examiner, 1897-date, 1 v.; fire boss, 1897-date, 1 v.

Tabular statements of the proficiency of each candidate in each part of the examination and in the examination as a whole, 1897-1906, 1 v.; 1906-date, 1 v. Examination fee book, 1897-1904, 1 v.

Office expense account, 1904-date, 1 v.

The correspondence is destroyed every three years.

BOARD OF LIVE STOCK.

Created by act of June 27, 1885 for the purpose of dealing with diseases of live stock. The office of the State veterinarian, created by act of 1881, was by the act of 1885 placed under the board of live stock.

Records of inspections. Tabulated record of inspections by the state veterinarians of cases reported of live stock supposed to be sick with contagious diseases, 1885-1887, 1 v.; 1885-1895, 1 v.; 1895-date, 2 v.

Original reports by veterinarians in bundles—reports nos, 1-3751 in 40 bundles; nos. 3751-current (about no. 5600) in filing boxes.

Minutes of board, 1885-1897, 3 v.; 1897-1906, 8 v.

Quarantine records; live stock quarantined, 1886-1887, 4 v. Index to first three volumes, 1 v.

Record of tuberculin tests on imported cattle, 1899-1900, 1 v.

Record of tuberculin tests on cattle raised within the State, "Cattle passed", 1899-1900, 1 v.

Tuberculin tests, domestic, nos, 1-51, 1 bdle: nos, 51-590, in filing boxes.

Tuberculosis record; tests, "passed" and "failed", disposition of cattle tested, etc., 1899-1901, 1 v.; index to the above, 1 v.

Record of postmortems on slaughtered cattle, 1887-1888, 1 v.

Register of tests: by counties, 1889, 1 v.

Proceedings of board of veterinary examiners, 1902-1904, 2 v.

Examination or admission to practice otherwise of veterinarians. The application for license endorsed with result of the examination or other test of qualification. 1899-date, 6 fb.

Miscellaneous applications, for live stock inspector, etc., 1900-1909, 1 fb.

Letter books, 1885-1909, 87 v. Index, 1 v.

Correspondence, etc., 62 transfer cases.

Vouchers, 1892, 1894, 1895-6, 1898, 1899, 1900, 6 bdles.; 1901-date 6 fb.

Account books: ledger, 1885–1892, 1 v.; journal, 1889–1904, 1 v.; eash book, 1886–1888, 1 v.; expense record, 1885–1889, 1 v.; warrant record, 1895–1903, 1 v.

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF INSURANCE.

This office was created by act of June 20, 1893; in force July 1, 1893. The records of earlier date than 1893 were amassed in the auditor's office during the 40 years in which he had supervision of insurance in the State.

In a vault opening out of the main office and fitted up with filing boxes are kept records of the insurance companies of various kinds. In general, this vault contains the papers, statements, etc., required by law to be filled by the various types of insurance companies preliminary to beginning business; there are also various papers filed with the above since 1893. One or more boxes are allotted to each company. To give an instance: A life insurance company incorporated in Illinois has on file a copy of the charter approved by the superintendent of insurance and the atterney general; the approval of the charter allows the company to open books for subscriptions to stock. When \$100,000 in approved securities have been deposited with the superintendent and an examiner has certified to the condition of the company, it is allowed to begin the writing of insurance. Finally all amendments to the charter or by-laws must be filed with the superintendent of insurance. In addition there are 22 filing boxes of papers of companies that have been refused a license or have gone out of business; two files of papers relating to violations of law; five files of returns of agents under the "surplus-line" law.

In the main office are a large number of filing boxes of older type used as dead files for the files in the vault. The material in them dates back to 1855; they contain statements of one sort and another

and more important correspondence. There are 2,108 file boxes, of which many are empty, and there is a book index. The other contents of this office are as follows:

Bound statements of insurance companies from 1869 or a later date of organization to 1891 or an earlier date of suspension; sometimes statements of three or four companies are bound in one volume, 190 v. Also three packages of statements by various fire insurance companies, various dates; those for 1870-1892, not bound. There are a few odd statements, during the eighties, in the basement, unbound.

Bound statements classified under kind of companies, 1892-1906, 257 v.

Reports of Illinois policies written, various life insurance companies, 1897, 1899, 1902, 1903, 4 pkg. (basement).

Statements under the reinsurance law of 1899, 1901-1903, 3 v.

Reinsurance registers, 1906-1908, 4 v. (basement).

Records of agents' certificates issued, 1869-1895, 27 v. (basement).

Affidavits of gross premiums received in Illinois, sundry insurance companies, 1905–1907. 2 pkgs; 1902. 1 bdle, basement.

Returns of circular inquiries sent out to members of proposed fraternal orders, as to compliance with the laws, 1902–1905, several packages.

A large number of printed volumes; statements of assets schedules, "A" (real estate owned), "B" (mortgage loans), "C" (stocks and bonds put up as collateral for loans), "D" (bonds held), "E" (stocks held). Sundry life companies, 1897-date.

Record of assessment, life, and accident companies. Name, location, date of compliance with the act, date licensed to do business, name of attorney, dates of filing statements, 1904—date, 1 v.

Same, fire, life, and casualty, companies. Name of general agent of company in addition to the information detailed above, 1904—date, 1 v.

Registry book, fraternal societies, "A," 1894-1898, 1 v.; "B," 1 v.; "C," 1 v.

Fire, life, accident and casualty companies register book 1894–1898, 1 v.; 1898–1904, 1 v.

Record of assessment associations, 1896-1899, 1 v.

Record of charter fire and fraternal societies, 1899, 1 v.

Register of county, township, and county mutual live stock insurance companies, 1872-1896 (?).

Record of mutual accident companies, 1883-1896 (?), 1 v.

Register of fire and life insurance companies to May 1, 1894, 1 v.

Register of mutual companies, etc., 1883-1895, 1 v.

Record of organizations and incorporations, 1893-1904, 1 v.

Opinions of the attorney-general, 1873-1885, 1 v.; 1894-1898, 1 v.

Record of cases in court in the hands of the attorney-general, 1889-1895, 1 v.

Decisions of the supreme court, 1897-1904, 1 v.

Attorneys' business docket, 1897-1900.

Docket, 1900-1905, 1 v.

Records of policies written yearly by life insurance companies chartered in Illinois. Compiled from annual statements by the companies. 1 v. for each company.

Records of the registration of policies—optional with Illinois companies on an extra deposit. 1 v. registry book for each company so registering.

Reports of district and township companies, 1 pkg. each, 1870, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890. (basement).

Receivers' reports, fire and township companies, 1876-1880, 1 pkg. (basement).

Routine correspondence, bundled alphabetically, 1871-1893, 55 pkgs. (basement). Correspondence, 1893-1897, 39 transfer cases (basement); 1897-1907, 429 transfer cases.

Letter books, some 150 v., current.

A few stenographers' old note books.

Requests for printed reports, several bundles.

Account bocks: cash book, 1904-date, 2 v.; ledgers, 1903-1907, 5 v.

STATE BOARD OF PARDONS.

Created by the act of June 5, 1897. All records are complete from that date.

Parole record; record of name of each convict, number, county, crime of which convicted, the date of sentence, and date of arrival at the penitentiary. Chester, 2 v.; Joliet, 3 v.

Record of orders for parole of prisoners, Chester, 2 v.; Joliet, 2 v.

Record of cases continued, Chester, 1 v.: Joliet, 1 v.

Record of final discharges from parole, Chester, 2 v.; Joliet, 3 v.

Pardon records; minute book of boards' sittings and actions, 1 v.

Bound copies of recommendations to the governor respecting pardons. The papers sent up to the governor are filed with the secretary of state.

Stenographers' note books—the only correspondence record kept. All papers not related to cases, and accordingly sent to the governor are destroyed.

STATE BOARD OF PRISON INDUSTRIES.

Established by act of May 11, 1903, to deal with the problem of convict labor, by regulating its use and the market disposal of its surplus product as well as its distribution to State officers, schools, etc., required by law to use it.

Records of product and sales by the board, 1903-date, 2 v.

Record of requisitions forwarded to the Illinois State Penitentiary, Joliet, 1905-date, 3 v.; Southern Illinois Penitentiary, Chester, 1905-date, 3 v.; Illinois State Reformatory, Pontiac, 1905-date, 2 v.

Requisitions from the state highway commission for crushed stone from the two penitentiaries, May, 1906-date, 1 v.

Correspondence to December, 1908, 71 transfer files.

Monthly reports of the three institutions, 1903-date, 15 transfer files.

Requisitions, 1903-date, 13 files.

Notice of shipment on requisition of the institutions, 1903-date, 9 files.

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.

Created March 11, 1905.

Application record; each application for enrollment in the civil service is here recorded by number. 1 v.

Eligible register; of those who have passed examinations. Names of eligibles arranged according to the form of service for which they have qualified. 1 v. Card index of civil service employees as put on the pay roll. Indexes of applications, of those failing to pass examinations, and of resignations.

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All papers of applicants, examination, application, etc., are kept in filing cases. All letters subsequently received, carbon copies of all letters sent are filed here. Letters of the commissioners are kept in separate filing cases. The commission is allowed to destroy the above-mentioned application papers every two years. For a time it probably will do so every five.

STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.

The secretary of the board of health declined to accord the necessary access to his records for the preparation of this report. The information given below has accordingly been gathered from the Revised Statutes. The office was created by act of May 28, 1877. The act gave the board supervision over the collection of vital statistics in the State. The act of April 21, 1899, provided that reports of births and deaths be made to the board or to the county clerk. The board was further required to keep a record of certificates of death made to it.

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY.

This department, created May 25, 1889, has never been made the depository of the State archives, so that its collection of manuscripts is composed of private collections that may have been given or bought. Since the department is constantly making its own reports, it has seemed unnecessary to include a description of its material here.

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APPENDIX C.

A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE ARCHIVES OF NEW MEXICO.

By JOHN H. VAUGHAN, A. M.,

Professor of History, New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts.

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A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE ARCHIVES OF NEW MEXICO.

It would be hard to find a State or Territory whose records are in a more chaotic and incomplete condition than those of New Mexico. In view, however, of the many powers, Spanish, Indian, Mexican, and American, by which it has been ruled or misruled, the wonder is not that its records are disorganized or lost, but that it has any records at all. The Spanish people who controlled its early destinies have always left rather full accounts of their deeds wherever they went. This is particularly true of the reports which they made to the higher authorities. These, however, are to be found chiefly in the great central repositories in Mexico and Spain. This fact calls our attention to the great importance of the Spanish and Mexican archives for the history of New Mexico and the Southwest. early New Mexico presents a situation which was not conducive to the writing of history or the keeping of elaborate records. It was a wild, barren region, traversed and harassed by bands of savage Indians, and was far away from any center of civilization offering the means and incentives for such work. Its inhabitants were engaged in the difficult business of conquering their immediate physical environment, not in writing books.

The documentary period of New Mexican history extends from 1598, when Don Juan de Oñate planted the first permanent Spanish settlement at San Gabriel (now Chamita, 30 miles north of Santa Fe), down to the present time. But the documents are far from covering the period. The chief reasons for this will be recited in the following paragraphs:

In August, 1680, there was a general uprising of the Pueblo Indians, known as the Pueblo Rebellion. All Spaniards were either driven from the country or butchered in true Indian fashion. When the natives were once more in undisputed possession they took full advantage of their victory. Santa Fe was the capital and record town of the Province. Here the Pueblos brought forth all records of the church and Government and made a bonfire of them in the center of the plaza. Thus perished in a day the records of almost a century of Spanish occupation of New Mexico. There is a tradition that when Gov. Otermin and his people abandoned Santa Fe and

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started south they carried with them a very considerable body of records. These were evidently deposited at El Paso del Norte, where it is supposed that they still remain. For the history of this period we must go to the archives of Mexico and Spain and to the books written in those countries at that time. Much of what happened in those years in this far-away northern Province must remain forever a sealed secret. There are in the Library of Congress, as I shall point out later, a few documents from the period prior to 1680, one of them dating back to 1621. It is probable that these documents were carried away by the departing Spaniards at the time of the Pueblo Rebellion and brought back at the time of the reconquest by Don Diego de Vargas, 1692-1694, and not that they remained in the Province during that period of Pueblo government. In connection with the archives of the Historical Society of New Mexico I shall point out one brief contemporary account of the Pueblo Rebellion, which is now in the possession of that society.

Another case of wanton destruction of records, though of less importance than the preceding, belongs to the same period. H. O. Ladd, in The Story of New Mexico (p. 125), tells us that in 1674 Friar Francisco de Ayeta came to New Mexico as procurer and became the director of the missions, and that there was an official reconciliation between the secular authorities and the clergy (about 1676), as a result of which all previous documents containing accusations of any kind against the ecclesiastics were publicly burned at Santa Fe.

From the return of the Spanish settlers in 1692-1694 until the time of the American occupation the records of the Territory seem to have suffered no special loss and to have been in the main well cared for. In 1870 the archives were injured by an act of vandalism unparalleled in our history. In a time of profound peace, under an administration supposedly civilized, the American governor of New Mexico allowed its archives to be sold to the merchants of Santa Fe as wrapping paper, and even to be used as kindling in the offices. These records had been badly neglected and abused during and since the Civil War. They were very numerous, and, perhaps, in the way in the then crowded condition of the old governor's palace. There were, in fact, wagonloads of them, the hoarded-up historical treasures of more than a hundred and eighty years. Nothing can be said in defense of such a crime against the people of the Territory in particular and historical scholarship in general.

SPANISH AND MEXICAN ARCHIVES.

When this Territory was acquired from the Republic of Mexico, in 1848, all the official records of New Mexico passed with the Territory from the control of the Government of Mexico into that

of the Government of the United States. This included all the existing records prior to 1847. The Federal authorities then in control allowed the documents to remain in the custody of the Territorial authorities, and this custody continued to be exercised without question until 1903. They were not always given the consideration to which they were entitled by their value. This was due partly to lack of interest, but largely to lack of facilities or of funds for procuring facilities for their preservation.

In the early days these documents were stored in the government building known as the "Old Palace" in receptacles which were entirely inadequate. They were left scattered about the rooms, upon open shelves, or on the floor. We have already seen the fate of many of them in the period following the Civil War. There is no question that many of the more important papers relating to, or bearing directly on, the question of land titles in the Territory were borrowed from the general stock and were not returned. Many documents of the latter kind may undoubtedly be found at this time among the papers of private individuals who have had, at one time or another, actions at law relative to land-grant titles in the Territory. On February 4, 1854, the Legislature of New Mexico adopted a memorial to the Congress of the United States reciting that the archives of the Territory were in a ruined condition, documents of great importance being much exposed and in danger of being destroved, and the Territory being without the means to pay for their arrangement and preservation in a manner that would secure their permanency. In view of this situation, the memorial asked Congress to appropriate \$15,000 for said purpose and for translating. Congress paid no attention to the request, and the archives remained as they were.

The only attempt ever made by the Territorial legislature to provide for the proper care and custody of these records is found in the provision of chapter 61 of the laws of 1893, under which an appropriation of \$600 was made available for the purpose of cataloguing, numbering, translating, and indexing these archives.

A contract with this end in view was let by the governor, and work under it was begun. But no one at all familiar with the character and volume of these records will need to be told that this meager appropriation was wholly inadequate for the work to be done, and that as a matter of necessity no permanent results were attained under this contract.

After the completion of the present Territorial capitol in 1900 and the removal of the Territorial offices from the "Old Palace" to the capitol building these old documents were transferred to the office of the Territorial secretary and stored in the vault adjoining the office. Here they were arranged, roughly, in the order of their dates, were

tied in packages, and stored as carefully as was possible on the shelving in a vault available for that purpose. In 1901, however, it was clearly seen that these documents, which occupied nearly all the shelf space on one side of the vault, would have to be removed in order to make room for the current records of the office, the volume of which was constantly and rapidly increasing.

About this time correspondence was being received from the authorities at Washington, particularly from the Librarian of Congress, asking that these Spanish and Mexican archives be transferred to the Library of Congress at Washington, where they would be stored in a manner absolutely safe, also classified, indexed, and translated by persons trained in this line of work, and without expense to the Territory. Recommendations to this effect were made by the secretary of the Territory in 1899, 1901, and 1903; and the governor in his message to the legislative assembly called the attention of that body to the circumstances on at least one occasion. No action of any kind was taken or even considered until 1903. During the session of that year the Librarian of Congress was a visitor in Santa Fe, in the month of February, and discussed the matter with the members of the legislature and the Territorial officials. The result of this discussion was the drafting of an act which provided for the transfer of these documents to the Library of Congress, which, through the Librarian, entered into certain stipulations, as to the preservation, classification, and indexing of the documents free of charge to the Territory. Through the intervention of certain persons this act was amended after its introduction so as to stipulate that all of the archives found to relate to land titles or to local and personal matter, and not of great historic interest, should be returned within one year, and that all the remainder of said archives, upon being properly analyzed and classified, should within five years of their reception at Washington be returned to New Mexico. The result was that when the act was finally passed, as amended, the authorities at Washington refused to enter into the stipulations as provided for in said act (chap. 102, laws of 1903).

The negotiations of the Library of Congress had failed to secure the records; but the incident was not closed. The authorities at Washington held that these archives were, and always had been, subject to the control and supervision of the Federal Government. Acting on this assumption, the Secretary of the Interior, April 29, 1903, directed the governor of New Mexico to forward the archives to the Interior Department. They were accordingly expressed from Santa Fe to the department May 9, 1903. Here they were immediately turned over to the Library of Congress, and were held to be the property of the United States Government, the control of them in the Secretary of the Interior.

The authority of the Secretary of the Interior to turn these records over to the Library of Congress was alleged to be found in the following act of Congress, approved February 25, 1903:

The head of any executive department or bureau or any commission of the Government is hereby authorized, from time to time, to turn over to the Librarian of Congress, for the use of the Library of Congress, any books, maps, or other material in the library of the department, bureau, or commission no longer needed for its use, and in the judgment of the Librarian of Congress appropriate to the uses of the Library of Congress.

Turning from the history of this great collection of archives to its contents and present condition, the following tentative account must suffice:

- 1. They are stored in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress.
- 2. Quantity of material, approximately: 20,000 documents, 10,000 in manuscript, containing from 1 to 200 folios each, and 10,000 printed, mostly of 1 to 4 folios.
- 3. Dates covered: From 1621 to 1847 chiefly; some miscellaneous undated material and papers relating to Indian depredations, 1860-1873.
- 4. Subjects: Indian affairs; reconquest of New Mexico, 1681 f.; military records; civil and criminal cases; ecclesiastical affairs; civil administration; local government; economic conditions; governmental projects for advancing material progress; introduction of vaccination; schemes to prevent Anglo-American encroachments; and kindred subjects.

The printed material consists, for the most part, of royal cédulas, decrees, viceregal proclamations, decrees and proclamations from the comandante general of the Provincias Internas del Norte.

- 5. Present condition: All the material has been arranged chronologically, the sheets being cleaned, pressed free of creases, and stored flat; the manuscripts are in 180 half-leather portfolios; the printed material has been, in part, repaired, mounted, and bound in half-morocco folio volumes; the unmounted part is stored flat in manila jackets.
- 6. Work: A calendar, in English, is in process of preparation, with an index of the more important names and topics treated; it has been brought down to the year 1805. The catalogue prepared some years ago by Mr. Adolphe Bandelier was nearly all lost before the papers passed into possession of the Library, but the small part preserved is typewritten. The entries are briefer than those in the calendar now in progress. It is not indexed, and is partly in Spanish.

This brief summary shows the enormous importance of the New Mexico archives in the Library of Congress. Here are stored away the sources for two and a half centuries of the Territory's history.

To it everyone who would fully understand her history prior to the American occupation must go. There is no body of documents anywhere in the Territory that can be compared with it in comprehensiveness or importance.

ARCHIVES OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO.

The Historical Society of New Mexico is the only institution in the Territory that is making any comprehensive effort to collect and preserve the scattered records and historical archives relating to the history of this portion of the Southwest. The society's usefulness is curtailed by shortness of funds; yet with the small means at its disposal, it has gone on modestly rendering a great service to the cause of historical scholarship. A few of the documents and collections of documents in its archives should be mentioned at this point:

- 1. A copy of the funeral oration preached in the cathedral of the City of Mexico, March 20, 1681, on the death of the 21 Franciscan friars killed by the Pueblo Indians in the revolt known as the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680. The copy was secured in Santiago de Chile, and a translation into English was published by the society in 1906, under the title, "The Franciscan Martyrs of 1680," being No. 7 of the publications of the society. The transcendent importance of this sermon is due to the fact that it is a contemporary account of the revolt, by members of the Franciscan Order, and sets at rest any doubts that may have existed as to the causes of that famous revolution, showing that they were chiefly religious.
- 2. The Mogollon collection. A collection of historical documents of the time of Gov. Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollon, 1712-1715. This collection is thought to contain a portion of the archives sold in the time of Gov. Pile or otherwise taken from the palace years ago.
- 3. Records of the northern jurisdiction during the period of the Mexican Republic, being most of the documents officially filed in that jurisdiction, and hence a storehouse of material for the history of the government under Mexican administration.
- 4. The Vigil collection. Donaciano Vigil was the first secretary of New Mexico under American rule, being appointed by Gen. Kearny, September, 1846. After the murder of Gov. Charles Bent in January, 1847, he became acting governor until 1848. He was a man who carefully preserved all papers and correspondence that came into his hands. This collection contains:
- (1) The original proclamation issued by Gov. Manuel Armijo as he left Santa Fe to meet the American invaders, signed by the governor's own hand.
- (2) Copy of letter sent by Acting Gov. Vigil y Alarid, August 18, 1846, to Gen. Kearny, then but a few miles from the city, stating the

fears and excitement of the people, and asking that special consideration be shown by troops in order to allay this feeling.

(3) Original proclamation of Gen. Kearny on taking possession of Santa Fe on the morning of August 19, 1846.

(4) Original draft of Acting Gov. Vigil y Alarid's reply to Kearny's proclamation, accepting the sovereignty of the United States, and pledging the loyalty of the people to the American Government.

(5) Many documents concerning the New Mexican revolt of 1846-47, including the proclamation issued by Gov. Charles Bent when he was leaving Santa Fe on his fatal journey to Taos, January, 1847.

- (6) A large collection of Vigil's correspondence with leading men in New Mexico during the first years of the American occupation, giving an inside view of the sentiment of the people in that critical period.
- (7) A number of specimens of the earliest printing and first newspapers of New Mexico.

The value of this collection for the history of the period of the American occupation needs no comment.

- 5. Collection of old maps. A large and priceless collection of rare, ancient maps of America, particularly those relating to the Southwest. Their number forbids enumeration in the space at my disposal.
- 6. Collection of photographs and historic articles. The photographs are largely of men who have been prominent in political and military affairs in the Territory during the past century. The collection of historic articles is really a great museum of southwestern history and archæology from prehistoric times to the beginning of the twentieth century.

TERRITORIAL ARCHIVES IN SANTA FE.

The archives at the territorial capital are all of comparatively recent date, practically none of them going back of 1850. Many of them are complete and well cared for; others have been badly neglected. These matters will be pointed out more specifically in connection with records of each department.

THE GOVERNOR'S OFFICE.

This is not really a record office, the executive records being kept by the territorial secretary. There is, however, to be expected of it the one item of official correspondence. In the vault we find the following:

Official letters received (general), 1897-1908, 54 volumes. Official letters received (statehood), 1 volume.



Official letters received (from departments at Washington), 1897-1908, 6 volumes.

Governor's official letter book, June, 1901-1908, volumes 11-28, inclusive. Prior to 1901 each governor carried away his letter books at the close of his term.

The letters received are in filing cases, each case numbered as a volume. None of them date back of 1897—a fact which is to be greatly regretted, as is also the destruction of the letter books prior to 1901.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE TERRITORY.

This office is properly the executive record office of the Territory. Its records are all stored in a large fire-proof vault adjoining, and are well arranged and cared for. It contains the following:

Executive records of New Mexico:

Volume I, March 13, 1853, to January 14, 1867.

Volume II, July 25, 1867, to November 8, 1882.

Volume III, November 8, 1882, to December 30, 1890.

Volume IV, January 5, 1891, to June 29, 1898.

Volume V, July 1, 1898, to June 29, 1903.

Volume VI, July 1, 1903, to August 7, 1907.

Volume VII, August 8, 1907, to date.

The contents of the executive records may be indicated by the following list of documents and subjects covered: Proclamations of governors, commissions to officers, oaths of office, Indians, courts, officers of legislative assemblies, pardons, reprieves, commutations, official communications of secretary of the Territory, elections, proclamations of Presidents announcing the appointment of governors and other officers, oaths of office administered by Chief Justices of the United States Supreme Court to governors of the Territory, messages of governors to the legislative assemblies, military orders of the adjutant general, governor's approval of legislative acts, articles of incorporation for the various corporations doing business in the Territory, etc. Volume I calls for special mention because of the fact that during the first few years of the period which it covers the record is made sometimes in Spanish and sometimes in English. This volume contains Gov. Calhoun's proclamation of August 8, 1851, calling an election for the first Monday in September to elect a Delegate to Congress. It also contains the governor's certificate of election, September 10, 1851, to Richard H. Weightman, first Delegate in Congress from the Territory of New Mexico. This set of executive records is by all odds the most important single set in existence for the history of the Territory since the beginning of American Government.

Record of official bonds:

Volume A, February 25, 1893, to July 1, 1907.

Volume B, July 1, 1907, to date.

Miscellaneous records:

Volume I, January 6, 1876, to January 7, 1882.

Volume II, January 10, 1882, to January 21, 1907.

Volume I contains chiefly certificates of incorporation of companies, churches, societies, etc.; volume II, chiefly records of election and oaths of office of members and officers of the legislature.

Corporation record (in view of contents of miscellaneous records there is no volume I).

Volume II, January 9, 1882, to June 28, 1883.

Volume III, June 29, 1883, to December 30, 1885.

Volume IV, January 30, 1886, to March 14, 1899.

Volume V, April 1, 1899, to 1909.

Records of commissioners of deeds, Territorial boards of all kinds, and Territorial officers except governor, 1 volume, March 26, 1852, to 1908.

Records of "Board of public works," 1 volume, January 18, 1853, to February 28, 1857, mainly expenses of buildings and grounds about the old capitol.

Register of civil officers, 1 volume, 1852 to 1856, inclusive.

"Records," 2 volumes. One covering the period December 9, 1851, to July 3, 1853, and containing chiefly deeds and transfers of real estate of these dates and prior thereto, some going back to the early thirties; the other covering the period August 30, 1852, to June 22, 1861, and containing official correspondence of the secretary of the Territory.

Original bills, laws, joint resolutions, memorials, and so forth, of the legislative assemblies, first to thirty-eighth inclusive (1851 to date), kept in filing cabinet in vault.

Original papers filed by corporations, notaries public, and so forth, are kept in the same manner. Large number.

Typewritten copies of all bills, joint resolutions, and so forth, that have been introduced into the legislature and not passed, since 1890, are kept in bound volumes, now 16 in number.

Secretary's letter book, December 30, 1897, to date, 35 volumes. Letters back of this date are not kept at all, or are scattered through the executive records and filing cases, and hence are not available for report.

Joint resolutions and memorials passed by the legislative assembly from 1891 to date (twenty-ninth to thirty-eighth inclusive).

Bound volumes of laws passed by the legislative assembly, 1891 to date, twentyninth to thirty-eighth inclusive.

Council journals, 1851 to 1909, 20 volumes. Some of the early volumes contain the journals of more than one session, notably volumes 1-7 and 9. Volumes 2 and 3 are badly confused, volume 2 having records in it for 1857-1862, and volume 3 for 1856-1859.

House journals, 1851-1909, except for the session of 1873 and for the period 1882-1889, 18 volumes. Volumes 3-7 each contain journals of more than one session.

This brief catalogue of the records of the secretary of the Territory's office makes it clear (1) that it is an extremely important office for historical research; (2) that during the first 40 years of government as an American Territory New Mexico's official records, documents, and letters were attended to with too little care for their systematic preservation; and (3) that during recent years the office is under business administration, and the archives are being cared for accordingly.

OFFICE OF THE CLERK OF THE SUPREME COURT.

Reports of the supreme court of New Mexico, 1852-1909, 14 volumes.

Opinions of the court (manuscript), 1852-1907, 8 volumes. The first volume covering the period 1852-1879 inclusive, is not numbered, and volumes 2 to 8 (1880-1907 inclusive) are numbered 1-7.

Bar docket of the supreme court, 1868-1887, 2 volumes.

Supreme court docket, 1868 to date, 5 volumes. The first two volumes, 1868–1885, are not numbered; the third, fourth, and fifth volumes, 1879 to date, numbered 1-3, show the carelessness with which the records have been kept by lapping back over the period from 1879 to 1885.

Supreme Court record, 1852 to date, 6 volumes. The first two volumes are numbered I and II, the last four A to D.

There are also in the vault adjoining this office 130 filing cases, labeled by number of cases, containing complete record of all cases that have come before the supreme court to date, cases 1 to 1,200. They contain transcript of record, assignment of errors, brief of appellant, brief of appellae, motions, opinion of court, and so forth.

Roll of attorneys and counsellors at law practicing before the supreme court of New Mexico, 1898 to date, 1 volume. (Also all names back of 1898 which the clerk could get.)

Record of admission to the New Mexico bar, 1899 to date, 1 volume.

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC LANDS.

This office was created in 1898. Its records are therefore all of recent date. They are, however, of the very greatest importance to the student of our territorial land system. The office has a large section of filing cases, the most important contents of which are the following:

Contests pending before the commission, 1 file.

Railway right of way papers, 1 file.

Elephant Butte Water Users' Association papers, 1 file.

Unapproved institutional leases on file in Department of the Interior, 1 file.

Other unapproved leases on file in the Department of the Interior, 4 files.

Papers issued by Secretary of the Interior granting institutional lands selected by the Territory, 15 files.

Letter book containing correspondence of the office to date, 32 volumes.

Legal opinions rendered by the attorneys general on matters pertaining to the business of the land office, 1 file.

Papers in contest cases, 1 file.

Assessment returns of Territorial public lands, 1 file.

Records of deeds, board of public lands, 1 volume.

Journal of United States land commissioner, 1 volume.

Register of notes for payment on lease for common school lands, 1 volume.

Register of notes for payment on lease for institutional lands, 1 volume.

Cash book, commissioner of public lands, 3 volumes.

Disbursement book, board of public lands, 1 volume.

Record of applications for leases on common school and institutional lands, 1 volume.

Record of leases of common school lands, 1 volume.

Record of leases of institutional lands, 1 volume.

Tract books of institutional lands:

No. 1. Public buildings.

No. 2. University of New Mexico.

No. 3. Agricultural College.

No. 4. Reservoirs (lands appropriated for the construction of irrigation projects).

No. 5. The Rio Grande (for expense of keeping river within its banks).

No. 6. Insane asylum.

No. 7. School of Mines.

No. 8. School for Deaf and Dumb.

No. 9. Reform School.

No. 10. Normal schools.

No. 11. Institute for the Blind.

No. 12. Miners' Hospital.

No. 13. Military Institute.

No. 14. Penitentiary.

No. 15. Saline lands all belonging to the university.

Tract book of common school lands, showing all sections selected, rejected, or substituted, 5 volumes.

OFFICE OF THE TERRITORIAL AUDITOR.

Register of warrants drawing interest, 1888-1894, 1 volume.

Register of warrants issued by the Territory ("Libro 2"), 1869-1872, 1

Auditor's journal ("Book No. 3"), 1873-1880, 1 volume.

Auditor's ledger, 1891 to date, 5 volumes.

Ledger showing accounts with counties since their organization (1851 et seq.) until 1877, 1 volume.

Ledger showing accounts with counties, 1885-1889, 1 volume.

Auditor's day book, 1879-1882, 1 volume.

Auditor's day book, 1891-1909, 5 volumes.

Register of bonds issued by the Territory, 1870 to date, 1 volume.

Register of mortgages (mortgaged goods), 1870-1877, 1 volume.

Record of insurance licenses, 1882-1887, 1 volume.

Record of license fees paid by insurance companies, 1885-1897, 1 volume.

Record of accounts, 1849-1865, 1 volume.

Record of warrants, 1851 to date, 15 volumes.

Assessment rolls, 1881 to date, 377 volumes.

OFFICE OF THE TERRITORIAL TREASURER.

These archives are kept in a fire-proof vault adjoining the treasurer's office. The catalogue of the early records will make clear the chaos and general confusion of the early records. Those of late date are in an orderly condition.

Treasurer's day book:

I. December 17, 1846-July 19, 1851.

II. August 12, 1851-November 14, 1861.

III. May 10, 1851-November 22, 1858.

IV. November 19, 1861-November 20, 1872.

V. May 12, 1870-December 31, 1886.

VI. April 4, 1884-October 29, 1886.

The condition of this day book, which was a book for general accounts of nearly every kind, needs no comment.

Treasurer's cash book, April 15, 1891, to date, 7 volumes.

Treasurer's ledger, April 15, 1891 to date, 6 volumes.

General and special accounts, March 7, 1891-March 12, 1895, 1 volume.

Treasurer's accounts with counties, 1872-1875, and libranzas pagadas por la tesorería Territorial (drafts paid by the Territorial treasury), July 5, 1869-July 8, 1875, 1 volume.

Money received from sheriffs of counties, 1882-1890, 1 volume.

Sheriffs' accounts, December 26, 1889-December 31, 1891, 1 volume.

Book A, showing accounts of various Territorial funds (for institutions and other purposes), 1885-1891, 2 volumes, both marked "Book A."

Register of Territorial warrants, 1882-1895, 3 volumes.

Register of auditor's report of warrants issued, 1891-1895, volumes II-IV (I missing). Kept in filing cases since 1905.

Registro de los cupones pagados en la tesorería (register of coupons paid into the treasury), November 1, 1870-May, 1880, 2 volumes.

Record of bond coupons paid into the treasury, 1885-1888, 1 volume.

Record of bond coupons paid into the treasury, 1901 to date, 1 volume.

Register of receipts and disbursements of the territorial treasury, 18'5-1898, 1 volume.

Statement of Territorial treasurer, 1891 to date, 6 volumes. 1901–1903 missing. Register of bonds issued by the Territory, 1870 to date, 1 volume.

Penitentiary funds received and disbursed, August, 1884-July, 1890, 1 volume.

The office also has many other miscellaneous books and files, containing letters, receipts, county accounts, etc.

OFFICE OF THE TERRITORIAL SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

This office was created, along with the public school system, in 1891, and its records are indispensable for the history of public education in the Territory.

Annual report of the superintendent of public instruction, 1892-1908, 17 volumes. (The reports for 1893, 1894, 1895, 1897, and 1902 are missing.)

School laws of New Mexico, 1891-1909, 4 volumes (compilations).

Records of county teachers' certificates, 1907-1909, 5 volumes.

Record of professional certificates, three-year, five-year, and life, 1905–1909, 2 volumes.

Minute book containing record of proceedings of the Territorial board of education from its first meeting, March 5, 1891, to date, 1 volume.

Letter book of the superintendent of public instruction:

Vol. I, October 21, 1895-March 27, 1901. No entry from July 81, 1897, to November 26, 1900.

Vol. II, April 2, 1903-August 20, 1904.

Vol. III, July 20, 1903-November 22, 1904.

Same, April 1, 1905-December 31, 1909, 19 volumes.

The rapid increase in the volume of the letter book of the superintendent is indicative of the new epoch in education which began in 1905.

TERRITORIAL LAW LIBRARY.

Much material of historical significance is preserved in this library. That which seems of most importance is listed below.

Session laws of New Mexico, 1851-1909, 49 volumes.

†The laws of New Mexico for 1851, the first session of the Territorial legislature, and the famous "Kearney code" are published in one volume, in both Spanish and English. Most of the session laws are printed in both languages, Spanish facing English on successive pages.

Revised statutes of New Mexico, 1855, 1 volume.

- + Revised statutes and laws of New Mexico, 1865 (English and Spanish), 1 volume.
- + Compiled laws of New Mexico, 1884 (English and Spanish), 1 volume.
- + Local and special laws of New Mexico, 1884 (English and Spanish), 1 volume.
- + Compiled laws of New Mexico, 1897 (English only), 1 volume.

Compiled laws of New Mexico, 1909, in preparation.

COUNTY ARCHIVES.

I have examined the records in five of the oldest counties of the Territory, being guided in my selection chiefly by the location of the county seat. The counties are as follows, county seats in parentheses: Santa Fe (Santa Fe), Bernalillo (Albuquerque), Taos (Taos), San Miguel (Las Vegas), Mora (Mora). The records in these counties did not prove to be of as great importance as had been expected, owing to the fact they contain very little material dating back of the American occupation, and what there is is so scattered through volumes of other documents as to be found only after long and detailed search. In almost every case the first volumes of records are storehouses of documents of every kind, all put in together. The time at my command did not permit an extended investigation of these volumes.

The probate clerk is ordinarily ex officio recorder of the county, and his office is therefore the chief, sometimes the only, record office.

SANTA FE COUNTY.

(Couny seat, Santa Fe.)

The records are kept in a fireproof vault adjoining the probate clerk's office.

The first and most interesting of all the records here is a volume marked "Libranzas 1847 á 1851" (drafts from 1847 to 1851), which contains on its first 13 pages the court record of the famous Trujillo treason trial, which grew out of the native revolt in the winter of 1846-47. The grand jury returned true bills against Antonio Maria Trujillo, Trinidad Barcilo, Antolion Archuleta, and Pedro Vigil for treason against the United States. During the sessions of the court, March 8 to May 3, 1847, all were brought up and dismissed, noli

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prosequi, except Trujillo, who was later tried, convicted, and sentenced, March 15, to hang on Friday, April 16, at 2 o'clock p. m. He was pardoned later.

There is also another book, marked "Records of the United States district court at Santa Fe, 1847–1853," which contains an account of this same trial.

Other records are as follows:

Record of licenses for merchants, dram shops, balls, etc., 1848–1881, 7 volumes.

The record includes fees for same,

Record of mortgage deeds, 1866-1908, 14 volumes. The early volumes contain chattel mortgages also.

Record of chattel mortgages, 1876-1908, 5 volumes.

Records of wills and testaments, letters of administration and guardianship, bonds of administrators and guardians, and testimony and depositions concerning the same, 1851 to date, 16 volumes (badly confused).

Record of official bonds, 1856-1908, 4 volumes. No record for period 1886-1893. Volume for 1875-1886 marked "Libro de Fianzas de oficiales."

Record of "Bonos librados contra la Tesoreria del Condado de Santa Fe," 1855-1865, 1 volume. Bonds drawn against the treasury of the county of Santa Fe.)

Journal of county commissioners, 1876-1908, 5 volumes.

Journal of probate court, April 5, 1848-1908, 6 volumes. No record from December 26, 1854, to January, 1865.

Accounts of county treasurer and collector, somewhat confused, 1865–1908, 8 volumes. No records for 1875–1885 nor for 1892–1894.

Poll-tax lists for 1875, 1876, 1881, 1884, 1885, 5 volumes.

Tax books for 1867-1875 and 1877-1881, 2 volumes.

Record of mining locations and mining deeds, 1865-1908, 17 volumes.

Proof of labor on mines, 1884-1908, 3 volumes.

Record of mechanics' liens, 1880-1900, 2 volumes. Marked A and B.

Record of liens (C), 1900-1908, 1 volume.

Record of leases and contracts, 1881–1908, 2 volumes. Contains miscellaneous legal agreements of all kinds.

Records of oaths, bonds, and commissions of notaries public, 1872-1908, 2 volumes. No record for 1894-1896.

Record of money judgments in district court, 1891-1908, 1 volume.

Record of fines in district court, 1877-1896, 1 volume.

Record of estates settled in probate court, 1884-1908, 1 volume.

Marriage record, 1863-1908, 3 volumes.

Libro de legitimacion, 1870-1908, 1 volume.

Record of school funds paid out, 1873-1882, 1 volume.

Proceedings of school commissioners, 1876–1884, 1 volume. Contains records of meetings of board, employment of teachers, salaries paid, etc.

Expenditure of school funds, October 1, 1873, to March 4, 1876. This book is marked on the outside in red ink, "Registro de Animales Estraviados."

BERNALILLO COUNTY.

(County seat, Albuquerque.)

RECORDER'S OFFICE.

All the records of this office are in a fireproof vault and are well kept. In addition to the records of Bernalillo County, there are the following records of Santa Ana County, which was abolished and made a part of Bernalillo in 1876.

Santa Ana County probate court and miscellaneous records, 1849-1876, 5 volumes.

Santa Ana County probate court and deed records, 1853-1876, 3 volumes.

Santa Ana County record of wills and administrators, 1864–1876, 3 volumes. (All in Spanish and badly mixed up.)

There are the following records for Bernalillo County:

Records of deeds, 1853-1908, 71 volumes.

Records of mortgage deeds, 1885-1908, 8 volumes.

Records of trust deeds, 1889-1908, 16 volumes.

Records of deeds of release, 1889-1908, 3 volumes.

Records of chattel mortgages, 1889-1908, 7 volumes.

Records of mining claims, 1867-1908, 13 volumes; index, 4 volumes.

Records of guardianship, 1876-1908, 3 volumes.

Record of wills and testaments, 1861-1908, 13 volumes.

General index to all conveyances of real estate, 10 volumes. (Early records largely in Spanish.)

CLEBK OF DISTRICT COURT'S OFFICE.

(Records in vault adjoining.)

Civil docket of Bernalillo County, 1882–1908, 15 volumes. Criminal docket of Bernalillo County, 1882–1908, 7 volumes. Civil docket of Valencia County, ——1908, 8 volumes. Criminal docket of Valencia County, ——1908, 2 volumes. Civil docket of Sandoval County, 1903–1908, 1 volume. Criminal docket of Sandoval County, 1903–1908, 1 volume. Civil docket of McKinley County, 1901–1908, 1 volume. Criminal docket of McKinley County, 1901–1908, 1 volume.

In a vault adjoining the grand jury room is a large mass of old court records belonging to Bernalillo and other counties. They are uncared for and in chaotic condition, but are of great importance for the history of the early court system of the Territory.

Court records of Santa Ana County, 1847-1875, 5 volumes.

Court records of Valencia County, October, 1854–1856, 1865–1873, 1873–1880, 1879–80, 4 volumes.

Court records of third judicial district (Bernalillo, Socorro, and Dona Ana), October, 1851-May, 1854, 1 volume.

Court records of third judicial district (now Bernalillo, Socorro, and Valencia), 1857-58, 1861-1864, 1865-1872, 3 volumes.

District court records for Bernalillo County, 1854-1856, 1865-1872, 1872-1878, 3 volumes.

District court record for Dona Ana County, 1854-1856, 1 volume.

TAOS COUNTY.

(County seat, Taos.)

Of all the counties in New Mexico, Taos has been the most turbulent and disorderly. Many of her records have been destroyed, and those in existence are greatly confused. During the native uprising against American authority in the winter of 1846-47, which had its center in Taos, all the official records that could be found by the revolutionists were taken into the plaza and burned in a great bonfire.

The following archives in the office of the probate clerk are of importance:

Record of deeds, 1852-1908, 17 volumes.

Record of probate court, March, 1847-1889, 6 volumes. (Later records in "General records.")

Record of chattel mortgages, 1886-1895, 1 volume. (Later records in "General records.")

Mining records, 1865-1908, 14 volumes.

Records of marriages, 1863-1905, 1 volume.

Marriage applications and licenses, 1905-1908, 1 volume.

Record of wills and guardians, March, 1847-1908, 8 volumes.

General records.

SAN MIGUEL COUNTY.

(County seat, Las Vegas.)

The probate clerk's office in this county contains a very complete set of records since the creation of the county in 1852, as follows:

Proceedings of county commissioners, 1852-1909.

Records of the probate court, 1852-1909.

Records of deeds, December 17, 1852-1909, 68 volumes.

Record of cattle brands, 1868-1909, 7 volumes.

Sheriff's tax-sale record, 1872-1909, 2 volumes.

Record of redemptions, 1877-1909, 2 volumes.

Chattel mortgage record, 1876-1909, 11 volumes.

Real estate mortgage record, 1880-1909, 21 volumes.

Renewal of chattel mortgages, January 13, 1890-1909, 2 volumes.

Record of liens, July 9, 1880-1909, 2 volumes.

Record of county bonds, November 23, 1890-1909, 1 volume.

Record of official bonds, January 1, 1893-1909, 2 volumes.

Adoption record, January 15, 1900-1909, 1 volume.

Record of wills, January 6, 1890-1909, 1 volume.

Testimony of witnesses to wills, January 6, 1890-1909, 2 volumes.

Administration of estates, November 18, 1883-1909, 5 volumes.

Marriage register, April, 1905-1909, 3 volumes.

Birth register, April 25, 1907-1909, 1 volume.

Death register, April 23, 1907-1909, volume

Articles of incorporation, May 15, 1905-1909, 1 volume.

Record of land patents, February 19, 1886-1909, 2 volumes.

Record of mining locations, August 16, 1889-1909, 2 volumes.

Record of power of attorney, December 22, 1891-1909, 1 volume.

MORA COUNTY.

(County seat, Mora.)

PROBATE CLERK'S OFFICE.

Probate court record, April 9, 1860-1909, 13 volumes. (Numbered A to D, then 1 to 9.)

Record of deeds, October 10, 1860-1909, 24 volumes.

Patent record, November 17, 1888-1909, 2 volumes.

Mortgage-deed record, 1892-1909, 4 volumes. Quitclaim-deed record, 1888-1909, 3 volumes. Record of mining locations, 1888-1909, 1 volume. Record of mining deeds, 1889-1909, 1 volume. Record of relinquishments, 1900-1909, 1 volume. Direct index to deeds, 1860-1909, 1 volume. Indirect index to deeds, 1860-1909, 1 volume. Chattel mortgage record, 1889-1909, 3 volumes, Chattel mortgage renewal record, 1889-1909, 3 volumes. Marriage record, 1866-1891, 1905-1909, 2 volumes. Certificados de Adopcion, Mayo 7, 1900-1909, 1 volume. (Certificates of adoption, May 7, 1900-1909, 1 volume.) Records of wills, guardians, and administrators, 1868-1909, 6 volumes. (Badly confused. 1882-1884 missing.) Register of births, June 15, 1907-1909, 1 volume. Register of deaths, April 26, 1907-1909, 1 volume. Record of county bonds, 1883-1909, 1 volume. Administrators' bonds, 1875-1884, 1 volume. Records of justices of the peace, 1891-1909, 1 volume. Brand book, 1885-1909, 1 volume. Reception book, 1888-1909, 1 volume. Clerk's journal, January 18, 1889-1909, 4 volumes. Clerk's ledger, January 18, 1889-1909, 4 volumes. Record of judgments, March 24, 1874-1909, 1 volume. County commissioners' journal, 1888-1909, 4 volumes. Register of county warrants, 1886-1896, 1 volume. Register of vouchers approved by county commissioners, 1903-1909, 1 volume. Tax rolls, 1874-1909, 72 volumes.

This catalogue of records in five counties is sufficient to show their importance for the period following 1850. Many of the records are more important than can be indicated in a brief report like the present one. This is especially true of the large mass of deed records. Scattered through them here and there, with probability favoring the early volumes, are to be found many old Spanish and Mexican grants dating far back of the American period. They have been brought in and recorded from time to time. The student who would examine them must search them out in volume after volume of later records. They are, of course, all in Spanish. This is likewise true of most of the early records under the territorial government, and Spanish documents of various kinds are scattered through the records down to recent times. The student, without a command of both languages, finds himself surrounded with hidden secrets.

ARCHIVES OF THE CHURCH.

Servants of the Catholic Church have been in New Mexico as long as Spanish people have lived here. They came with the discoverers and explorers, and they have been with every other band. The churchman, however, is so much interested in the past and future that he fails to leave very full chronicles of what is going on around him. The records of the church, with all their great age, are not therefore very satisfactory documents for the student of history, but still they are indispensable. Their greatest service in New Mexico is in settling questions of dates and genealogy. Registers of births, deaths, marriages, and especially baptisms, have been kept in some places from the date of settlement to the present time. As the oldest and most important collections are in the churches of the Rio Grande Valley, I have, with one exception, confined my researches to that region. The Mora country was brought into great prominence by events just following the American occupation of the Territory. Its church records have therefore been included with those of the more important Rio Grande settlements of Albuquerque, Santa Fe, Taos, San Juan, and Santa Cruz.

ARCHIVES OF SAN FELIPE CHURCH, ALBUQUERQUE.

Baptismal record, June 21, 1706-1908, 18 volumes. No entry for 1772-1776. The volume for 1802-1822 is missing, but is thought to be in Santa Fe. Before 1850 the volumes are numbered in order, B, Z, Y, R, P, Q, S, T, A. Births and baptisms in same book.

Marriage record, May 30, 1776-1908, 7 volumes.

Death record, June 19, 1776-1908, 7 volumes.

Letters patent of ecclesiastical superiors, kings, and governors, 1745–1810.

These include all of such documents as pertained to the church or could be secured by the priests in charge.

First book of cordilleras, 1818-1851. A collection of decrees of bishops, governors, etc., much like those in the preceding entry.

Collection of papers concerning various fees of the church (about 1812). The following are of interest:

Burial of mulattoes and free negroes (high mass), \$8.

Burial of child of Spanish parents (high mass), \$8.

Burial of child of negro parents (high mass), \$5.

Small collection of papers relating to the chapel at Alameda, San Antonio, and Manzano (1820).

Small collection of papers relating to patronal feasts (about 1820).

Application by the inhabitants of Tome to the government at Santa Fe for fixing banks of Rio Grande River, 1828.

Petition to the government to prevent people who left grants during Indian troubles from returning in time of peace and reoccupying them, 1837.

Pastoral letters of the bishop of Durango (small collection), about 1850.

Estadísticas de los pueblos de Indios de Nueva México por el año de 1794. (Statistics of the Indian pueblos of New Mexico for the year 1794). A very old and well-preserved manuscript.

Private letters of bishops and priests for granting faculties (various dates).

Libro de fábrica y inventarias, 1818-1861. This includes detailed statements of the general accounts and property of the church during the period covered.

Diligencias matrimoniales, about 500 in number. These "Matrimonial arrangements" begin in 1736, but there is only one here and there for several years. They begin regularly in 1768 and continue until after the American

occupation. A few are missing. These singularly interesting documents contain, for each marriage, statements by both of the contracting parties, and by the parents of each, concerning the age, character, social position, property, etc., of the prospective bride and groom. All this was a ceremony under the auspices of the church, and records of the proceedings were left with the priest.

Enough evidence has been presented here to show that the church archives at Albuquerque are not only of great importance, but that they are probably the most important in New Mexico.

CHURCH ARCHIVES AT SANTA FE.

Baptismal and birth record (both in same entry), 1747-1909, 18 volumes. Only a few entries for 1766-1770.

Marriage record, 1728-1909, 6 volumes. No records for 1783-1821.

Funeral record, 1726-1909, 9 volumes. Early records confused. No record for 1834-1845.

Undoubtedly there are other records of priceless value at Santa Fe aside from these merely formal records; but the writer gained access to none but these.

ARCHIVES OF THE CHURCH OF OUR LADY OF GUADALUPE, TAOS.

Record of baptisms, marriages, and funerals (in same book), 1799-1828, 1 volume

Baptismal record, 1789-1908, 17 volumes. First volume covers 1789-1799; second begins with 1827.

Marriage record, 1827-1908, 7 volumes.

Funeral records, 1827-1908, 6 volumes.

Confirmation records, 1830-1850 and 1894-1908, 2 volumes.

Diligencias matrimoniales, 1830–1847. Five bunches containing probably 125 documents. (For explanation see Archives of San Felipe, Albuquerque, above.)

ARCHIVES OF ARROYO HONDO PARISH, TAOS.

Baptismal record, 1852-1869, 2 volumes. Marriage record, 1852-1869, 1 volume. Funeral record, 1852-1869, 1 volume.

During the period 1852-1869 Arroyo Hondo was an independent parish. Now it is a part of the parish of the Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe, at Taos, and its records are part of the records of that church. Those covering the period 1852-1869 are in the keeping of the parish priest at Taos.

ABCHIVES OF THE SAN JUAN CHURCH AT CHAMITA.

Baptismal record, 1726-1908, 12 volumes. Complete except for parts of a few volumes that have been lost, particularly of the volume for 1853-54.

Marriage record, 1726-1776, 1 volume; 1829-1855, a bunch of loose records making about one volume; 1857-1908, 2 volumes. No records at all for 1776-1829 and 1855-1857.

Funeral record, 1728-1908, 6 volumes. Early records very few and irregular. None at all for 1826-1851 and 1855-1857.

ABCHIVES OF SANTA CRUZ CHURCH AND SURBOUNDING MISSIONS.

I. Santa Cruz.

Baptismal record, 1731-1908, 11 volumes. No record for the year 1768. Marriage record, 1726-1908, 7 volumes. No records for 1768, 1795, and 1870-1885.

Funeral record, 1726-1908, 5 volumes. No record for 1781-1795.

II. Surrounding missions.

Baptismal records:

San Ildefonso and Nambe, 1779–1876, 3 volumes. No record for 1840–1853. Nambe and Pojoaque, 1772–1837, 1 volume.

Santa Clara, 1841-1854, 1 volume.

Marriage records:

San Ildefonso, 1728–1880, 2 volumes. No record for 1853–54. Santa Clara, 1726–1846, 1 volume. Pojoaque, 1780-1853, 1 volume. Nambe, 1772–1862, 1 volume.

Funeral records:

San Ildefonso, 1840–1875, 2 volumes. Santa Clara, 1854–1866, 1 volume. Pojoaque, 1779–1846, 1 volume. Nambe, 1772–1869, 1 volume.

CHURCH ARCHIVES AT MORA.

Baptismal record, 1856–1908, 7 volumes. Marriage record, 1856–1908, 4 volumes. Funeral record, 1856–1908, 4 volumes,

CONCLUSION.

Before closing this report I wish to direct attention to some general conditions which have come to my notice during these investigations, some of which have already come out in the body of the report.

1. In almost every group of archives the records for certain data or period have been reported as "missing," or, sometimes that there is "no record," which in most cases means the same thing. There is, however, evidence in some of these cases tending to show that there never was any record. But what became of those that have disappeared? They have gone in many ways. It seems highly probable that the larger part of them have been carried away by curio hunters both from within and without the Territory. I am reliably informed that scholars have in some cases secured access to groups of these old records, and that after their departure old manuscripts were missing which had been there for generations before. Such abuse of confidence as this has made the church records almost inaccessible, and except under the eye of a keeper, absolutely so. My letters of introduction from the chairman of the public archives commission and a

few influential citizens of the Territory gained me access to the ordinary archives everywhere that I desired it, with one exception. One priest, who would not allow me to enter his archives room, was gracious enough to go through the records for me and furnish a complete written statement of their contents. This is strong evidence of the fear of having some document carried away by anyone who gets a chance.

- 2. In all the archives, Territorial, county, and church, more or less confusion is apparent in the early records. It is not uncommon to find two or even three volumes of the same record for the same years. For example, one for 1847–1860, a second for 1850–1858, and perhaps even a third for 1854–1859. This simply indicates the carelessness and complete lack of system which prevailed in early days, and which has found its way down to very recent times.
- 3. I should regret, however, if anything that I have said should be construed as reflecting on the present Territorial officials or recorders in the various counties visited. For there is every evidence that during the last decade or two they have been performing their duties faithfully. The archives are in fireproof vaults, and, except in a few counties, are in steel cases. It is very much to be regretted that none of the church archives are in any place of safe-keeping. Even a small safe would be some protection from fire. But there are none. And these priceless records lie unprotected except by the jealous care of their keepers.
- 4. The prevalence of the Spanish language in every kind of archives is especially noticeable. In the church archives it is used down to the present time to the practical exclusion of English. This, however, would be expected in view of the fact that probably 95 per cent of the Catholics in the Territory are Spanish-speaking people. county archives furnish a greater variety. In general, it may be said that during the last 15 or 20 years they are in English, and that prior to that time they are in Spanish. Almost every set of records, however, furnishes exceptions to the rule. It is not uncommon to take up a volume of records dating back to 1850, or even earlier, and find numerous entries in English. On the other hand, it is easy to find twentieth century records with little or no English in them. The statements made here concerning the county archives are almost equally true of the Territorial archives in the various departments at Santa Fe. This difference is the most conspicuous: Records in the departmental offices for recent years are exclusively in English. This condition is of special importance to the student of even the most recent periods, since he must have a good command of Spanish in order to use records which are chiefly English. Otherwise he may find himself checked at any time by coming upon a group of Spanish entries.

- 5. In view of the mixture of languages, I have in this report listed almost everything with the proper English title, unless it is to be found under some specific Spanish caption. In the latter case I have ordinarily given the Spanish title, with English translation when there was an exact English equivalent.
- 6. There is in New Mexico a rich mass of documentary material in the hands of private individuals who are descended from early Spanish and English settlers. This should be exploited at an early date. It could not be touched upon in this report for want of time and money, and because the report concerns itself only with official or semiofficial archives.

XXI. WRITINGS ON AMERICAN HISTORY, 1909.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES ON UNITED STATES AND CANADIAN HISTORY PUBLISHED DURING THE YEAR 1909, WITH SOME MEMORANDA ON OTHER PORTIONS OF AMERICA.

COMPILED BY

GRACE GARDNER GRIFFIN.

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PREFACE.

The need of an annual bibliography in which shall be registered all books and articles, of any value and importance, relating to American history and published in a given year, is one that has been acutely felt by many investigators. Early in the history of the American Historical Association some attempts were made to satisfy this desire. A bibliography of the writings of the members of the association for the year 1890, prepared by Mr. Paul Leicester Ford, appeared in the annual report for that year. Bibliographies of similar scope for the years 1891 and 1892, prepared by Mr. A. Howard Clark, appeared in the annual reports for the next two years, while that for 1893 contained a list of contributions toward a bibliography of American history for the years 1888 to 1892, by Prof. John Martin Vincent.

Ten years later a more comprehensive list in the form of a volume of 294 pages entitled "Writings on American History, 1902 (Princeton, 1904)," was made by Prof. Ernest C. Richardson, librarian of Princeton University, and Mr. Anson Ely Morse. A volume of a somewhat different plan, 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 (Washington, 1905, pp. 172). After an interval followed the series, Writings on American History, 1906, 1907, and 1908, prepared by Miss Grace Gardner Griffin and published by the Macmillan Co. (New York, 1908, 1909, 1910, pp. 186, 162, 174). 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, herewith presented, is due to the continued aid afforded by

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the same generous subscribers. At this point, however, though the preparation of the material continues to be provided for by such a subscription, the printing and publication of the annual bibliography is assumed by the American Historical Association, and it may be expected that such a list will appear each year in the annual report of the association.

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, and 1908 can be obtained from the Macmillan Co. up to the end of December, 1911. After that date the last three can be obtained only from the secretary of the American Historical Association, to whose custody the stock will be then transferred.

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 1909. 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.

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PUBLISHERS REPRESENTED, WITH ABBREVIATIONS USED.¹

Adams. Byron S. Adams, printer and publisher, 512 11th st. N. W., Washington.

Aillaud. Aillaud et cie., 96 boulevard du Montparnasse, Paris.

Ainsworth. Ainsworth and co., 378-388 Wabash ave., Chicago.

Alderbrink press. The Alderbrink press, Fine Arts bldg., Michigan Boulevard, Chicago.

Allaben geneal. co. Frank Allaben genealogical co., 3 W. 42d st., N. Y.

Allen. Allen, Lane and Scott, 1211-1213 Clover st., Phila.

Allyn. Allyn and Bacon, 172 Tremont st., Boston.

Am. Baptist publication soc. American Baptist publication society, 171-173 Chestnut st., Phila.

Am. bk. co. American book company, 100 Washington square, E., N. Y.

Am. publishers' assoc. American publishers' association, 511 Lakeside bldg., Chicago.

Appleton. D. Appleton and co., 29-35 W. 32d st., N. Y.

Arakelyan press, 364-372 Congress st., Boston.

Arias. Imp. de Eduardo Arias, Madrid.

Arrault. E. Arrault et cie., Tours.

Badger. R. G. Badger, 194 Boylston st., Boston.

Bailly, Baillière é hijos, Plaza Santa Ana, 10, Madrid.

Baker. Baker and Taylor co., 33 E. 17th st., N. Y.

Baker, Voorhis and co., 45 John st., N. Y.

Bankers' pub. co. Bankers' publishing co., 90 William st., N. Y.

Barnes. O. P. Barnes, 378 Wabash ave., Chicago.

Beers. J. H. Beers and co., 216 Clark st., Chicago.

Benziger bros. Benziger brothers, 36 Barclay st., N. Y.

Biddle press, 1010 Cherry st., Phila.

Black. Adams and Charles Black, 4 Soho square, W., London.

Blanchard and co. F. S. Blanchard and co., Worcester, Mass.

Boll und Pickardt, Verlagsbuchhandlung, Georgenstr., 23, Berlin.

Boston bk. co. Boston book co., 83-91 Francis st., Boston.

Bouret. Charles Bouret, 23 rue Visconti, Paris.

Bowen. B. F. Bowen and co., 607 Lemcke bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.

Briggs. W. Briggs, 29 Richmond st., Toronto.

Brill. Boekhandel (vorm. E. J. Brill), Oude Rijn 33 A, Leyden.

Broadway pub. co. Broadway publishing co., 835 Broadway, N. Y.

M. B. Brown co., 49 Park place, N. Y.

Buchanan co., G. H. Buchanan co., 420 Sansom st., Phila.

Burrows. Burrows brothers co., 633 Euclid ave., Cleveland, O.

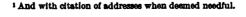
Butterworth. Butterworth and co., 11 and 12 Bell Yard, Temple Bar, W. C., London.

Caldwell. A. B. Caldwell, Temple court bldg., Atlanta, Ga.

Calmann-Lévy, 3 rue Auber, Paris.

Carbonell. Tip. de Carbonell y Esteva, Rambla Catalufía 118, Barcelona.

Casanova, Impr. viuda de D. Casanova, Barcelona.



Caxton co. The Caxton co., Caxton bldg., Cleveland, O. Century co. The Century co., 33 E. 17th st., N. Y.

Century history co., 54 Dev st., N. Y.

Challamel. Augustin Challamel, 17 rue Jacob, Paris.

Chapelot. Librairie militaire R. Chapelot et cie., 30 rue et passage Dauphine, Paris.

Chapple pub. co. Chapple publishing co., 944 Dorchester ave., Boston.

Chatto and Windus, 111 St. Martin's Lane, Charing Cross, W. C., London.

Cheltenham press, 150 Fifth ave., N. Y.

Chicago-Bladet pub. co. Chicago-Bladet publishing co., 220 W. Oak st., Chicago.

The Christian herald. The Christian herald pub. co., Room 92, Bible house, N. Y.

Clapp. David Clapp and son, 291 Congress st., Boston.

Clarendon press. See Frowde.

A. H. Clark. Arthur H. Clark co., Caxton bldg., Cleveland, O.

R. Clarke co. The Robert Clarke co., Government square, Cincinnati, O.

S. J. Clarke. S. J. Clarke publishing co., 358 Dearborn st., Chicago.

W. B. Clarke. W. B. Clarke and co., 26 Tremont st., Boston.

Cochrane pub. co. Cochrane publishing co., Tribune bldg., Park Row, N. Y.

Columbia univ. press. Columbia university press, Longmans, Green and co., agents.

Conkey co. W. B. Conkey co., 204 Dearborn st., Chicago.

Cooper. C. F. Cooper and co., 184 Dearborn st., Chicago. Crowell. T. Y. Crowell and co., 426 W. Broadway, N. Y.

Curtiss-Way co., 165 Broadway, N. Y.

Deutsche Zukunft. Verlag Deutsche Zukunft, Pfaffendorferstr. 15, Leipzig.

De Vinne press, 395 Lafayette st., N. Y.

De Wolfe and Fiske. De Wolfe and Fiske co., 20 Franklin st., Boston.

Dillingham. W. Dillingham co., 119-121 W. 23d st., N. Y.

Dodd. Dodd, Mead and co., 443 Fourth ave., N. Y.

Dodge. B. W. Dodge and co., 43 W. 27th st., N. Y.

Donnelley. R. R. Donnelley and sons co., 140-146 Monroe st., Chicago.

Doubleday, Page and co., 131-137 E. 16th st., N. Y.

Drew and Lewis, 95 Cliff st., N. Y.

Duffield. Duffield and co., 36 W. 37th st., N. Y.

Dumoulin. Impr. et libr. Dumoulin, 5 rue des Grands-Augustins. Paris.

Eaton. Eaton and Mains, 150 Fifth ave., N. Y.

Ellis. G. H. Ellis co., 272 Congress st., Boston.

Elwell pub. co. J. F. Elwell publishing co., 247 S. Broadway, Los Angeles, Cal.

Engelmann. Friedrich Engelmann, Göschenstr. 1, Leipzig.

Estes. Dana Estes and co., 208-218 Summer st., Boston.

Falconer. John Falconer, 53 Upper Sackville st., Dublin.

Fasquelle. Eugène Fasquelle, 11 rue de Grenelle, Paris.

Fergus print. co. Fergus printing co., 22 Lake st., Chicago.

Ferris. Ferris and Leach, 27-29 S. 7th st., Phila.

Fort Hill press, 176-184 High st., Boston.

Fortanet. Imprenta de Fortanet, Libertad 29, Madrid.

Forzani. Forzani e c., Rome.

Franz. Franz'scher Verlag, Ottostr. 3a, Munich.

Friederichsen. L. Friederichsen und co., Neuerwall 61, Hamburg.

Frowde (Clarendon press). H. Frowde (Clarendon press), Amen Corner, E. C., London.

Funk. Funk and Wagnalls co., 44-60 E. 23d st., N. Y.

Garnier. Garnier frères, 6 rue des Saints-Pères, Paris.

Gebauer-Schwetschke Druckerei und Verlag, Grosse Märkestr. 10, Halle a. S.

Giard. Giard et Brière, 16 rue Soufflot, Paris.

Gibson. Gibson brothers, 1238 Pennsylvania ave., Washington.

Gilliss press, 141 E. 25th st., N. Y.

Gilson co. F. H. Gilson co., 54-60 Stanhope st., Boston.

Ginn. Ginn and co., 29 Beacon st., Boston.

Gov. print. bureau. Government printing bureau, Ottawa.

Gov. print. off. Government printing office, Washington.

Grafton press, 70 Fifth ave., N. Y.

Guilmoto. E. Guilmoto, 6 rue de Mézières, Paris.

Hamersly. L. R. Hamersly co., 1 W. 34th st., N. Y.

Harper. Harper and brothers, Franklin square, N. Y.

Harrisburg pub. co. Harrisburg publishing co., Harrisburg, Pa.

Hartranft. F. B. Hartranft, 49 Pearl st., Hartford, Conn.

Harvey pub. co. Harvey publishing co., Merchants bldg., Cincinnati, O.

Headley. Headley brothers, 13 Devonshire st., Bishops Gate, E. C., London.

Heath. D. C. Heath and co., 120 Boylston st., Boston.

Heer. F. J. Heer printing co., 55 E. Main st., Columbus, O.

Heinemann. William Heinemann, 21 Bedford st., Strand, W. C., London.

Heymann. Carl Heymanns Verlag, Mauerstr. 43/44, Berlin.

Hinds. Hinds, Noble and Eldredge, 1425 Arch st., Phila.; 31-35 W. 15th st., N. Y.

Hollister press, 75 Monroe st., Chicago.

Holt. Henry Holt and co., 34 W. 33d st., N. Y.

Houghton. Houghton Mifflin co., 4 Park st., Boston; 85 Fifth ave., N. Y.

Howard. Geo. E. Howard press, 714 12th st., N. W., Washington.

Hudson pub. co. Hudson publishing co., 404 Kasota bldg., Minneapolis, Minn.

Imperial pub. co. Imperial publishing co., 27 E. 22d st., N. Y.

Jacobs. G. W. Jacobs and co., 1216 Walnut st., Phila.

Jennings. Jennings and Graham, 220 W. 4th st., Cincinnati, O.

Johns Hopkins. Johns Hopkins press, Baltimore, Md.

Judd. Judd and Detweiler, 420 11th st., N. W., Washington.

Kayser. Verlag der kgl. bayer. Hofbuchdruckerei H. Kayser, Kaiserslautern.

Kennerley. Mitchell Kennerley, 2 E. 29th st., N. Y.

Ketterlinus. Ketterlinus lithograph manufacturing co., 4th and Arch sts., Phila.

Knickerbocker press, 29 W. 23d st., N. Y.

Laflamme. Laflamme and Proulx, Quebec.

Lane. John Lane, The "Bodley Head," Vigo st., W., London.

Larose. Libr. L. Larose et L. Tenin, 22 rue Soufflot, Paris.

Latin press print. and pub. co., 336 W. Girard ave., Phila.

H. Lauppeche Buchhandlung, Tübingen.

Laurie. T. Werner Laurie, 13 Clifford's Inn, Fleet st., London.

Law reporter print. co., 518 5th st., N. W., Washington.

Lewis. Lewis publishing co., 358 Dearborn st., Chicago.

Lippincott. J. B. Lippincott co., East Washington square, Phila.

Litchfield. W. J. Litchfield, 455 Columbus ave., Boston.

Little. Little, Brown and co., 34 Beacon st., Boston.

Little chronicle co., 358 Dearborn st., Chicago.

Littlefield. George E. Littlefield, 67 Cornhill, Boston.

Longmans. Longmans, Green and co., 443-449 Fourth ave., N. Y.; 38-41 Paternoster Row, London.

Lord Baltimore press, Greenmount ave. and Oliver st., Baltimore.

Lowdermilk. W. H. Lowdermilk, 1424-1426 F st., N. W., Washington.

Lutheran publication society, 1424 Arch st., Phila.

Lyon. J. B. Lyon co., 30-36 Beaver st., Albany, N. Y.

McBride. John McBride co., 2 Rector st., N. Y.

McClurg. A. C. McClurg and co., 215-221 Wabash ave., Chicago.

Macmillan. The Macmillan co., 64-66 Fifth ave., N. Y.

McVey. J. J. McVey, 1229 Arch st., Phila.

Marquardt. Marquardt und co., Köthenerstr. 27, Berlin.

Marquis. A. N. Marquis and co., 324 Dearborn st., Chicago.

Marvin. T. R. Marvin and son, 73 Federal st., Boston.

Matthews. J. Matthews, 93 and 94 Chancery Lane, W. C., London.

Maucci. Casa editorial Maucci, Mallorca 166, Barcelona.

Merrill. C. E. Merrill co., 44-60 E. 23d st., N. Y.

Merrymount press, 232 Summer st., Boston.

Methuen. Methuen and co., 36 Essex st., Strand, W. C., London.

Meyer. Meyer and Thalheimer, 301 W. Baltimore st., Baltimore.

Middleditch. L. Middleditch co., 65 Duane st., N. Y.

Miller press, 439 Lafayette st., N. Y.

Milner. Milner and co., 15A Paternoster Row, E. C., London.

Minen-Verlag G. m. b. H., Kurfürstenstr. 123, Berlin.

Mining and scientific press, 667 Howard st., San Francisco, Cal.

Mittler. E. S. Mittler und Sohn, Kochstr. 68, Berlin.

Moffat. Moffat, Yard and co., 31 E. 17th st., N. Y.

Morgan and Scott, 12 Paternoster buildings, E. C., and 30 Paternoster Row, E. C., London.

Morton and co. J. P. Morton and co., 440-446 Main st., Louisville, Ky.

Murray. John Murray, 50A Albemarle st., W., London.

Musson bk. co. Musson book co., Toronto.

Neale. Neale publishing co., Broadway, Fifth ave., and 23d st. (Flatiron building), N. Y.; 431 11th st., N. W., Washington.

New era print. New era printing co., 41 North Queen st., Lancaster, Pa.

Nijhoff. M. Nijhoff, Nobelstraat 18, The Hague.

Outing pub. co. Outing publishing co., 315 Fifth ave., N. Y.

Page. L. C. Page and co., 200 Summer st., Boston.

Parke. Vincent Parke and co., publishers, 32 Union square, N. Y.

Paul. Stanley Paul and co., 1 Clifford's Inn, Temple Bar, Fleet st., E. C., London.

Perrin. Perrin et cie., 35 quai des Grands-Augustins, Paris.

Pilgrim press, 14 Beacon st., Boston.

Powers co., W. F. Powers co., 30 Ferry st., N. Y.

Pub. wkly. Publishers' weekly, 298 Broadway, N. Y.

Putnam. G. P. Putnam's sons, 29 W. 23d st., N. Y.

Puttkammer und Muhlbrecht, Französischestr. 28, Berlin.

Quelle und Meyer, Liebigstr. 6, Leipzig.

Rand, McNally. Rand, McNally and co., 160-174 Adams st., Chicago; 142 Fifth ave., N. Y.

D. Reimer. Dietrich Reimer, Wilhelmstr. 29, Berlin.

G. Reimer. Georg Reimer, Lützowstr. 107/8, Berlin.

Revell. Fleming H. Revell and co., 80 Wabash ave., Chicago; 158 Fifth ave., N. Y.

Richmond-Arnold pub. co., 1411 Masonic Temple, Chicago.

Rivers. Alston Rivers, 21 and 22 Brooke st., Holborn, E. C., London.

Riverside press, Cambridge, Mass.

Robertson. A. M. Robertson, 222 Stockton st., San Francisco, Cal.

Rockwell and Churchill press, 291-293 Congress st., Boston.

Rowe. F. L. Rowe, 422 Elm st., Cincinnati, O.

Sackville press, 32 George st., Hanover square, W., London.

St. Dié press, 5 Beekman st., N. Y.

Salem press. Salem press co., Salem, Mass.

Sametz. W. F. Sametz and co., 540 Pearl st., N. Y.

Sanborn and co. B. H. Sanborn and co., 120 Boylston st., Boston; 156 Fifth ave., N. Y.

Sansot. Libr. E. Sansot et cie., 7 rue de l'Éperon, Paris.

Savaète. Libr. A. Savaète, 15 rue Malebranche, Paris.

Schwartz, Kirwin and Fauss, 42 Barclay st., N. Y.

Schleicher frères, 61 rue des Saints-Pères, Paris.

Scribner. Charles Scribner's sons, 153-157 Fifth ave., N. Y.

Siegismund. Karl Siegismund, Dessauerstr. 13, Berlin.

Siemenroth. Franz Siemenroth, Hafenplatz 9, Berlin.

Silver. Silver, Burdett and co., 85 Fifth ave., N. Y.; 218-223 Columbus ave., Boston.

Smith, Elder and co., 15 Waterloo place, S. W., London.

Small. Small, Maynard and co., 15 Beacon st., Boston.

Snow. Snow and Farnham co., 15 Custom House st., Providence, R. I.

Standard publishing co., 16 E. 9th st., Cincinnati, O.

Stanhope press, 54-60 Stanhope st., Boston.

Stechert. G. E. Stechert and co., 129-133 W. 20th st., N. Y.

Stern. Edward Stern and co., 140 N. 6th st., Phila.

Stevens. Stevens and sons, 119 and 120 Chancery Lane, W. C., London.

Stock. Elliott Stock, 62 Paternoster Row, E. C., London.

Stockhausen. Paul C. Stockhausen, printer, 55 N. 7th st., Phila.

Stokes. Frederick A. Stokes co., 443 Fourth ave., N. Y.

Sturgis. Sturgis and Walton, 31-33 E. 27th st., N. Y.

Suárez. Librería general de Victoriano Suárez, Preciados 48, Madrid.

Tandy-Thomas co. Tandy publishing co. (Formerly Tandy-Thomas co.), 31-33 E 27th st., N. Y.

Torch press, 1424-1426 T st., Cedar Rapids, Ia.

Treves. Fratelli Treves, 12 via Palermo, Milan.

Trow press. Trow directory, printing and bookbinding co., 89 Third ave., N. Y.

Ulshöfer. C. und A. Ulshöfer, Haupstätterstr. 51, Stuttgart.

Unity publishing co., 3939 Langley ave., Chicago.

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.

Vromant and co., 18 rue des Paroissians, Brussels.

Walther's Buchdruckerei. Walther printing house, 3d st., cor. Girard ave., Phila.

Wasmuth. Ernst Wasmuth, Markgrafenstr. 35, Berlin.

Webster press, 21 Rose st., N. Y.

T. Weicher. Theodor Weicher (Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhdlg.), Inselstr. 10, Leipzig.

White and co. James T. White and co., 29 E. 22d st., N. Y.

Wiley and sons. John Wiley and sons, 41-45 E. 19th st., N. Y.

Wilson and son, Univ. press. John Wilson and son, University press, Cambridge, Mass.

Wilson co. H. W. Wilson co., 1401-1405 University ave., S. E., Minneapolis, Minn.

Winston. John C. Winston co., 1006 Arch st., Phila.

Wintemute-Sawyer pub. co., 17 Battery Place, N. Y.

Witter. Witter and Kintner, 503 Fifth ave., N. Y.

Wright and Potter. Wright and Potter printing co., 18 Post Office square, Boston.

Wynkoop, Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, Crawford co., 497 Pearl st., N. Y.

York print co. York printing co., 108 Park Row, N. Y.

LIST OF PERIODICALS, WITH ABBREVIATIONS USED.

Acad. of Pacific coast hist. pub. Academy of Pacific coast history, publications, Berkeley, Cal.

Academy, London.

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. antiq. soc. trans. and coll. American antiquarian society, transactions and collections, 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. ethnol. soc. trans. American ethnological society, transactions, N. Y.

Am. geog. soc. bul. American geographical society, bulletin, N. Y.

Am. hist. assoc. rep. American historical association, annual report, Washington, D. C.

Am. hist. mag. American historical magazine, N. Y. (See Americana.)

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. archæol. American journal of archæology, 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. phys. educ. rev. American physical education review, Boston.

Am. pol. sci. rev. American political science review, Baltimore, Md.

Am. statistical assoc. pub. American statistical association, publications, Boston,

América. América, N. Y.

Americana. Americana, N. Y. (formerly American historical magazine).

Americana Germanica. Americana Germanica, Phila.

Ann. Am. acad. pol. sci. Annals of the American academy of political and social science, N. Y.

Ann. géog. Annales de géographie, Paris.

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Ann. Ia. Annals of Iowa, Des Moines, Ia.

Ann. Jackson co. Ia. Annals of Jackson county, Iowa, pub. by the Jackson county historical society, Maquoketa, Ia.

L'anthropologie, L'anthropologie, Paris.

Anthropos, Anthropos, Salzburg.

Arbeiterfreund. Der Arbeiterfreund, Berlin.

Arch. rec. Architectural record, N. Y.

Archiv f. Anthrop. Archiv für Anthropologie, Brunswick.

Archiv. p. l'antrop. Archivio per l'antropologia e la etnologia, Florence.

Arena. Arena, Trenton, N. J., and Boston.

Army and navy life. Army and navy life, N. Y.

Athenæum, London.

Atlantic. Atlantic monthly, Boston.

Bay State hist. league pub. Bay State historical league, publications, Boston.

Bib. sacra. Bibliotheca sacra, Oberlin, O.

Bib. world. Biblical world, Chicago.

Bibliog. soc. Am. proc. Bibliographical society of America, proceedings and papers, N. Y.

Blackwood's. Blackwood's magazine, Edinburgh.

Bookman, N. Y.

Bost. soc. proc. Bostonian society, proceedings, Boston.

Bradford co. hist. soc. ann. Bradford county historical society, annual, Towarda, Pa.

Branch hist. pap. The John P. Branch historical papers of Randolph-Macon college. British association for the advancement of science, report, London.

Brookline hist. soc. proc. Brookline historical society, proceedings, Brookline, Mass. Bucks co. hist. soc. coll. Bucks county historical society, collection of papers read before, Doylestown, Pa.

Buffalo hist. soc. pub. Buffalo historical society, publications, Buffalo, N. Y.

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.

Cambridge hist. soc. pub. Cambridge historical society, publications, Cambridge, Mass.

Canad. antiq. and numismat. jour. Canadian antiquarian and numismatic journal, Montreal.

Canad. inst. trans. Canadian institute, transactions, Toronto.

Canad. mag. Canadian magazine, Toronto.

Caribbeana, London.

Carnegie lib. bul. Carnegie library of Pittsburgh, bulletin.

Cassell's. Cassell's magazine, London.

Cassier's magazine, N. Y.

Cath. univ. bul. Catholic university bulletin, Washington, D. C.

Cath. world. Catholic world, N. Y.

Century. Century magazine, N. Y.

Chamb. jour. Chambers's journal, Edinburgh.

Champlain soc. pub. Champlain society, publications, Toronto.

Chaut. Chautauguan, Chautaugua, N. Y.

Chicago hist. soc. proc. Chicago historical society, proceedings, Chicago.

City hist. soc. Phila. pub. City history society of Philadelphia, publications.

Coast. The Coast, Seattle, Wash.

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. hist. soc. coll. Connecticut historical society, collections, Hartford.

Contemp. rev. Contemporary review, London.

Cornhill mag. Cornhill magazine, London.

Correspondant, Paris.

Cosmopol. Cosmopolitan, N. Y.

Craftsman. Craftsman, N. Y.

D. A. R. 11th rep. National society of the Daughters of the American revolution, annual report, Washington, D. C.

Delaware 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.

Dial. The Dial, Chicago.

Eccles. rev. Ecclesiastical review, Philadelphia.

Econ. rev. Economic review, London.

L'écon. franç. L'économiste français, Paris.

Econ. jour. Economic journal, 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.

Essex inst. hist. coll. Essex institute historical collections, Salem, Mass.

Études. Études, Paris.

Everbody's. Everbody's magazine, N. Y.

Filson club pub. Filson club publications, Louisville, Ky.

Firelands pioneer. Firelands pioneer, published by the Firelands historical society. Norwalk, O.

Florida hist. soc. quar. Florida historical society, quarterly, Jacksonville, Fla.

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. hist. soc. coll. Georgia historical society, collections, Savannah, Ga.

Geneal. Genealogist, London.

Geog. Jahr. Geographisches Jahrbuch, Gotha.

Geog. jour. Geographical journal, London.

Geog. Zeits. Geographische Zeitschrift, Leipzig.

Ger. Am. ann. German American annals, Phila.

Grafton mag. Grafton magazine of history and genealogy, N. Y. and Boston.

Granite state mag. Granite state magazine, Manchester, N. H.

Globus, Globus, Brunswick.

Green bag. Green bag, Boston.

Hampton's. Hampton's magazine, N. Y.

Harper's. Harper's monthly magazine, N. Y.

Hartford sem. rec. Hartford seminary record, Hartford, Conn.

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 publications, Cincinnati.

Hist., nat. hist. and lib. soc. So. Natick coll. Historical, natural history and library society of South Natick, historical collections, South Natick, Mass.

Hist. pub. Canad. Review of historical publications relating to Canada, Toronto.

Hist. teach. mag. History teacher's magazine, Phila.

Hist. Zeits. Historische Zeitschrift, Munich and Berlin.

L'homme préhist. L'homme préhistorique, Paris.

Hudson co. hist. soc. pap. Historical society of Hudson county, N. J., papers read before, [Jersey City?].

Hug. soc. Am. proc. Huguenot society of America, proceedings, N. Y.

Hug. soc. S. C. trans. Huguenot society of South Carolina, transactions, Charleston.

Huron inst. pap. Huron institute papers and records, Collingwood, Ont.

Hyde Park hist. rec. Hyde Park historical record, Hyde Park, Mass.

Ia. jour. hist. Iowa journal of history and politics, Iowa City, Ia.

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 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. studio. International studio, N. Y.

Internat. Woch. f. Wissenschaft. Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik, Berlin.

Ipswich hist. soc. pub. Ipswich historical society, publications, Salem, Mass.

Jahrbuch f. Gesetzgebung. Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft im Deutschen Reich, Leipzig.

Johns Hopkins univ. stud. Johns Hopkins university studies in historical and political science, Baltimore, Md.

Jour. Am. folklore. Journal of American folklore, Boston and N. Y.

Jour. Am. hist. Journal of American history, New Haven, Conn.

Jour. des écon. Journal des économistes, Paris.

Jour. Eng. and Germ. philol. Journal of English and Germanic philology, published by the University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

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. soc. Amér. de Paris. Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris.

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. rep. Kansas state historical society, report, Topeka, Kan.

Kolon. Zeits. Koloniale Zeitschrift, Leipzig and Vienna.

Ky. hist. soc. reg. Kentucky state historical society, register, Frankfort, Ky.

La lectura. La lectura, Madrid.

Lancaster co. hist. soc. pap. Lancaster county historical society, papers, Lancaster. Pa.

Law stud. help. Law student's helper, Detroit, Mich.

Lebanon co. hist. soc. pap. Lebanon county historical society, papers, Lebanon, 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.

Mag. of hist. Magazine of history, with notes and queries, N. Y.

Maine hist. soc. coll. Maine historical society, collections, Portland.

Man. Man; a monthly record of anthropological science, London.

Manchester hist. assoc. coll. Manchester historic association, collections, Manchester, N. H.

Mass. hist. soc. proc. Masschusetts 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. law rev. Michigan law review, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Midwestern. Midwestern, Des Moines, Ia.

Minn. acad. soc. sci. pub. Minnesota academy of social sciences, publications, Minneapolis, Minn.

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.

Mo. hist. rev. Missouri historical review, Columbia, Mo.

Month. The Month, London.

Moody's mag. Moody's magazine, N. Y.

Munsey's. Munsey's magazine, N. Y.

Music teach. nation. assoc. pap. Music teachers' national association, papers and proceedings.

N. C. booklet. North Carolina booklet, Raleigh, N. C.

N. C. hist. com. bul. North Carolina historical commission, bulletin, 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. hist. soc. proc. New Jersey historical society, proceedings, Paterson, N. J.

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. geneal. and biog. soc. coll. New York genealogical and biographical society, collections, 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. 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.

Nebraska univ. stud. Nebraska university studies, Lincoln, Neb.

Neue Zeit. Neue Zeit, Stuttgart.

Nevada hist. soc. rep. Nevada historical society, report, Carson City, Nev.

New Brunswick hist. soc. coll. New Brunswick historical society, collections, Saint John, N. B.

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.

New Mex. hist. soc. pub. Historical society of New Mexico, publications, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Newburgh Bay and the Highlands hist. soc. pub. Historical society of Newburgh Bay and the Highlands, publications, Newburgh, N. Y.

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.

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.

Nuova antologia. Nuova antologia, Rome.

O. archæol, and hist. soc. pub. Ohio archæological and historical society, publications, Columbus, Q.

Österreich. Rundschau. Österreichische Rundschau, Vienna.

Ohio Valley hist. assoc. rep. Ohio Valley historical association, report, Columbus, O. Old Colony hist. soc. coll. Old Colony historical society, collections, Taunton, Mass.

Old Dartmouth hist. sketches. Old Dartmouth historical sketches, New Bedford, Mass.

Old Eliot. Old Eliot, Eliot, Me.

Old northw. quar. "Old Northwest" genealogical quarterly, Columbus, O.

Olde Ulster. Olde Ulster, Kingston, N. Y.

Open court. Open court, Chicago.

Ore, hist, soc. quar. Oregon historical society, quarterly, Portland, Ore.

Ore. pion. assoc. trans. Oregon pioneer association, transactions, Portland, Ore.

Out West. Out West, Los Angeles, Cal.

Outing. Outing, N. Y.

Outlook. Outlook, N. Y.

Overland. Overland monthly, San Francisco, Cal.

Pa. geneal. soc. pub. Genealogical society of Pennsylvania, publications, Phila.

Pa. Germ. soc. proc. Pennsylvania German society, proceedings and addresses, Lancaster, Pa.

Pa.-German. The Pennsylvania-German, Lititz, Pa.

Pa. hist. club pub. Pennsylvania history club, publications, Phila.

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.

Pa. univ. mus, anthrop, pub. University [of Pennsylvania] museum, anthropological publications, Phila.

Pall Mall mag. Pall Mall magazine, London.

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.

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.

Prince soc. pub. Prince society, publications, Boston.
Princ. alumni w. Princeton alumni weekly, Princeton, N. J.

Princ. theol. rev. Princeton theological review, Phila.

Putnam's. Putnam's magazine, N. Y.

Quar. jour. econ. Quarterly journal of economics, Boston.

Quar. rev. Quarterly review, London.

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, boletin, Madrid.

R. I. hist. soc. proc. Rhode Island historical society, proceedings, Providence, R. I.

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, Can.

Rev. chrétienne. Revue chrétienne, Paris.

Rev. deux mondes. Revue des deux mondes, Paris.

Rev. droit internat. Revue de droit international et de législation comparée,

Rev. éc. d'anthrop. de Paris. Revue de l'École d'anthropologie de Paris. Rev. études ethnog. et sociol. Revue des études ethnographiques et sociologiques.

Rev. franç. Revue française, 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 cath. Revue du monde catholique, 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.

Royal soc. Canada proc. Royal society of Canada, proceedings and transactions, Ottawa.

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.

Science, Science, N. Y.

Scot. geog. mag. Scottish geographical magazine, Edinburgh.

Scribner's. Scribner's magazine, N. Y.

Sewanee rev. Sewanee review, Sewanee, Tenn.

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. 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.

Soc. of colonial wars in D. C. hist. pap. Society of colonial wars in the District of Columbia, historical papers, Washington, D. C.

Soc. of colonial wars in Ohio reg. Society of colonial wars in the state of Ohio, register, Cincinnati, O.

Spectator. Spectator, London.

Survey, N. Y.

Swedish-Am. hist. soc. yr.-bk. Swedish-American historical society, year-book, Chicago.

Symra. Symra; a Norwegian-American quarterly, Decorah, Ia.

Teachers' col. rec. Teachers' college record, N. Y.

Tech. rev. Technology review, Boston.

Tex. hist. assoc. quar. Texas state historical association, quarterly, Austin, Tex.

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.

Trinity coll. hist. soc. pap. Historical society of Trinity college, Durham, N. C., annual publication of historical papers.

U. S. bur. Am. ethnol. rep. U. S. bureau of American ethnology, annual report, Washington, D. C.

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. United States infantry association, journal, Washington, D. C.

U. S. N. inst. proc. United States Naval institute proceedings, Annapolis, Md.

Unit. ser. gaz. United service gazette, London.

Unit. ser. inst. jour. United service institution of India, journal.

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 Colorado stud. University of Colorado studies, Boulder, Col.

Univ. of Ill. stud. University of Illinois, University studies, Urbana, Ill.

Univ. of Mich. bul. University of Michigan, University bulletin, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Univ. of Missouri stud., soc. sci. ser. University of Missouri studies, Social science series, Columbia, Mo.

Univ. of Penn. law rev. and Am. law reg. University of Pennsylvania law review and American law register, Phila.

Univ. of S. C. bul. University of South Carolina, bulletin, Columbia, S. C.

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.

Va. co. rec. Virginia county records, N. Y.

Va. mag. hist. Virginia magazine of history and biography, Richmond, Va.

Van Norden mag. Van Norden magazine, N. Y.

Vineland hist. and antiq. soc. rep. Vineland historical and antiquarian society, annual report, Vineland, N. J.

Vt. hist. soc. proc. Vermont historical society, proceedings, Montpelier, Vt.

W. Va. univ. stud. in W. Va. hist. West Virginia university studies in West Virginia history, Morgantown, 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.

Wis. archeol. Wisconsin archeologist, Madison, Wis.

Wis. hist. soc. proc. Wisconsin state historical society, proceedings, Madison, Wis.

Windsor magazine, London.

Wm. and Mary quar. William and Mary quarterly historical magazine, Williamsburg, Va.

Wor. soc. antiq. coll. Worcester society of antiquity, collections, Worcester, Mass.

World's work. World's work, N. Y.

Wy. commem. assoc. proc. Wyoming commemorative association, proceedings, ... Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Wy. hist. and geol. soc. proc. Wyoming historical and geological society, proceedings and collections, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Yale law journal, New Haven, Conn

Yale rev. Yale review, New Haven, Conn.

Zeits. Erdkunde. Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin.

Zeits. f. Ethnol. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Berlin.

Zeits. f. Socialwissen. Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft, Leipzig.

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- Gill, Eliza M. The pump in the market place; and other water supplies of Medford, old and modern. Medford Hist. Reg., XII (Apr.) 25-41. [1140]
- Green, Samuel Abbott. Early mile-stones leading from Boston; and mile-stones at Groton. Cambridge, Wilson and son, Univ. press. 27 p. illus. [1141 Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Massachusetts historical society, 3d ser., II, 87-111.
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- Kittredge, Henry Austin. Andover, past and present, with some recollections of my time. New Eng. MAG., XXXIX (Jan.) 579-593. [1146]
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- Lincoln, Mary E. Raynham recollections. Mag. of Hist., X (Aug.) 86-93. [1149 Historical sketch of Raynham, Mass.
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- Lynn historical society, Lynn, Mass. Dedication of the tablet in commemoration of the Old tunnel, by the Lynn historical society. Placed on the meeting-house of the First Congregational church, Lynn, Mass., June thirteenth, nineteen hundred nine. [Lynn, Nichols and sons]. [8] p. illus. [1150]

The Old tunnel: an historical center, by C. J. H. Woodbury: p. [2-3]
Inscription on tablet: In commemoration of the Second meeting house of Lynn, known as the Old
tunnel, which stood on the Common north of this site. 1682-1827. Used for town meetings until
1806. Tablet erected by the Lynn historical society, 1909.

- Mann, Moses W. Wood's dam and the mill beyond the Mystic. Medford hist. Reg., XII (Jan.) 13-20. [1151]
- Medford advertising in 1776. Medford hist. Reg., XII (Jan.) 22-24. [1152]
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- Noyes, Benjamin Lake. The Rev. James Noyes house in Newbury. Mass. Mag., II (Jan.) 30-32. [1154]
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- Tower, Henry Mendell. Historical sketches relating to Spencer, Mass. v. IV. Spencer, Mass., W. J. Heffernan—Spencer leader print. 234 p. illus., ports. [1161

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- Tripp, Job C. The old men of Fairhaven. OLD DARTMOUTH HIST. SKETCHES, XXVII, 7-10. [1162
- Valentine, Herbert E. The Amphions. Essex Inst. Hist. coll., XLV (July) 283-285. [1163]

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- Wing, William A. Five Johns of Old Dartmouth. OLD DARTMOUTH HIST. SKETCHES, XXV, 11-13. [1165
 - Brief notes concerning five early settlers of Old Dartmouth who bore the name of John, namely—John Smith, John Russell, John Akin, John Shepherd, and John Howland.
- Worcester, Mass. Board of trade. Worcester, the city of varied industries. An old New England municipality rendered pre-eminent by inventive genius... Just a glimpse of its civic life and an epitome of its educational insurance and industrial eminence from 1658 to 1909. Worcester, The Blanchard press. [22] p. illus. [1166]
- Wright, Henry P. The Fobes memorial library, Oakham, Mass., with the addresses at the laying of the corner-stone and at the dedication. Oakham, Mass. 121 p. illus. [1167]

Contains an historical address by Henry P. Wright.

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- Bailey, John Read. Mackinac, formerly Michilimackinac; a history and guide book, with maps. 6th revision, 1909. Grand Rapids, Mich., Tradesman company. 248 p. illus., ports., fold. map. [1168]
- Burton, Clarence Monroe. Amusements in Detroit in colonial days. In Society of colonial wars, Michigan. [Addresses] delivered at the annual dinner, May 7th, 1909. [Detroit, Speaker-Hines press] p. 25-51. [1168a]
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- Compendium of history and biography of the city of Detroit and Wayne county,
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 Mr. Clarence M. Burton has contributed chapters ix-x and has also revised parts of the historical portions. cf. Pref.
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- Newton, Stanley. Mackinac Island and Sault Ste. Marie. [Sault Ste. Marie, Sault news print. co.] [6], 137 p. illus., plates. [1172]

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- Stocking, Elizabeth L. Indian legends of Belle Isle and Bois Blanc. Am. HIST. MAG., IV (May) 290-294. [1178]
- Stocking, Elizabeth L. The legend of Detroit's "Nain Rogue." Americana, IV (Oct.) 754-758. [1174]

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- Anderson, Mrs. W. A. A chapter in the yellow fever epidemic of 1878. Miss. HIST. Soc. PUB., X, 223-236.
- Braden, W. H. Reconstruction in Lee county. Miss. Hist. soc. Pub., X, 135-146.
- Coleman Edward Clarke, jr. Reconstruction in Attala county. Miss. Hist. soc. Pub., X, 147-161. [1178]
- Conerly, Luke Ward. Pike county, Mississippi, 1798–1876; pioneer families and Confederate soldiers, reconstruction and redemption. Nashville, Tenn., Brandon print. co. 368 p. illus., ports., col. pl. [1179]
- Hawkins, H. G. History of Port Gibson, Mississippi. Miss. Hist. soc. Pub., X, 279-299.

- Philips, Martin W. Diary of a Mississippi planter, January 1, 1840, to April, 1863. Edited by Franklin L. Riley. Miss. Hist. soc. Pub., X, 305-481. [1181]
 Gives an insight into the daily life on a Mississippi plantation from 1840 to 1863.
- Reber, Thomas. "Proud old Natchez;" history and romance. Comp. from ancient chronicles and modern histories. Natchez, Miss. [Natchez print. and stationery co.] 71 p. plates, ports., plan. [1182]
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- Ferril, W. C. Missouri military in the War of 1812. Mo. HIST. REV., IV (Oct.) 38-41.
- Ford, James Everett. A history of Grundy county. Trenton Mo., 1908. 875 p. [1185 Noticed in: Mo. hist. rev., Jan. 1910: 139.
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- McDougal, H. C. Historical sketch of Kansas City from the beginning to 1909. Mo. HIST. REV., IV (Oct.) 1-17. [1189]
- McElroy, John. The struggle for Missouri. Washington, D. C., National tribune co. ix, 342 p. illus., col. pl., ports., maps. [1190]
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- Thomas, John L. Some historic lines in Missouri. Mo. HIST. REV., III (Apr.-July) 210-233, 251-274. [1198]
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- Wood, James M. The settlement of Columbia, Mo.—a type study. Mo. HIST. REV., III (Apr.) 169-178. [1195

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- Fulton, B. L. Reminiscences of Nevada. Nevada Hist. soc. Rep., I, 81-87. [1201
- Gracey, Charles. Early days in Lincoln county. Nevada Hist. soc. Rep., I, 103-114.
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- Browne, George Waldo, ed. Early records of the town of Manchester, formerly Derryfield, N. H., 1817–1828; a complete and exact transcript of the records of the clerks as written in the town records of Manchester, Book no. 3, pages 179 to 462, inclusive, comprising Volume IV of the printed records of the town. Edited, with introduction, notes, and an index. Manchester, N. H., Pub. by authority of the City council, under the auspices of the Manchester historic association. 359 p. port. (Manchester hist. soc. coll., XI)
- Edes, Marcia Josephine, and Samuel H. Edes, comps. The book of old Newport; old drawings and photographs of Newport, New Hampshire. Newport, Press of the Argus and Spectator. [53] p. illus. [1206a]
- Fairlee, Gray. New Hampshire railroads. Granite State Mag., VI (Oct.) 81-88.
 [1207]
- Hammond, Otis G. New Hampshire county names. Mag. of hist., IX (Jan.) 48-50. [1208]
- Kimball, John. Recollections of the old Hanover street church [Manchester] Manchester Hist. Assoc. coll., IV, pt. 2, 223-226. [1209]
- Moses, J. M. Interesting people of early Portsmouth. OLD ELIOT, IX (Jan.) 8-13.
- Wallace, Cyrus W. Amoskeag in early pioneer days. Manchester Hist. Assoc. Coll., IV, pt. 2, 159-167. [1211

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- Andrews, Frank D. Inscriptions on the grave stones in the old "New England Town" burying ground Fairton, Fairfield township, Cumberland county, New Jersey. With an historical sketch, a list of the signers of the Cohansey compact, 1697 and the names of some of the early settlers of Fairfield. Vineland, N. J. 18 p. [1212]
- Gooper, Howard M. Historical sketch of Camden, N. J. A revision and amplification of a paper read before the Camden county historical society, June 13, 1899; with an introduction by Charles Van Dyke Joline. Camden, N. J., H. B. Ketler. 74 p. plates, port. [1218]
- Harrison, Edlow Wingate. The public water supplies of Hudson co., N. J., particularly with reference to the Jersey City supply. Paper read before "The Historical society of Hudson county," November 18th, 1909. [n. p.] 13 p. (Hudson co. hist. soc. [pap.] no. 8)

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- Jersey City, N. J. Public library. Sail and steam. An historical sketch showing New Jersey's connection with the events commemorated by the Hudson-Fulton celebration, September 25-October 9, 1909. 2d ed. Prepared by the Free public library of Jersey City. [Jersey City, Press of A. J. Doan] 20 p. plates, ports. [1215 Comp. from records and documents owned by the Library, by Edmund W. Miller, asst. librarian.
- MacLean, Alexander. The underground railroad in Hudson county. Paper read before "The Historical society of Hudson county," October 30, 1908. [n. p., 1908] 14 p. (Hudson co. hist. soc. [pap.] no. 3) [1216]
- New Jersey. Adjutant-general's office. Records of officers and men of New Jersey in wars 1791-1815. Compiled in the office of the adjutant general. Pub. by authority of the Legislature 1898-1903. Trenton, N. J., State gazette pub. co., printers. [411] p. [1217]

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Contents.—Expedition against the Indians in 1791; Pennsylvania insurrection in 1794; Naval war with France, 1798–1801; Naval war with Tripoli, Africa, 1801–1805; War with Great Britain, 1812–1815; Naval war with Algiers, Africa, in 1815.

- Payne, John C. Hudson county—its water front development. Paper read before "The Historical society of Hudson county," . . . March 25th, 1909. [n. p.] 56 p. (Hudson co. hist. soc. [pap.] no. 5) [1218 Caption title.
- Rhoads, Samuel N. Haddon Hall of Haddonfield. FRIENDS' HIST. SOC. BUL., III, no. 2 (June) 58-70. [1219]
 Historical sketch of the home of John Estaugh and Elizabeth (Haddon) Estaugh, built in 1713.
- Sherman, Andrew M. The "Old Morris" court house and jail, Morristown, New Jersey. Americana, IV (Sept.) 655-671. [1230]
- Sherman, Andrew M. The Wick house and its historical environment. Am. HIST.

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 The Wick house, Morris county, N. J., built by Henry Wick in pre-Revolutionary days.
- Van Buskirk, De Witt. Bayonne and South Hudson. Paper read before Hudson historical society, October, 1909. [n. p.] 33 p. (Hudson co hist. soc. [pap.] no. 7) [1323
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- Van Winkle, Daniel. Hudson county during the revolution. Paper read before "The Historical society of Hudson county," . . . December 22, 1908. [n. p., 1908?] 35 p. (Hudson co. hist. soc. [pap.] no. 4) [1228 Caption title.

New Mexico.

- Cowan, John L. America's oldest and oddest capital [Santa Fe, N. M.] OVERLAND, 2d ser., LIII (Mar.) 169-174. [1234]
- Greiner, John. Private letters of a government official in the Southwest. Transcribed by Tod B. Galloway. Jour. Am. Hist., III, no. IV, 541-554. [1925]

 Some letters of John Greiner, who was Indian agent in New Mexico in 1851, and in 1852 became governor of the territory. The letters are mainly concerned with Greiner's experiences as an official.
- Meade, Francis. La Mesilla. Americana, IV (Aug.) 514-518. [1226]
 Brief historical sketch of this village.
- Twitchell, Ralph Emerson. The history of the military occupation of the territory of New Mexico from 1846 to 1851 by the government of the United States, together with biographical sketches of men prominent in the conduct of the government during that period. Denver, Col., Smith-Brooks co. 394 p. illus., pl., ports., maps, facsims.

New York.

Adams, Edward Dean. Hudson-Fulton medal. Designed under direction of the American numismatic society. [Boston, Marvin and son, printers] 8 p. front.

[1228]
Reprinted from the American journal of numismatics, 1909.

- Albany, N. Y. First Presbyterian church. The First Presbyterian church founded in 1763, Albany, New York; commemorative discourses on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the present edifice, 23 May 1909. [Albany, N. Y.] cover-title, [3]—42 p. pl. [1239] CONTENTS.—Foreword, signed Wm. Herman Hopkins: The church: a light and a voice, by President Francis Brown; The beginnings of Presbyterianism in Albany, by V. H. Paltsits.
- Alexander, DeAlva Stanwood. A political history of the state of New York. v. III. 1861-1882. N. Y., Holt. iv, [2], 561 p. [1230]
 - v. I and II, published in 1906. Rev. in: Am. hist. rev., XV (Apr. 1910) 635-638; Pol. sci. quar., XXIV (Dec.) 694-696.
- The ambitions of Kingston. OLDE ULSTER, V (Aug.) 225-233. Historical sketch.
- [Barclay, David] Old houses and historic places in the vicinity of Newburgh, N. Y. [Newburgh, N. Y., Journal print.] [6], 135-211 p. plates, map. (Newburgh Bay and the Highlands hist. soc. pub., no. XV) [1231a]
- Canfield, W. W., and J. E. Clark. Things worth knowing about Oneida county. Utica, N. Y., T. J. Griffiths. 148 p. plates. [1232]
- City history club of New York. Historical guide to the city of New York, comp. by Frank Bergen Kelley from original observations and contributions made by members and friends of the City history club of New York. N. Y., F. A. Stokes co. xvii, 420 p. illus., plates, maps, diagrs.
- Cook, Joseph. An historical address, delivered at the first centennial anniversary of the settlement of Ticonderoga, July 25, 1864. Ticonderoga, N. Y., Ticonderoga historical society. 109 p. plates, ports.
- Dankers, Jasper, and Peter Sluyter. The Labadists and the Esopus. OLDE ULSTER. V (Feb.) 71-79. 1235
- Extracts from the "Journal of a voyage to New York and a tour in several of the American colonies in 1679-80," by Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter. Ditmas, Charles Andrew. Historic homesteads of Kings county. Brooklyn, N. Y.
- The compiler. 120 p. illus., plates. **[1286**]
- Dowling, Victor J. Irish pioneers in New York. Am.-Irish Hist. soc. Jour., VIII. 117-139. 1237
- Draper, Andrew S. New York's obligations to her history. N. Y. STATE HIST. ASSOC. PROC., VIII, 130-149. [1238
- The Dutch church in Kingston. OLDE ULSTER, V (Oct.) 298-305. [1239 Brief account of the pastors, in succession, of the First Reformed Dutch church of Kingston.
- Dutchess co., N. Y. Board of supervisors. Old miscellaneous records of Dutchess county. (The second book of the supervisors and assessors) Poughkeepsie, Vassar brothers' institute. cover-title, [4], 80, 91-195 p. illus. 1240

 - A page for page copy; p. 81-90 are missing, apparently from a slip in numbering.

 Preceded by Book of the supervisors of Dutchess county, N. Y., A. D. 1718-1722.

 CONTENTS.—Old miscellaneous records; Marks of animals; Apprentices contracts; Wills; Administration; Roads; Elections; Assessors assessments; Treasurers receipts; Supervisors proceedings; Great nine partners patent.
- Edson, Obed. The fish that gave us the name Chautauqua. Chaut., LV (July) 186-214. [1241
 - "It is the purpose of the present article to give some history of Chautauqua Lake, not generally known, with some account of this illustrious fish (the muscalunge), its claim to piscatorial distinction, and especially the part it had in giving to us the name Chautauqua."
- Eldridge, Alice. The old Jumel mansion. Americana, IV (Dec.) 986-990. [1242 The house on Washington Heights, N. Y., sometimes called the Morris house, which was Washington's headquarters in 1776.
- Ende, A. von. New York. Berlin, Marquardt und co. [4], 131 p. plates. (Die 22.-23. Kunst; Sammlung illustrierter Monographien hreg. von R. Muther. [1243
- The first census of the town of Kingston. Olde Ulster, V (Dec.) 353-356. 1844

1231

- Fox Hall Manor and the monument. OLDE ULSTER, V (Nov.) 327-336. [1245]
 The monument referred to is that erected to the memory of Thomas Chambers, Lord of Fox Hall Manor.
- Gebhard, Elizabeth Louisa. The parsonage between two manors; annals of Clover-Reach. Hudson, N. Y., Bryan print. co. xxiii, 315 p. plates, ports. [1246]
 Story of the Claverack parsonage and Manor life during the fifty years of the pastorate of Rev. John Gabriel Gebhard, who died in 1826.
- Hand, Henry Wells, ed. 1808-1908. Centennial history of the town of Nunda, with a preliminary recital of the winning of western New York, from the fort builders age to the last conquest by our revolutionary forefathers. [Rochester, N. Y.] Rochester Herald press, 1908. 636 p. illus., plates, ports., maps. [1247]
- The Hardenbergh house at Rosendale. OLDE ULSTER, V (Feb.) 51-54. [1248]
 One of the oldest houses in Ulster county.
- Hasbrouck, Frank, ed. The history of Dutchess county, New York. Poughkeepsie, N. Y., S. A. Matthieu. 1 p. l., [9]-791, xxxii p. plates, ports., maps. [1249]
- Horton, Stephen D. Mile-stones in Cortlandt township. Westchester co. MAG., III (Apr.) 13-14. [1250]
- Hunt, David H. Thirty years at the Westchester county bar. Westchester co. MAG., II (Mar.) 1-2; III (May) 5-9; IV (Oct.) 1-2, (Nov.) 5. [1251]
- Kunz, George Frederick. The Hudson-Fulton celebration of 1909. Pop. sci. Mo., LXXV (Oct.) 313-337. [1252]
- Leighton, Henry. One hundred years of New York state geologic maps, 1809-1909. N. Y. STATE MUS. BUL., CXXXIII, 115-155. [1258]
- Levy, Florence N. Physe furniture in the Hudson-Fulton exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of art. Arch. Rec., XXVI (Dec.) 455-461. [1254]

 Duncan Physe was a New York cabinet maker of the early nineteenth century.
- MacAtamney, Hugh. Cradle days of New York (1609–1825). N. Y., Drew and Lewis. 230 p. illus. [1255
 "Cradle days of New York" is, in its amended form, the series of articles which appeared in the New York tribune under the title "Little old New York."—Pref.
- Mead, Joseph H. Notes on White Plains past and present. Westchester Co. MAG., II (Jan.) 11-15. [1256]
- Nash, G. W. Some Westchester county mile stones. Westchester co. MAG., II (Feb.) 9-10. [1257]
- National city bank of New Bochelle. Modern New Rochelle and the National city bank; a tenth anniversary memento with articles contributed by the chief executives of three city administrations. [1899-1909] [N. Y., Augur, Swyers and Machold] 63 p. illus., col. pl., ports. [1258]
- New York (State) Education dept. Hudson-Fulton celebration, September 25 to October 9, 1909; a brochure for the use of the schools of the state, comp. and ed. by Harlan Hoyt Horner. Albany, New York state education dept. 64 p. illus., ports., plan, facsims., fold. map.

 On cover: Hudson-Fulton celebration, 1609-1807-1909. Bibliography: p. 60-64.
- Newburgh, N. Y. 200th birthday of old Newburgh; celebrated in the First Presbyterian church. Newburgh Bay and the Highlands hist. soc. pub. XIV, 81-96.

Contains addresses by J. W. F. Ruttenber and Henry Mitchell MacCracken.

- [Oakley, Violet] The book of the words. Westchester county historical pageant, 1614. 1846. [Phila.?] 128 p. [1260]
- Old Ulster and its hinterland. Olde Ulster, V (Oct.) 289–296. [1261
- Paltsits, Victor Hugo. The function of state historian of New York. Albany [J. B. Lyon co.] 14 p. [1263]
 Also published in the Proceedings of the New York state historical association, v. VIII, 209-221.

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- Mercer, Henry C. Notes taken at random: The Sunbonnet, Indian mining lead, The Grass hopper war, A lost boundary. Bucks co. Hist. soc. coll., II, 122-131. [1358]
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- READ. Wright, Mrs. Ella Reed. Reed-Read lineage. Captain John Reed of Providence, R. I., and Norwalk, Conn. and his descendants through his sons, John and Thomas, 1660-1909. [Waterbury, Conn., Mattatuck press] xvi, 717, lxiii p. plates, ports. [2208]
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- STARK. Clark, James B. Stark descendant family lines. OLD NORTHW. QUAR., XII (Oct.) 190-200. [2229
- STERLING. Sterling, Albert Mack. The Sterling genealogy. N. Y., Grafton press. 2 v. illus., plates, ports. [2230
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 Major James Sterling of Burlington, New Jersey, and his descendants, compiled and contributed by Edward Boker Sterling, of Trenton, New Jersey: v. II, p. [1104]-1148.
- Stevens. Stevens, Plowdon. Stephens-Stevens genealogy, lineage from Henry Stephens, or Stevens of Stonington, Connecticut, 1668. N. Y., Frank Allaben genealogical co. 358 p. pl., ports., facsim. [Allaben genealogical series] [2231]
- STOCKTON. Stockton, Elias Boudinot. The Stockton genealogy. N. Y., The Genealogical compiling and publishing co. Blue printed sheets. [2332]
- STROTHER. Family history: Strother of Fauquier county. Va. co. REC., VI (Dec.) 296-299.
- SURDAM. Surdam, Charles Edward. Genealogy of the Surdam family. [Morristown, N. J., the Jerseyman press, Pierson and Surdam] [6], 260 p. plates, ports. [2233a]
- SUTLIFF. Sutliff, Samuel Milton. A history of the American and puritanical family of Sutliff or Sutliffe, spelled Sutcliffe in England. The first American family (A. D. 1614) connected with New England, and amongst the first to be connected with the settlement of the original English possessions in the New World, and a genealogy of all the descendants through Nathaniel Sutliff, jr. Downers Grove, Ill., Kelmscott press. 199 p. ports., coats of arms.
- Talbot. Talbot, Solomon, comp. Peter Talbot of Dorchester, Mass., and some of his descendants. Published by Eugene Solomon Talbot. Columbus, O., Old Northwest genealogical quarterly. 65-74 p.

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- TALMADGE. Talmadge, Arthur White. The Talmadge, Tallmadge, and Talmage genealogy; being the descendants of Thomas Talmadge of Lynn, Massachusetts, with an appendix including other families. N. Y., Grafton press. xi, 373 p. plates, ports., fold. maps. [2236]
- TASKER. Tasker family. MD. HIST. MAG., IV (June) 191-192.

With addenda and corrigenda. San Antonio, Tex. 41 p.

- ERRELL. Terrell, Edwin Holland. Further genealogical notes on the Tyrrell-Terrell family of Virginia and its English and Norman-French progenitors. 2d ed.
- THOMAS. Lyle, William Thomas. The Thomas family, as descended from David and Anna Noble Thomas. Union Springs, N. Y., J. B. Hoff, Advertiser print. 75, [9] p. [2239]
- Thomas, A. K. The Hilltown Thomas family. Bucks co. Hist. soc. coll., III, 170-176.

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- Townsend. Abbe, Cleveland. Townsend genealogy; a record of the descendants of John Townsend, 1743–1821, and of his wife, Jemima Travis, 1746–1832, by Cleveland Abbe assisted by Josephine Genung Nichols. N. Y., F. Allaben geneal. co. 106 p. (Allaben genealogical series) [2241]
- Tagliapietra, Margaret (Townsend) comp. Townsend—Townshend, 1066—1909: the history, genealogy and alliances of the English and American house of Townsend, comp. by James C. Townsend, 1865; Martin I. Townsend, 1871; Charles Hervey Townshend, 1875; a pamphlet by Isaac Townsend Smith, 1904, now newly comp., rev. and illustrated by Margaret Townsend (Mdme. Giovanni Tagliapietra) N. Y. [Broadway pub. co.] 125 p. plates, ports. [3242]
- TRABUE. Smith, Mrs. Z. F. Memorabilia of the Trabue family. Ky. HIST. Soc. REG., VII (Sept.) 77-87. [2243]
- TRAVIS. Travis family. Wm. and Mary quar., XVIII (Oct.) 141-144. [2244
- TRIMBLE. Genealogy of Trimble. OLD NORTHW. QUAR., XII (Jan.) 16-19. [2945]
- TRIPP. Tripp, George H. Early Tripps in New England. OLD DARTMOUTH HIST. SKETCHES, XXVI, 11-13. [2246]
- Tyler. Will and inventory of John Tyler [1813] Wm. and Mary Quar., XVII (Apr.) 231-235.
- Van Aaken. The Van Aaken and allied families. Olde Ulster, V (Jan., Mar., June) 28-30, 86-94, 183-188.
- VAN CLEEF. Poole, Murray Edward. History of Jan Van Cleef of New Utrecht, L. I., N. Y. (1659) and some of his descendants. [Ithaca] Press of the Ithaca journal. [14] p. [2249]
- Van Doorn. Honeyman, Abraham Van Doren. The Van Doorn family (Van Doorn, Van Dorn, Van Doren, etc.) in Holland and America, 1088-1908. Plainfield, N. J., Honeyman's publishing house. 764, [2] p. illus., plates, ports. [2250]
- VIELE. Viele, Kathlyne Knickerbocker. Viele—1659-1909—Two hundred and fifty years with a Dutch family of New York. N. Y., Tobias A. Wright. 150 p. illus., plates, ports. [2251]
- VILEY. Witherspoon, Martinette Viley. The Viley family. Ky. HIST. Soc. REG., VII (May) 107-118. [2252]
- VREELAND. Vreeland, Nicholas Garretson, ed. History and genealogy of the Vreeland family. Jersey City, N. J., Historical publishing co. 320 p. illus., plates, ports., map. [2258]
- WALKER. Walker, Edwin Sawyer. Appendix to The story of my ancestors in America. Springfield, Ill., Illinois state journal co. [6], 36, [4], 7 p. [2254]
- WATERMAN. The settlement of Robert Waterman's estate [1653] MAYFL. DESC., XI (Apr.) 100-104. [2255]
- Watson. Watson, Martha Ziegler. A book in letter form prepared and written of the Watson genealogy, 1760-1909. Keyser, W. Va., Printed by The Mountain echo. 102 p. ports. [2256]
- Webber. [Washburn, Lucy Adelia] The Richard Webber family, a genealogy from the first settlement in America. Medina, O., A. I. Root co. [4], 21 p. [2257]
- Wells. Wells, Frederick Howard. William Wells and his descendants, 1755-1909. [Albany? N. Y.] 117 p. pl. [2258]
- WHITE. White, Almira Larkin. Genealogy of the ancestors and descendants of John White of Wenham and Lancaster, Mass., 1574–1909. v. IV. Haverhill, Mass., Press of the Nichols print. 210 p. illus., plan. [2259]
- Wickware. Wickwire, Arthur Manley. Genealogy of the Wickware family; containing an account of the origin and early history of the name and family in England, and the record of John Wickware, who emigrated to New London, Connecticut, in 1675, and of his descendants in America. [N. Y. and Meriden, Curtiss-Way co.] 283 p. plates, ports., maps, facsims., fold. geneal. tab. [2360]

WILLIS. Willis family. OLD ELIOT, IX (July) 101-104.

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- WITWER. Witwer, George, and Ananias Clime Witwer. Witwer genealogy of America. [South Bend, Ind., Press of L. P. Hardy co.] 256 p. illus., ports. [2263
- Woodruff. Woodruff, Francis Eben. The Woodruffs of New Jersey who came from Fordwich, Kent, England, by way of Lynn, Massachusetts, and Southampton, Long Island, revised and enlarged from "A branch of the Woodruff stock." N. Y., Grafton press. xii, 131 p. plates, ports., maps, diagr. [2363]
- WORMELEY. Carter, Robert. Robert Carter and the Wormeley estate. WM. AND MARY QUAR., XVII (Apr.) 252-264. [2264]
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- WYNKOOP. Wynkoop, William. The Wynkoop family. Bucks co. hist. soc. coll., III, 156-161. [2366]
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- ASHBURNHAM, MASS. Vital records of Ashburnham, Massachusetts, to the end of the year 1849. Worcester, F. P. Rice. 215 p. (Systematic history fund [publications])
- BALTIMORE, MD. Bidgeley, Helen W. The ancient churchyards of Baltimore. GRAFTON MAG., I (Mar.) 8-14. Copies of gravestone inscriptions.
- Bangall, N. Y. Tombstone inscriptions, Baptist cemetery, Bangall, Dutchess co., N. Y. N. Y. GENEAL. AND BIOG. REC., XL (Jan.) 46-48. [2271] [2271
- BARNSTABLE, MASS. Barnstable, Mass., vital records. MAYFL. DESC., XI (Apr.-July) 95-100, 130-132.
- Barnstable co., Mass. Abstracts of the Barnstable county, Mass., probate records.

 MAYFL. DESC., XI (Jan.) 26-28. [2273] 2278
- Unrecorded Barnstable county deeds. MAYFL. DESC., XI (Oct.) 225-227. 2274
- BEDFORD, MASS. Bedford, Mass., intentions of marriage. New Eng. Hist. and GENBAL. REG., LXIII (Jan.) 73-76. 2275
- BOLTON, CONN. Vital records of Bolton to 1854 and Vernon to 1852. Hartford, Connecticut historical society. xxii, [2], 291 p. (Vital records of Connecticut. Series I, Towns I) [2276 The town of Vernon was set off from the town of Bolton in 1808.
- Bristol co., Mass. Abstracts from the first book of Bristol county probate records. New Eng. hist. and geneal. reg., LXIII (Jan.-Oct.) 77-84, 126-133, 227-233, 327-333. [2277
- BROOKFIELD, Mass. Vital records of Brookfield, Massachusetts, to the end of the year 1849. Worcester, Mass., F. P. Rice. 549 p. (Systematic history fund [publications])
- Bucks co., PA. Smyth, Samuel Gordon. The colonial origin of some Bucks county families. Bucks co. HIST. SOC. COLL., III, 379-391. 2279
- CAROLINE CO., VA. Caroline county marriage bonds. VA. CO. REC., VI (Sept.) 246-248. 2280
- Chatham, Mass. Chatham, Mass., vital records. Mayfl. desc., XI (Jan.-Apr.) 39-42, 119-121.
- COHASSET, MASS. Davenport, George Lyman, and Elizabeth Osgood Davenport, comps. The genealogies of the families of Cohasset, Massachusetts, comp. under the direction of the Committee on town history. With chapters on town history written by members of the Committee and others, supplementary to the narrative of the committee and others, supplementary to the narrative of the committee and others, supplementary to the narrative of the committee and others, supplementary to the narrative of the committee of the com history of Cohasset, by Rev. E. Victor Bigelow, published in 1898. [Cohasset, Mass. Pub. under the auspices of the Committee on town history. xii, 631 p. plates, ports.
- CONCORD, N. H. First Congregational church records, Concord, N. H., 1730-1905. N. H. GENEAL. REC., VI (Jan.-Oct.) 9-16, 49-58, 104-112, 161-170. The first part, p. 9-16, contains a sketch of the Organization and pastors, by John C. Thorne.

- Danvers, Mass. Vital records of Danvers, Massachusetts, to the end of the year 1849. v. I—Births. Salem, Mass., The Essex institute. 424 p. [Essex institute, Salem, Mass. Vital records of the towns of Massachusetts] [2224]
- DENNIS, MASS. Dennis, Mass., vital records. MAYFL. DESC., XI (Oct.) 211-214.

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- DOVER, N. H. Friends records, Dover, N. H., monthly meeting. N. H. GENEAL. REC., VI (Jan.-Oct.) 17-25, 81-91, 121-129, 179-185.
- BEC., VI (Oct.) 186-188. Esc., VI (Oct.) 186-188. Esc., VI (Oct.) 186-188.
- Duxbury, Mass. Duxbury, Mass., vital records. Mayfl. desc., XI (Jan.-Oct.) 22-25, 78-82, 148-151, 235-241.
- Gravestone records in the cemetery on Keene street, Duxbury, Mass. MAYFL.

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- EAST PEMBROKE, MASS. Gravestone records from the Loring cemetery, East Pembroke, Mass. MAYFL. DESC., XI (Oct.) 219-220. [2390]
- EASTBURY, CONN. Records of the church in Eastbury, Conn. New Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Reg., LXIII (Jan.) 67-72. [289]
- EASTFORD, CONN. Eastford, Conn., church records. New Eng. hist. and geneal reg., LXIII (Jan.) 84-90. [2893]
- ELIOT, ME. Marriages copied from Eliot records [1810-1892] OLD ELIOT, IX (Apr.-Oct.) 57-98, 211-216. [2993]
- ELIZABETH CITY CO., VA. Elizabeth City county wills. Va. co. REC., VI (Mar.) 1-5.
- Epping, N. H. Epping town records. N. H. GENEAL. REC., VI (Jan.-Apr.) 6-8, 92-93.
- ESSEX co., Mass. Gardner, Lucie Marion. Family genealogies. Mass. Mass. II (Oct.) 240-253.

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- Farron, N. J. Andrews, Frank D. Inscriptions on the grave stones in the old "New England town" burying ground, Fairton, Fairfield township, Cumberland county, New Jersey. With an historical sketch, a list of the signers of the "Cohansey compact," 1697, and the names of some of the early settlers of Fairfield. Vineland, N. J. 18 p.
- FARMINGDALE, ME. Vital records of Farmingdale, Maine, to the year, 1892. Editor, Henry Sewall Webster; committee on publication, Asbury Coke Stilphen. Pub. under authority of the Maine historical society. Gardiner, Reporter journal press. 96 p. [2896]
- Franklin co., Ky. Downing, G. C., comp. Early marriage bonds of Franklin county, Kentucky. Ky. hist. soc. reg., VII (Jan.) 77-81; (May) 121-124. [2398]
- GOOCHLAND CO., VA. Goochland county marriage bonds. VA. CO. REC., VI (June) 160-163. [2300
- HADLEY, Mass. The tombstone inscriptions in the old part of the Center cemetery at Hadley. Grafton Mag., II (Aug.) 38-55. [330]
- HANOVER, O. Wonumental inscriptions from the Hanover, Licking county, Ohio, cemetery. Old Northw. Quar., XII (Oct.) 216-224. [2303]
- HANOVER CO., VA. Hanover county wills. VA. CO. REC., VI (Mar.) 18-21. [2008
- HARLINGEN, N. J. Skillman, William Jones. Earliest baptismal records of the church of Harlingen (Reformed Dutch) of New Jersey, 1727-1734. N. Y. GENEAL AND BIOG. REC., XL (Oct.) 281-291.
- Harwich, Mass. Harwich, Mass., vital records. Mayfl. desc., XI (July-Oct.) 173-176, 248-249. [2905]

- KINGSTON, N. H. Kingston First church records. N. H. GENEAL. REC., VI (Jan.) 26-32. [2306]
- LICKING CO., O. Marriage records, Licking county, Ohio. OLD NORTHW. QUAR., XII (Oct.) 206-216. [2307
- Littleton, Mass. Harwood, Joseph Alfred, comp. Records of Littleton, Mass.; births and deaths from the earliest records in the town books, begun in 1715. Concord, Mass., The Patriot press. 542, 178 p.

 [2307a "Publication completed 1909."
- MAINE. Baptisms in Wiscasset, Damariscotta and New Castle, Maine, during the year 1763, from the records of the Old South church, Newburyport. ESSEX INST. HIST. COLL., XLV (Jan.) 87-89. [2308]
- Little, George Thomas, ed. Genealogical and family history of the state of Maine; comp. under the editorial supervision of George Thomas Little . . . and including among other local contributors Henry S. Burrage and Albert Roscoe Stubbs. N. Y., Lewis hist. pub. co. 4 v. illus., plates, ports. [2309 Paged continuously.
- MARBLEHEAD, MASS. Vital records of Marblehead, Mass., to the end of the year 1849. v. III. Supplementary records collected by J. W. Chapman. Salem, Mass., Essex institute, 1908. 43 p. [2310 v. I-II published in 1903-1904.
- MARSHFIELD, Mass. Records from the "Little" cemetery at Sea View, Marshfield, Mass. Mayrl. Desc., XI (Apr.) 70-73. [2311]
- MARYLAND. Maryland gleanings in England. Md. Hist. Mag., IV (June-Sept.) 193-197, 295-296. [2313
- MASSACHUSETTS. Flagg, Charles A. Massachusetts pioneers: Michigan series. Mass. Mag., II (Jan.-Apr., Oct.) 39-40, 66-67, 200-202. [2314]
- Mendon, Mass. Ahaz Allen's record of marriages. New Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Reg., LXIII (July) 273-276. [2315]
 Record of marriages in Mendon, Mass.
- METHUEN, Mass. Vital records of Methuen, Massachusetts, to the end of the year 1849. Topsfield, Mass., Topsfield historical society. 345 p. [Topsfield hist. soc., Topsfield, Mass. Vital records of the towns of Massachusetts] [2316]
- MILAN, N. Y. Inscriptions from Christian church cemetery (old part), Milan, Dutchess co., N. Y. N. Y. GENEAL. AND BIOG. REC., XL (Apr.) 128-132. [2317]
- NEW HAMPSHIRE. Early settlers, sent into New Hampshire, 1631, by John Mason.
 OLD ELIOT, IX (Oct.) 208-209. [2318]
- New York. Knapp, Shepherd, ed. Personal records of the Brick Presbyterian church in the city of New York, 1809-1908, including births, baptisms, marriages, admissions to membership, dismissions, deaths, etc., arranged in alphabetical order. N. Y., Trustees of the Brick Presbyterian church. [4], 262 p. [8319]
- Newark, O. Cedar Hill cemetery, Newark, Ohio. Old Northw. Quar., XII (Apr.) 93-102. [8390
- NEWMARKET, N. H. Newmarket town records. N. H. GENEAL. REC., VI (Apr.-Oct.) 59-64, 133-140, 151-160. [2321
- Newport, R. I. Births and deaths in Newport, R. I., 1760-1764. New Eng. Hist. and geneal. reg., LXIII (Jan.) 51-58. [2833]
- NORFOLK CO., VA. Norfolk county marriage bonds. Va. co. REC., VI (Mar.-Dec.) 102-106, 164-168, 248-253, 289-291. [2333]
- NORTH DUXBURY, MASS. Records from the Dingley cemetery, North Duxbury, Mass. MAYFL DESC., XI (Jan.) 55-58. [2324]

- NORTH PEMBROKE, MASS. Gravestone records in the Briggs burial ground, North Pembroke, Mass. MAYFL. DESC., XI (July) 168-170. [2335]
- Pembroke, Mass. MAYFL. DESC., XI (Apr.) 86-87. [2326]
- NORTHAMPTON CO., VA. Northampton county, Va.; some marriage bonds. Wm. and Mary Quar., XVIII (Oct.) 111-112. [2327]
 - Northampton county records. Va. co. REC., VI (Sept.) 230-234. [2328]
- ——— Northampton county wills. VA. co. REC., VI (Sept.-Dec.) 220-226, 292-296.
- NORTHUMBERLAND CO., VA. Register of St. Stephen's parish, Northumberland county. WM. AND MARY QUAR., XVII (Apr.) 237-244; XVIII (Oct.) 129-137. [2330]
- Orange co., Va. Orange county marriage bonds. Va. co. rec., VI (June) 169-172. [2331
- Orleans, Mass. Records of the First Church in Orleans, formerly the First church in Eastham, Mass. MAYFL DESC., XI (Oct.) 252-253. [2332]
- PENNSYLVANIA. Dutton records of deaths, marriages, etc., 1770-1870. PA. GENEAL. SOC. PUB., IV (Mar.) 23-100. [2333]

 Records from a book belonging to Hannah Dutton of Sugartown (Willistown township) and formerly belonging to her father, Richard Dutton, of Middletown (born 1776).
- —— Genealogical records of pioneer Pennsylvania families. Pa.-German, X (appendix) 1-32. [2334
- Becord of marriages and deaths noticed in the Susquehanna Democrat, published at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., from volume I, number 4, July 3, 1810, to volume VIII, number 36, March 6, 1818. Compiled by Horace Edwin Hayden. WY. HIST. AND GEOL. SOC. PROC., X, 167-191. [2335]
- Withington, Lothrop. Pennsylvania gleanings in England. Pa. MAG. HIST., XXXIII (Oct.) 492-495.
- Philadelphia, Pa. Marriage registers at St. Joseph's church, Philadelphia, Pa., 1809-1836. From the originals by Francis X. Reuss. Am. Cath. Hist. Rec., XX (June-Sept.) 21-48, 122-192, 290-341.
- "Wm Marshall's register of births and baptisms in the Scotch church of Philadelphia from the year 1767 to the year 1801." PRESEYTERIAN HIST. SOC. JOUR., V (Dec.) 188-197. [2338]
- PLYMPTON, Mass. Gravestone records in a small cemetery in the North village of Plympton, Mass. MAYFL. DESC., XI (July) 176-177. [2339]
- ——— Gravestone records in the old cemetery at Plympton, Mass. MAYFL. DESC., XI (Apr.-Oct.) 115-119, 161-165, 194-198.
- PORTSMOUTH, N. H. North church records, Portsmouth, N. H. N. H. GENEAL. REC., VI (Jan.-Apr.) 41-46, 76-80. [2341]
- Provincerown, Mass. Provincetown, Mass., vital records. Mayfl. desc., XI (Jan., July-Oct.) 47-49, 187-188, 216-219. [2342]
- RAPPAHANNOCK CO., VA. Bappahannock county wills. Va. co. REC., VI (Mar.-Sept.) 5-15, 138-148, 215-220. [2343]
- 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. XVIII: Providence Phenix, Providence Patriot, and Columbian Phenix—Marriages: S to Z; Deaths: A to M. Providence, R. I., Narragansett hist. pub. co. ci, 608 p. [2344]
- RICHMOND CO., VA. Abstracts from records of Richmond county, Virginia. WM. AND MARY QUAR., XVII (Jan.) 176–195.

 Record of wills, 1709–1790.

- ROCHESTER, N. H. First church records, Rochester, N. H. N. H. GENEAL. REC., VI (Oct.) 171-176. [2347]
- First Congregational church records, Rochester, N. H. N. H. GENEAL. REC., VI (Jan.-July) 33-40, 65-75, 113-120. [2348]
- ROCKLAND CO., N. Y. Griffin, Walter Kenneth. The marriage records of the Reformed Dutch churches of Tappan and Clarkstown, Rockland co., N. Y., 1694–1831. Copied and slightly re-arranged from the translation made by the Rev. David Cole, with notes by Walter Kenneth Griffin. [N. Y.] 191 p. fol. [2349]
- St. Louisville, O. Evans cemetery, St. Louisville, Ohio. Old Northw. Quar., XII (July) 155-160. [2350
- Scituate, Mass. Records of the First church of Scituate, Mass. Mayfl. desc., XI (Jan.-Oct.) 44-46, 138-142, 207-209. [2351]
- Scituate, Massachusetts: Second church records (in abstract) 1645–1850. Boston, W. J. Litchfield. [2], 111 p. [2352]
 Caption title: Records of the Second church of Scituate, now the First Unitarian church of Norwell, Mass.
 Reprinted from New England historical and genealogical register, Jan. 1903–Oct. 1907.
- Vital records of Scituate, Massachusetts, to the year 1850. Boston, Pub. by the New England historic genealogical society. 2 v. [New England hist. geneal. soc. Vital records of the towns of Massachusetts]

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- Sharon, Mass. Vital records of Sharon, Massachusetts, to the year 1850. Comp. by Thomas W. Baldwin. Boston [Stanhope press, Gilson co.] 193 p. [2354]
- SOUTH CAROLINA. Record of marriages by the Rev. William Stales Lee from 1816–1871. S. C. HIST. MAG., X (July) 174–180. [2355]
 Rev. William Stales Lee was pastor of the Presbyterian churches at Dorchester and Beech Hill for the six years preceeding 1821 when he received a call to the Presbyterian church of Edisto Island.
- Records kept by Colonel Isaac Hayne. S. C. HIST. MAG., X (July-Oct.) 145-170, 220-235.
 Records kept by Col. Isaac Hayne who was executed by the British in 1781. They consist chiefly of births, marriages and deaths.
- ——— South Carolina (Province) Court of ordinary. Abstracts from the Court of ordinary of the Province of South Carolina, 1692-1700. S. C. HIST. MAG., X (Jan.—Oct.) 10-19, 83-91, 136-144, 236-244.
- Wills of South Carolina Huguenots. Edited and translated by Robert Wilson. Hug. soc. S. C. Trans., XVI, 16-24. [2358]
- South Dennis, Mass. Records in the cemetery near the railroad station at South Dennis, Mass. MAYFL. DESC., XI (Jan.) 11-15. [2359]
- Spencer, Mass. Vital records of Spencer, Massachusetts, to the end of the year 1849. Worcester, Mass., F. P. Rice. 276 p. (Systematic history fund [publications]) [2360
- STATEN ISLAND, N. Y. Records of the United Brethren congregation, commonly called Moravian church, Staten Island, N. Y. N. Y. GENEAL. AND BIOG. REC., XL (Jan.) 33-45. [2361]
- Wright, Tobias Alexander, ed. Records of the Dutch Reformed church of Port Richmond, S. I. baptisms from 1696 to 1772; United Brethren congregation, commonly called Moravian church, S. I. births and baptisms: 1749 to 1853, marriages: 1764 to 1863, deaths and burials: 1758 to 1828; St. Andrew's church, Richmond, S. I. births and baptisms from 1752 to 1795, marriages from 1754 to 1808. N. Y., Printed for the Society. [8], xi, [2], 10-335 p. illus., plates, port. (N. Y. geneal. and biog. soc. coll., v. IV)
- Surry co., Va. Surry county records. Va. co. REC., VI (Mar.-June) 26-32, 156-160. [2363
- Sussex co., Del. Gleanings in Sussex county, Delaware; copied from an old record.

 PA. GENEAL. SOC. PUB., IV (Mar.) 5-21.

 [2364]

- Topsfield, Mass. Becords of the Congregational church in Topsfield. Topsfield HIST. Soc. COLL., XIV, 5-87. [2365]
- TRURO, MASS. Truro, Mass., church records. MAYFL. DESC., XI (Jan.) 19-22. [2366
- Utica, O. Monumental inscriptions from the Old and New cemeteries, Utica, Ohio. Old Northw. Quar., XII (Jan.) 42-51. [2367]
- Virginia. Early settlers in Virginia. VA. co. REC., VI (Mar.-June) 21-26, 149-152. [2368]
- Immigrants to Virginia. Va. co. REC., VI (June, Dec.) 153-155, 284-285. [2369]
 Immigrant lists to Virginia taken from MSS. in the Public record office, London.
- Virginia gleanings in England. Va. MAG. HIST., XVII (Jan.-Oct.) 65-72, 187-189, 302-305, 393-403. [2371
- Wellfleet, Mass. The records of Wellfleet, formerly the North precinct of Eastham, Mass. Mayfl. desc., XI (Apr.) 73-78. [2372]
- WEST CHESTER, PA. Marriages by John Graves, esquire, West Chester, Pa. PA. GENEAL SOC. PUB., IV (Mar.) 101-114.
- West Yarmouth, Mass. Gravestone records in the cemetery at West Yarmouth, Mass. Mayfl. desc., XI (Oct.) 223-224. [2375]
- WILLIAMS, PA. Church records of the Williams township congregation. Lancaster, Pa. 102 p. In Pennsylvania-German society. Proceedings, v. XVIII. Pub. by the Society. [2376]
- WINCHENDON, Mass. Vital records of Winchendon, Massachusetts, to the end of the year 1849. Worcester, F. P. Rice. 223 p. (Systematic history fund [publications]) [2377
- YARMOUTH, Mass. Yarmouth, Mass., vital records. MAYFL. DESC., XI (Apr.) 111-114. [2378
- YORK CO., ME. York county, Maine, marriage returns, 1771–1794; pub. by George Walter Chamberlain. Malden, Mass. 14 p.

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