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THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

VOLUME XXXVIII APRIL 1954 NUMBER 2

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CONTENTS

The Baroness Was Never Bored . . . . WAYNE ANDREWS 105
The Hyde de Neuville Portraits of New York Savages in 1807–1808 . . . . . WILLIAM N. FENTON 119
A Distinguished Company . . . . . R. W. G. VAIL 139
George Albert Zabriskie 1868–1954 . . . FENWICK BEEKMAN 169
The Writings of George A. Zabriskie . . CHARLES E. BAKER 172
Book Reviews and Notices:
Sizer, *The Autobiography of Colonel John Trumbull* OLIVER W. LARKIN 185
Middleton, *Jeremiah Theus* . . . . . THEODORE BOLTON 186
Frankenstein, *After the Hunt* . THOMAS J. MCCORMICK, JR. 189
Morgan & Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis* . PHILIP L. WHITE 190
Currier & Tilton, *A Bibliography of Oliver Wendell Holmes* . . . . . JOHN D. GORDAN 191
Randall, *Mary Lincoln* . . . . . LOUISE HALL THARP 194
Boyd, *Elias Boudinot* . . . . . NICHOLAS B. WAINWRIGHT 194
Pierce, *Railroads of New York* . . . . VINCENT P. CAROSSO 195
Edwards, *The Story of Colt's Revolver* . . JOHN S. DU MONT 196
Athearn, *Westward The Briton* . . . . . JOHN E. PARSONS 197
Billington, *The Protestant Crusade* . . . WAYNE ANDREWS 198
Town of Worcester, Otsego County, New York . . C. E. B. 198
Greene & Morris, *Guide to the Principal Sources for Early American History (1600–1800) in the City of New York* . . 199
Ewing, *Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the William L. Clements Library* 199
Activities of the Society 200
Tax Deductions for Gifts and Bequests 202
Recent Accessions 203

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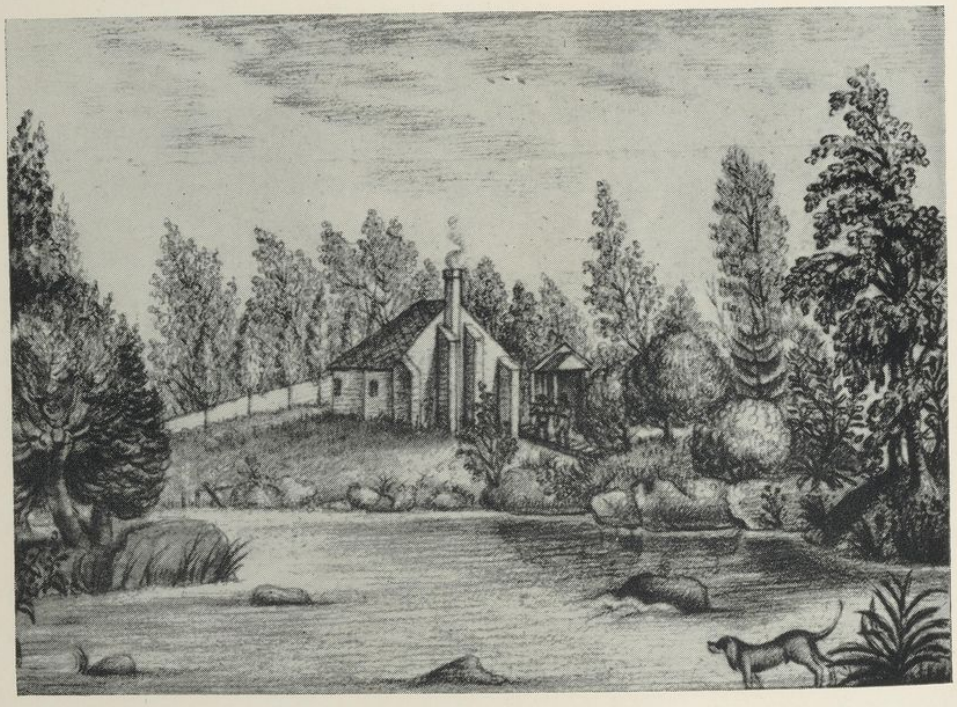
BARON (1776–1857) AND BARONESS (*c.*1779–1849) HYDE DE NEUVILLE

Crayon portrait and self-portrait by the Baroness, *c.* 1807

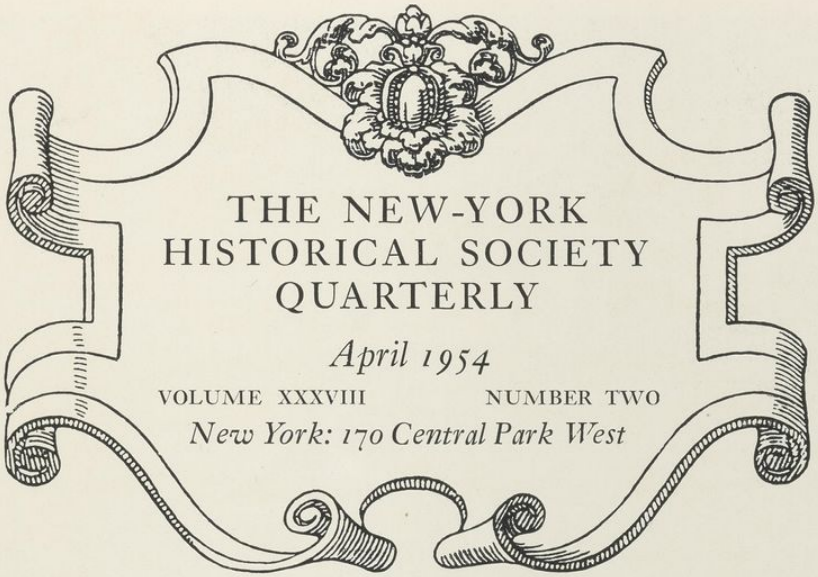
The New-York Historical Society



POWDER PLANT DRYING HOUSE OF [E.] I. DU PONT DE NEMOURS

Pencil sketch by the Baroness, at Wilmington, Dela., September 1810

The New-York Historical Society

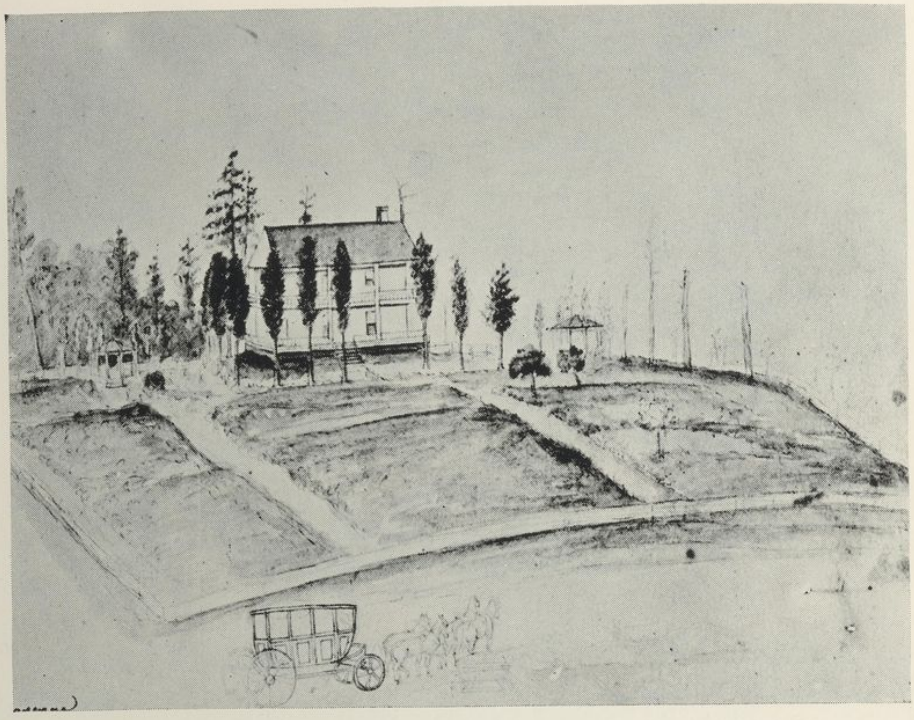


THE BARONESS WAS NEVER BORED

THE BARONESS HYDE DE NEUVILLE'S SKETCHES OF AMERICAN LIFE 1807–1822

by WAYNE ANDREWS, *Curator of Manuscripts*

SERIOUS-MINDED MEN have been known to enjoy themselves, even if their idea of a good time is not that of the average citizen. Nothing, for instance, gave John Quincy Adams greater pleasure, once the day's work was done, than confessing all of his disappointments in his diary. He was a just man, as merciless with his own failings as with those of others, but it might be said of him that he never learned to turn a compliment. No doubt he meant well enough when he set down, on June 2, 1820, his impression of Anne-Marguérite-Henriette Rouillé de Marigny, Baroness Hyde de Neuville, wife of the French minister to Washington. She was, he decided, "a woman of excellent temper, amiable disposition, unexceptionable propriety of demeanor, profuse charity, yet of judicious economy and sound discretion."



MOUNT MARINO SUMMER HOUSE ADJOINING SANS SOUCI HOTEL
Watercolor by Baroness Hyde de Neuville, Ballston Spa, 1807
The New-York Historical Society

If this tribute were all that was known about the Baroness, she might as well have been a cast-iron angel, meant to preside over no ceremony less solemn than a funeral. She was, however, a little less perfect than Adams imagined, and a little more human. She was even guilty, now and then, of expressing an opinion of her own. This she did, not by contradicting her husband, but by sketching the world about her in pencil and water colors. Eighty-eight of these sketches, dating from 1807–1814, when she and her husband were in exile in the United States, and from 1816–1822, when he represented Louis XVIII in Washington, are now in the possession of the Society, evidence of the good humor with which she gazed on American life.

Judging by his memoirs, which fill three fat volumes, the Baron believed that a sense of humor was all very well in its place

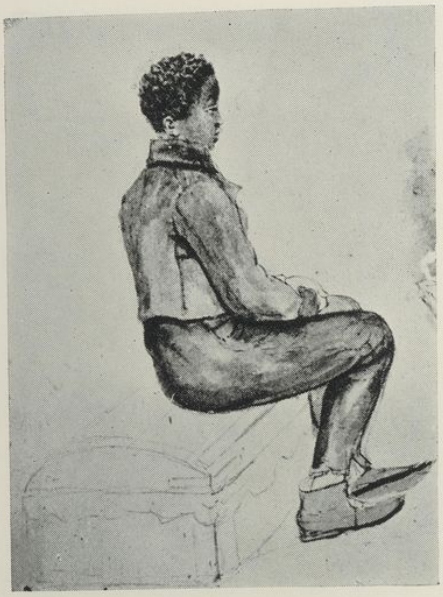
BALLSTON SPRING [SPA]

Watercolor by Baroness Hyde de Neuville, 1807

Gift of an Anonymous Donor, 1947

—provided he were a safe distance removed. "If any life is like a novel, it is mine," he declared on the very first page. He led what might be called an eventful existence, but never forgot that a man of his station must do justice to events.

Adams could not help admiring the Baron's strength of character: "No foreign minister," he wrote, "who has ever resided here has been so universally esteemed and loved; nor have I ever been in political relations with any foreign statesman of whose moral qualities I have formed so good an opinion." But that was not all there was to be said: "He has not sufficient command of his temper, is quick, irritable, sometimes punctilious, occasionally indiscreet in his discourse, and tainted with Royalist and Bourbon prejudicies." His bias was, Adams judged, too strong even for the stomach of Louis XVIII. "His ardor became trouble-



13-YEAR-OLD GUINEA SLAVE
At Ballston Spa, 1807

MARTHA, A SERVANT
In chambermaid's costume

The Baroness Hyde de Neuville Collection at the Society

some to the King and to the Bourbon party itself, and he was sent here into honorable and lucrative banishment to let his overheated passions evaporate."

The Baroness may have had to reason with her husband more than once. No sooner did he reach Washington in 1816 than he made the mistake of insisting that one J. S. Skinner, Postmaster at Baltimore, be dismissed from the service of the United States Government for having toasted one of Napoleon's generals at a Fourth of July celebration. Rebuffed on this issue, the Baron fell into a dreadful rage when late in 1821 Secretary of State Adams failed to make amends for the capture of three French ships by American authorities. Within three months, he threatened, American ships would be arrested in French ports.

As soon as he stopped, [*Adams wrote down in his diary*,] I said that I had understood him to say that, upon his word of honor, American ships would . . . be arrested. . . .

He said that the declaration upon his word of honor related not to that, but to something else. But as a private individual he had declared

as his opinion that within three months American vessels would be detained in France unless satisfaction were given for . . . [these] outrages upon the flag and national honor of France. . . .

I said I had understood him to say on his word of honor that American vessels would within three months be arrested in France; I was happy to hear his explanation that he only gave this as his private opinion, and should make report of the whole tomorrow to the President.

He seemed startled at this, but said I might report to the President what I pleased.

I said I should report exactly what had passed between us, and no more; as I had first understood him, and as he had afterwards explained.

He then, in a loud and peremptory tone, rising from his seat and with vehement gesture, said: "Well, sir, since you think proper to report to the President what I came here to say in confidential conversation with you, I desire you to tell him from me, as my individual opinion, that if satisfaction is not made to France in the affair of the Apollon, the Neptune, and the Eugénie, la France doit leur déclarer LA GUERRE."

These last words he spoke in a manner nearly frantic, dwelling upon the word guerre with a long and virulent emphasis, and, without waiting for a reply, rushed out of the room, and through the inner and outer street doors into the street. I followed him composedly with a light. Antoine [*Adams's manservant*] happened to be in the entry as he sallied forth, and followed him to the street door, calling out, "Monsieur, vous avez oublié votre surtout." He turned back and put on his great-coat, but said nothing further to me.

What the Baron said to his wife on this occasion may never be known, but we may be sure that she soothed his feelings. She knew that his mother on her death-bed had called on him to heed "the still, small voice," and she could very well imagine that he had been listening a little too eagerly to the promptings of his conscience while delivering the tirade to Adams.

It is really amazing that anyone—even the Baron's mother—should have thought it necessary to encourage him to do his duty, since no statesmen in modern Europe has been more loyal to lost causes than Jean-Guillaume Hyde de Neuville. The son and grandson of Englishmen who fled to France when the Battle of Culloden dashed the hopes of the Young Pretender, he was as unreasoning in his devotion to the House of Bourbon as his ancestors had been to the House of Stuart. "I was rather an extremist," he proudly remarked of his escapades in the Revolu-

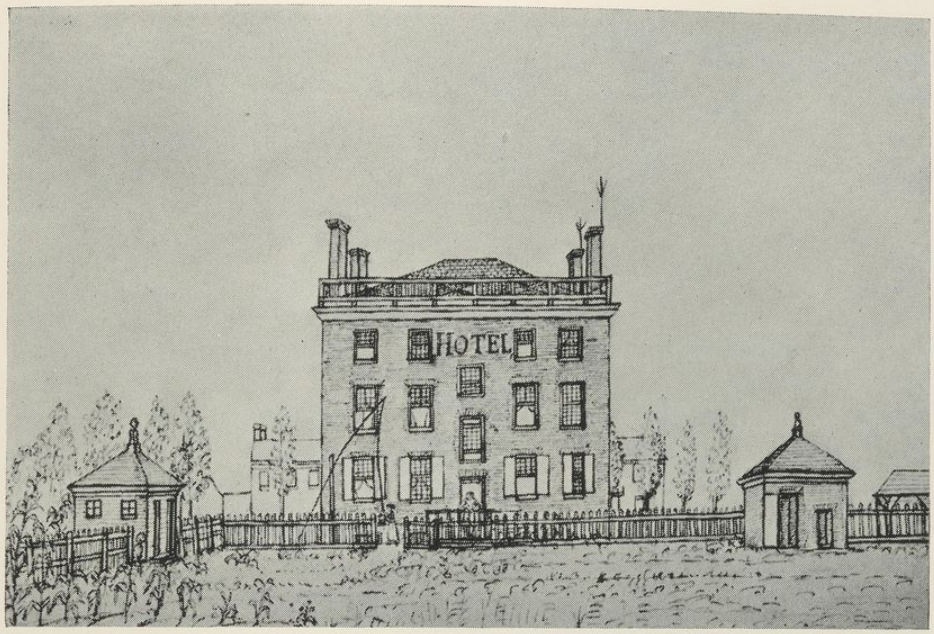
TRINITY CHURCH, UTICA, AS DESIGNED BY PHILIP HOOKER, 1803

Watercolor by Baroness Hyde de Neuville, 1807

The New-York Historical Society

tion. In 1790, at fourteen, he knocked the hat off a commoner who refused at the Opera to bare his head in the presence of the Queen. At sixteen he left home swearing he would defend the throne of France or die in the attempt. Though he never came close to the guillotine, he boasted of as many aliases as those who did and, like those whose necks were sliced, could see no good in tampering with the rule of God's anointed. "It has been said," he observed in his memoirs, "that the Revolution had a grandeur of its own. We must not confuse chaos and grandeur."

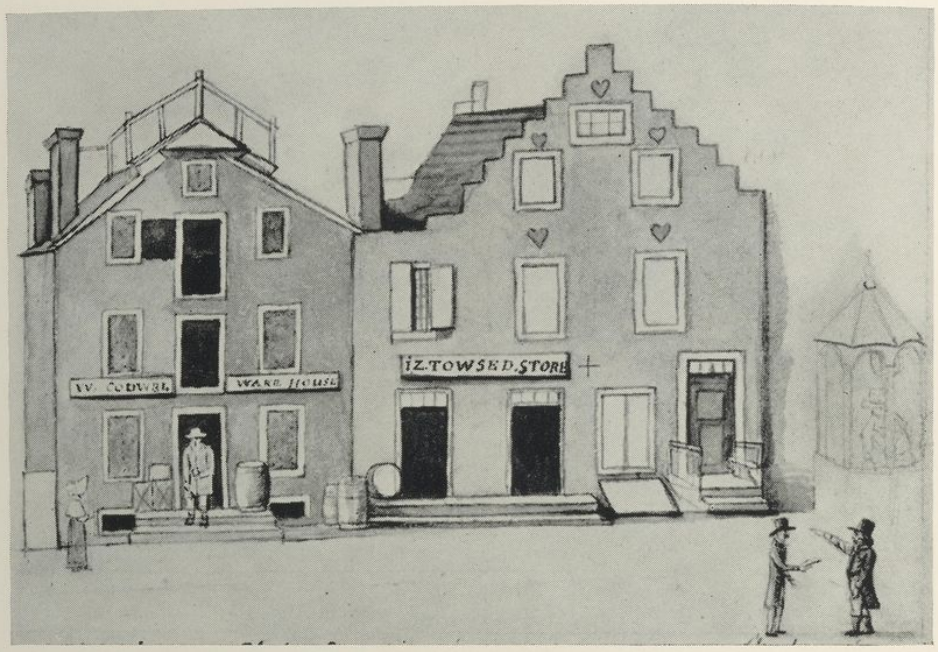
Mademoiselle de Marigny, whom he married in 1794, the very year in which Robespierre lost his head, must have suspected from the very beginning that a Hyde would never submit to the usurper who bore the name of Bonaparte. In 1806 she dashed to Vienna to wrest a passport from the Emperor, so that she and her husband could go into honorable exile in the United States. Though she realized that they could have settled down in France



THE HOLLAND LAND COMPANY'S HOTEL, UTICA, SEPTEMBER 1807
Designed by Samuel and John, father and brother of Philip, Hooker, 1797
Baroness Hyde de Neuville Collection at the Society

in peace and comfort if only he had been willing to pledge acquiescence to Napoleon, she was too patient to protest. Only once did she utter a sigh, and that was on the very day the passport was delivered. "Oh, my dear," she wrote her husband, "if you had signed that paper drawn up by honorable men, we would now be back home. But you have done the right thing; you cannot be too careful of your reputation; don't worry about me, I'll follow you to the ends of the earth."

In their seven years' wanderings in the United States, the Hydes dallied at Ballston Spa, a resort in which more than one Indian showed his head in 1807, inspected Albany, Amsterdam, Palatine Bridge, Utica, Geneva, and Owego on their way to and from Niagara Falls, and paid a long visit to the village of Angelica (in the Allegany County of 1954), where a number of French refugees, headed by Victor du Pont de Nemours, brother of the founder of the powder business, had gathered at the invitation



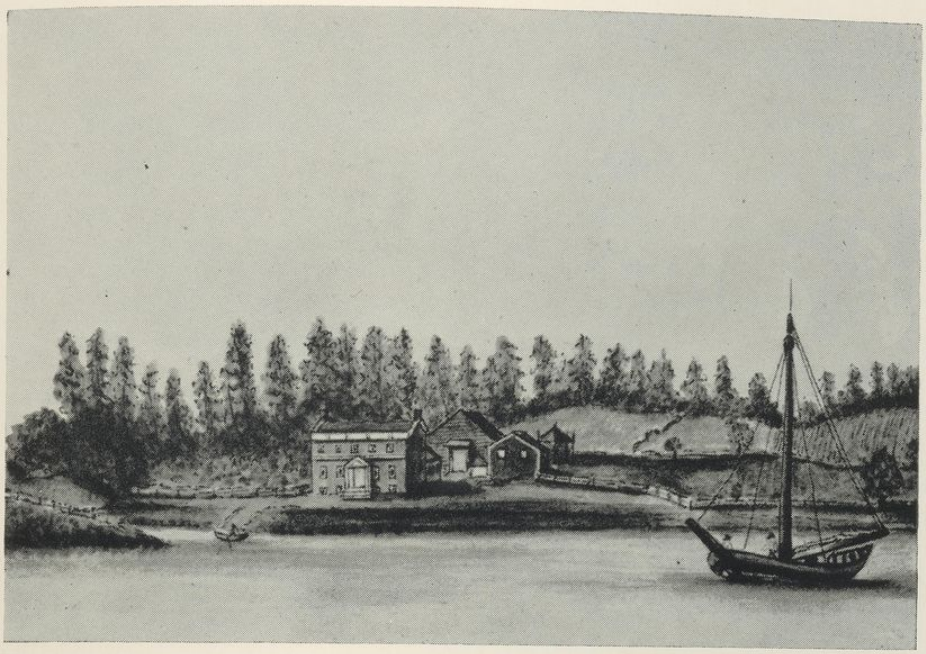
DUTCH HOUSES, NOS. 60 AND 62, STATE STREET, ALBANY, OCTOBER 1807

William Caldwell was a merchant; I. and J. Townsend, ironmongers

Baroness Hyde de Neuville Collection at the Society

of Hamilton's brother-in-law John Barker Church. Eventually the Hydes moved to a farm near New Brunswick, New Jersey. This was fortunately not too far from New York City, where they set up what was known as "The Economical School" for French families embarrassed by the unrest of the Continent and of San Domingo. On the whole, teaching school may have been more profitable than raising Merino sheep, a venture at which the Baron, like so many American country gentlemen of the time, felt he must try his hand.

The Baroness may have been puzzled by the towns and villages through which they passed, but she was too bright to be indifferent, and her sketches, even if not the work of a great artist, are the invaluable record of a friendly but acute observer. Though we have always known that travelers to upstate New York 150 years ago might come across a pretentious hotel and



EARLIEST KNOWN VIEW OF FT. CRAILO ("YANKEE DOODLE HOUSE"), 1807

Inscribed: "Major [John Jeremias Van] rensselaer's house near albany. 1807."

Baroness Hyde de Neuville Collection at the Society

a naïve church standing side-by-side, or bump into a covered wagon loaded with the belongings of Yankees invading the Mohawk Valley, it is a delightful surprise to find such scenes taken down by a lady who would never have seen the New World in those days if a Revolution had not turned the Old upside down.

If the selection which the Society has acquired is any indication, the Baroness was not often inspired to take up her sketchbook in the years of her husband's mission to Washington. Perhaps this was because America was no longer novel. Or perhaps she was too busy entertaining and being entertained. However, she hit off Pennsylvania Avenue in 1821, and did not overlook St. John's Church.

Meantime the Baron had made up his mind on the subject of the United States. He had always been annoyed by our fondness

FIRST COTTAGE [PROBABLY MOSES VAN CAMPEN'S] OF ANGELICA, NEW YORK

Drawn by Baroness Hyde de Neuville, September 1808

The New-York Historical Society

REV. ANDREW GRAY (?)

who, with three others, was the first to settle in the county in 1796. Moses Van Campen, the frontiersman and former Indian captive, was the first settler of Angelica itself, along with John Barker Church.

Drawn by the Baroness, September 1808

The New-York Historical Society

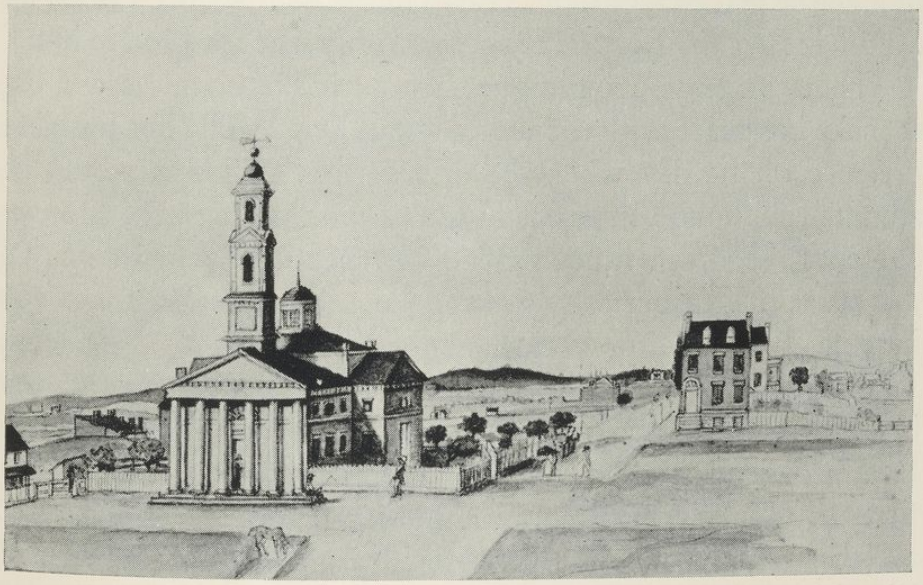
for money, and was far from pleased to notice the freedom American girls enjoyed up until the time of their marriage. But such things might be remedied, and all might be well if only we entrusted our government to the proper hands. Writing to the Duc de Richelieu, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, in the fall of 1816, Hyde pointed out that:

. . . the Federalist point of view is very much like our own. . . . They love liberty, but they condemn license; they are republicans, but they see no use in despising kings; they would like to establish a stronger government, and live to see the day when the common people are less subject to turbulence and demagoguery. . . .

This party is made up, for the most part, of the rich and cultivated men of the country. They are informed as a matter of course on what is going on in Europe . . . . they despised Bonaparte on account of his tyranny and his crimes; they love and respect the Bourbons on account of their generosity and their other high ideals.

The Democrats, on the other hand, stand firm, as they always have, for France; the unfortunate thing is that this party has seen fit to join ranks with revolutionaries the world over . . .

Since this was the last year in which a member of the Federalist



ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D.C., 1822

Showing the Cutts and Graham houses, dated by the Baroness, July 1822

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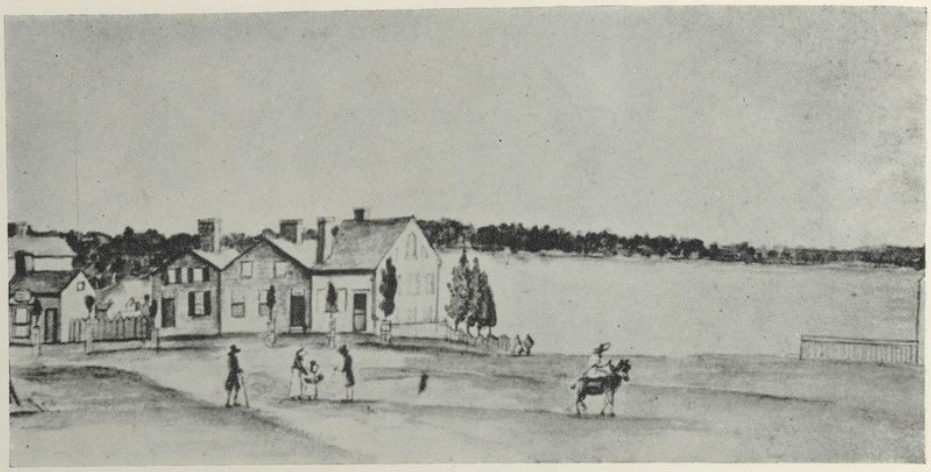


SECOND EARLIEST KNOWN VIEW OF GENEVA, N.Y., SEPTEMBER 1807

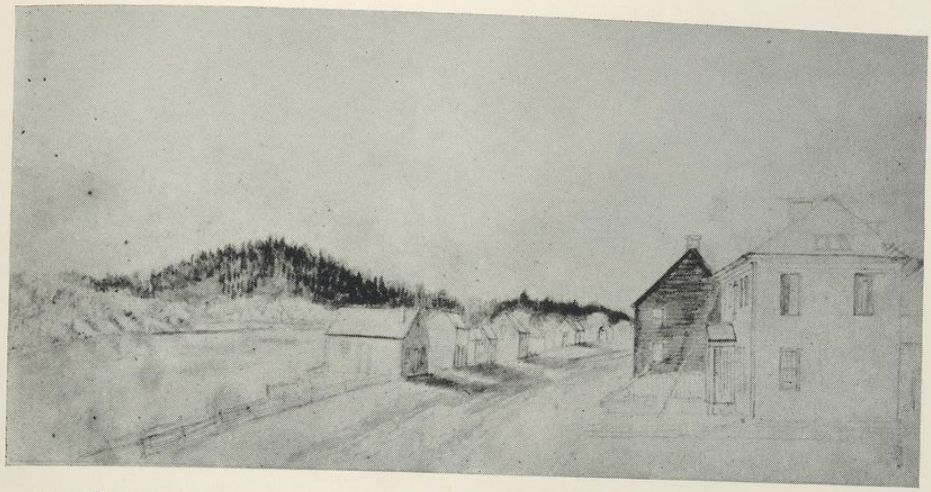
Present Exchange St., looking east toward Lake Seneca boat landing

Baroness Hyde de Neuville Collection at the Society

party ran for President, the Baron could not be considered a political prophet. Perhaps his wife was the wiser of the two, even though she played Eve to his Adam in the manner prescribed by Milton in *Paradise Lost:* "He for God only, she for God in him."

The Baroness, you might guess from her sketches, was willing to make her peace with the world about her. While her husband dreamed of the day when the divine right of kings would be admitted without a murmur in every nation on earth, she was content to record, with commendable exactitude, the sights of a democracy. Her curiosity was so keen that nothing was too humble to escape her notice, neither the scrawny hillside of Ballston Spa, nor the tradesmen's shops at Albany, nor the first bleak cottages of Owego and Geneva, nor the unlikely church at Palatine Bridge, nor the covered wagons at Amsterdam, nor the first log cabin at Angelica. She could never have imagined, after all, that anyone would think the drying-shed of her friend Eleuthère-Irénee du Pont de Nemours an important building.

She was no snob, as you can tell by glancing at her studies of the pupils at the Economical School or of the urchins of the New



EARLIEST KNOWN VIEW OF OWEGO, N. Y. (ON THE SUSQUEHANNAH)

Drawn by Baroness Hyde de Neuville, October 1808

The New-York Historical Society

York City streets. Many of these were pathetic subjects, suggesting that she was as sympathetic as Dickens with the sufferings of the very poor. She was naturally fascinated to find that you could not tell an American's social standing by his clothes; more than once she drew her chambermaids in their Sunday best.*

Apparently here was a Baroness who was never bored.

* Aside from the Indians discussed in the following article by Dr. Fenton, our collection of the American watercolors and sketches by the Baroness Hyde de Neuville includes over two dozen portraits, ranging from sailors to chambermaids, and from old settlers to little children. There are also four views of New Haven, Conn.; three each of Washington, D.C., Albany, N.Y., and Ballston Spa, N.Y.; two each of Utica, N.Y., and Palatine Bridge, N.Y.; and one each of the upstate New York towns of Amsterdam, Angelica, Geneva, and Owego—not to mention the sketch of the drying shed of E. I. du Pont de Nemours, at Wilmington, Delaware.

We are deeply indebted to Mr. Frank L. Battan, secretary to the late Mr. Pierre S. du Pont, for properly identifying this du Pont building.

PERHAPS THE EARLIEST PORTRAIT OF RED JACKET (*c.* 1758–1830)

"The Chief *Read Jaret* . . . was busy making foot-gear of deer skin called mocassins . . ." —Baron Hyde de Neuville, *Mémoires*, I:459 (1807)

Watercolor by Baroness Hyde de Neuville, July 1807

The New-York Historical Society

THE HYDE DE NEUVILLE PORTRAITS OF NEW YORK SAVAGES IN 1807–1808*

by William N. Fenton†

IT WAS ONLY twenty-three years after Lafayette had scolded the Six Nations at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix for remaining faithful to the British in the War for Independence that Baron Hyde de Neuville and his artist wife came as royalist refugees to New York and spent nearly two years upstate, going as far as Niagara Falls. In less than a generation, while the Bourbons were being put out of empire by the French Revolution, the once-proud Iroquois, "the People of the Longhouse," had ceded all their claims to the "old Northwest" and given up all but their fireplaces in New York, reserving small tracts around their ancient settlements and some of the better fishing stations. The Mohawks had mainly followed Joseph Brant to Canada; the Oneidas and their wards the Tuscaroras who had befriended the American cause were allowed to stay; the Onondagas held on to the principal fireplace of the League at Onondaga valley, although most of the population went with the fire to Buffalo; and the Cayuga Reservation hugged the outlet and shores at the ferrying place of Cayuga Lake. The Senecas, always more numerous than the others combined, had three settlements on the Genesee: on the trail to Niagara they withheld the long riffle where

* Among the eighty-eight watercolors and sketches by the Baroness Hyde de Neuville, recently acquired by this Society, are twelve portrait and genre studies of American Indians. Nine of these depict Iroquois men and women encountered by the Baron and Baroness in their travels through upstate New York in 1807 and 1808.

† Dr. Fenton, presently Executive Secretary of the Division of Anthropology and Psychology, National Research Council, Washington, D.C., and formerly of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, has recently been named Director of the New York State Museum, Albany; he is the author of several monographs on American Indian subjects.

The writer is indebted to Mr. David H. Wallace, Assistant Editor, for comparing the photographs with the originals, for checking inscriptions on the drawings against the text of the *Mémoires*, and for valuable suggestions on itinerary and chronology.

spring suckers come up Tonawanda Creek; Buffalo was their big center; and south of that, the "smelly banks" of Cattaraugus Creek and the beautiful reaches of *Ohiiyo*, the Allegheny Oxbow, home of Cornplanter and his half-brother, the prophet, were to remain to this day the domain of the Seneca Nation. The rest of New York State had been sold to the Yankees and their land agents.

The first ten years of relations between the Six Nations and the new Federal government in Philadelphia were punctuated with a series of conferences and treaties which sought to "take the hatchet out of the heads of the Six Nations" for the murder of Indian hunters on Pine Creek, "to keep them quiet in their seats" while the Army of the United States lost two Indian campaigns in Ohio, to appease them for the encroachment on their lands by veterans of the Revolution, and finally to lead them into gradual civilization and improvement. Indian policy was an official matter, but its implementation was left to the missionaries of New England and to the Society of Friends of Philadelphia. Washington entrusted the carrying out of Indian policy to General Henry Knox, Secretary of War, and the negotiations with the Six Nations fell to Col. Timothy Pickering who at last concluded the treaty of peace and friendship with the Six Nations at Canandaigua on November 11, 1794. Washington and these two New England Federalists, then, made the first national Indian policy and the Pickering Treaty was its model. When reviewing these affairs in retrospect the temptation is great to place blame one way or the other, but history holds events in the pattern of the times. The Indians had been attached to the British interest for a century and the flag of Britannia still waved over Oswego, Niagara, and Detroit. The "General Government" was weak and little understood, since typically the States had relinquished sovereignty reluctantly, so that New York commissioned its own agents to treat separately with the Six nations, and its governor gave secret instructions to frustrate the Federal commissioners. Small wonder the Indians were confused. When they

saw clearly the choice between a State government, subject to local pressures, and the consistent integrity of a general government that held its negotiations publicly under the invited scrutiny of the Society of Friends, they chose to accept the protection of Washington, their "father," an alliance which they have consistently cherished. Even though the first Federal Indian Superintendent, General Israel Chapin, was appointed with the backing of New England land interests, he reported to Knox in Philadelphia who held him strictly to account on policy.

Such was the pattern of events attending Pickering's "Treaty of Peace and Friendship" with the Six Nations. It vouchsafed the reservations, defined the lands of the Seneca Nation, freed other lands of the United States from further claim, gave the public free use of roads and rivers, and established a perpetual annuity for the "purchase of clothing, domestic animals, implements of husbandry . . ." to be paid over by the Superintendent appointed by the President. (General Chapin was succeeded by a long line of Federal agents down to recent years, when the office was abolished, but payment of the annuity and the "shares of cloth" has become an American tradition and continues to the present, though an Act of Congress now seeks to commute the treaty.) To this compact, "Timothy Pickering, and the Sachems and War-chiefs of the . . . Six Nations . . . set their hands and seals," to the number of nearly sixty. It may be alleged that the Chapins extended credit at a country saloon so that Red Jacket and his thirsty colleagues could get an odd gallon of rum (for Sir William Johnson had long ago learned that good Indian oratory flowed from a pail of punch); but it was the news of Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers that induced the chiefs and warriors to sign. The British were going to have to quit Niagara in two years.

Once the basic legal relationship was established between the Federal government and the Six Nations, the gradual civilization of the Indians fell back upon the missionaries.

The Baron Hyde de Neuville's exile to America and his summer sojourns in central New York came just at the end of Samuel

Kirkland's mission to the Oneida Indians. At the time of Kirkland's death in 1808, the Oneidas to whom he had ministered during most of his adult life, though on the winning side of the Revolution, were torn into Christian and Pagan factions; they were reduced in numbers, being neither hunters nor agriculturists; they were much addicted to drink; and they were wholly dependent on the traders for gunpowder and clothing.[1] A Quaker mission to the Oneidas, though successful for a time in operating a saw mill and a grist mill and introducing spinning and weaving, had been withdrawn, to concentrate efforts among the Senecas at Allegheny. In June of 1800, the Oneidas were "settled in six small villages, exclusive of Oneida or *Kanonwauloohaule*, their capital . . . " and their chiefs had taken an accurate census to effect "an equal distribution of their annuity. They aggregate 678 souls, exclusive of the Tuscaroras," wrote Kirkland to A. Miller, June 7, 1800. Despite superficial appearances, the Oneidas had changed very little during the forty years of Kirkland's residence, which had given him an appreciation of the stability of Indian culture. At the same time Kirkland noted:

> Striking changes in morals and manners seldom occur. The remarks made twenty years ago upon the Indians will, with a shade of difference, be found to be true now. . . . Those who are much acquainted with the human mind might perhaps make some remarks upon their progress in intellect, if indeed they have made any that is perceptible. To a superficial observer like myself they appear in a moral and intellectual view like a company of children. It is easy to engage their attention—to touch their hearts—but it is impossible by any reasoning to give permanence to the emotions you excite. No eloquence can convey to them any idea of the value of time, or persuade them to employ it to a purpose. Their condition as a nation is hopeless. Idleness, which perhaps prevailed formerly among them as much as at present, could not then produce effects so fatal as now, for all around them was as torpid and inactive as themselves. . . .[2]

But faced with disorganization, Iroquois culture was making

[1] See the author's "A calendar of manuscript materials relating to the history of the Six Nations . . .," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 97, No. 5, October 30, 1953, pp. 578–595.

[2] *Journal*, March 30, 1804.

its own attempt to restore equilibrium. Defeated in the field of battle, bereft of allies, and faced with an aggressive agrarian civilization that was pushing westward yearly, Iroquois society had to readjust to reservation life or die. It is a curious circumstance that given these conditions of cultural contact messianic cults frequently arise. The Seneca prophet, Handsome Lake, had commenced to preach his revelations in Cornplanter's town on the Allegheny as the sun set on the eighteenth century, and the new century had scarcely dawned before his influence strengthened the pagan element at Oneida, and a second prophet was reported from Grand River in Canada. Handsome Lake visited Washington where he communicated his revelation to President Jefferson and received an affidavit and passport from Secretary of War Dearborn, which his followers afterward took as open endorsement.[3] The Allegheny faction were soon to make political hay out of this endorsement at Buffalo Creek, and Handsome Lake afterward had a religious following at Tonawanda and at Canawagus on the Genesee River. The prophet was reported in the summer of 1806 to be engaged in trying to prevent the Genesee Indians from using ardent spirits, and the Indians set apart three days to confess their sins to the prophet who had become their confessor. The chiefs sent for Superintendent Jasper Parrish, soliciting his influence to close the taverns and to prevent others from selling whiskey to the Indians.[4] Contrary to the fear that such meetings threatened the peace, Parrish found little cause for alarm; and Kirkland faced searching questions from the Oneida pagans whether he thought the Seneca prophet was indeed "inspired by the spirit of God." Besides enjoining the strictest temperance and sobriety, the prophet was reported at Oneida as exhorting "to live in peace and love one another and all mankind, white people as well as Indians. He then spoke upon

[3] National Archives, War Office, *Letters Sent*, A 182 ff. March, 1802; A. C. Parker, "The Life of General Ely S. Parker," Buffalo Historical Society *Publications*, XXIII (Buffalo, N.Y., 1919), p. 250.

[4] Jasper Parrish to Henry Dearborn, Canandarqua, July 29, 1806; Parrish Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library.

the duties of husbands and wives, and the great sin of divorce."[5] Handsome Lake's fame was to come after his death in 1815,[6] and in the twentieth century would all but obliterate the cultural memory of his illustrious Indian contemporaries during the time of Hyde de Neuville's visit to Buffalo Creek.

Handsome Lake, John Obeal (Cornplanter), Farmer's Brother, Red Jacket, and Young King signed the receipt for the Federal interest money of $6,250 in May of 1803 as "Chiefs and Warriors of the Seneca Nation of Indians." Besides, Cornplanter received an annuity of $250; Little Billy, Young King, Red Jacket, and Farmer's Brother $100 each; while $50 went to Capt. Pollard and $10 to Little Billy's mother, annually, in fulfillment of an agreement with the Morris family for signing the Treaty at Big Tree in 1797. These then were the well-known Indians of 1807, especially Red Jacket whose speeches against the whites were being widely printed.

The payment of annuities and goods had for twenty-five years entailed keeping a fairly accurate count of population for the purpose of estimating the shares and making the distribution yearly by reservations. Thus on March 26, 1800, Superintendent Chapin made his annual return of the number of the Senecas, with estimates of how to divide the shares of the six thousand dollars payable under the Canandaigua Treaty of 1794. There were 1,570 Senecas that year to receive about four dollars a head.[7] They were concentrated mainly at Allegheny, Buffalo, and Cattaraugus; Tonawanda was a small settlement of 83, smaller than two of the Genesee towns. At best such population figures were estimates, for a Quaker census in 1808 gives:[8]

Senecas	1920
Cayugas	600

[5] Kirkland Papers, Hamilton College Library, August 3, 1806.

[6] Parker, Arthur C., "The Code of Handsome Lake, the Seneca Prophet," *New York State Museum Bulletin*, 163 (Albany: 1913).

[7] Chapin's arithmetic is mysterious, but the census is interesting.—O'Reilly Papers, NYHS, 13:56, 63.

[8] Sam and Susanna Emlen to Wm. Dillwyn, Westhill, January 26, 1808. Ridgeway Library, Dillwyn Coll, Yi 2/ 7305/ F 28. Courtesy of Dr. George Snyderman.

Onondagas	500	
Tuscaroras	300	(settled on Seneca lands)
Mohawks	800	(living in Canada)
Stockbridge	170	(on land given them by Oneida)
Total	4690	[The error of 400 is in the original ms.]

Of equal interest are the lists of goods desired by the Indians, to be purchased of Philadelphia and New York merchants, bills of lading, and the distribution lists kept by the New York Superintendents. Strouds, blankets, coating, linen, calico, powder, leads, flannels, muslins, particularly blue and scarlet, make up a typical inventory of 1805.

These background items deserve attention, for they explain in part how a French refugee could find that the noble savage of his expectations had become by 1807 rather disenchanting. Memoirs of places visited and memories of things seen become valuable as historical records when made by competent observers and written down at the time. The Baron and Madame Hyde de Neuville were scarcely qualified observers of Indians, and the Baron's letters were at best written after the fact, and finally edited and published years after his death by descendants who in all probability had never seen an Indian. Somehow in France the empirical tradition of Champlain and the *Jesuit Relations*, which were read avidly in the seventeenth century, had got diluted by the end of the eighteenth century into a pale romanticism by which the exotic noble savage reached court society in the writings of Chateaubriand. As members of the court literati the Hyde de Neuvilles were in for a shock. Their best preparation for the task of seeing Indians was Madame de Neuville's training as a watercolorist.

Arriving in New York on June 20, 1807, the de Neuvilles went up the Hudson to Albany almost immediately, and then to Ballston Spa, near Saratoga. How long they rested at the Spa is not clear, but they were soon in Utica near the Oneidas, and by September first had reached Niagara, via Cayuga, Geneva, Bata-

via and Buffalo. The Baron's *Mémoires et Souvenirs* leaves the reader to guess how they returned. The *Mémoires*, being neither a journal nor an accurate description of the country, would indeed scarcely merit attention as an ethnological source, were it not for the close link between it and the Baroness Hyde de Neuville's interesting watercolor portraits of Indians, recently acquired by this Society. The tribes mentioned in the *Mémoires* or represented in the Baroness's pictures are the Oneida and Seneca, the Cayuga by implication, and possibly the Mohawk; besides these New York tribes, the Osage are represented by two copies after St. Mémin and the Cherokee by one portrait, possibly a copy, dated 1820. The latter two groups are not mentioned in the Baron's memoirs.[9]

Traveling up the Hudson, Hyde de Neuville was struck with the grand scale of nature everywhere, but, he says, it was the people who really attracted his attention. While yet at Ballston Spa he declares their intention of leaving in a few days for Niagara Falls, adding that they also plan to visit some of the Indian settlements. "Some of them come here where we are sometimes, but they are of savages a little more civilized, and might not be noticed, if their copper color did not suggest their origin. Madame de Neuville sketched at this time," the Baron continues, "a big and stout girl of the country of Atala, but who has neither the charm nor the grace."[10]

The Indian girl of Ballston Spa is represented in two drawings made in July 1807: a seated figure and a head, full face. Both are inscribed "Sauvage de Balston Spring. . . ." Judging by the location of Ballston Spa, this girl was probably a Mohawk, though from the text she might be a Stockbridge Indian. The portrait is drawn with nice feeling for the mass of her face. The earrings and typically Iroquois woman's moccasins, together with her physiognomy, are all that suggest an Indian, although the stiff

[9] Jean Guillaume, Baron Hyde de Neuville, *Mémoires et souvenirs du Baron Hyde de Neuville*, 2nd edition (Paris: Librarie Plon, 1892), 3 vols.
[10] Hyde de Neuville, *Mémoires*, I:454.

"SAUVAGE DE BALSTON SPRING. 1807. JUILLET"
Watercolor portrait and pencil sketch by Baroness Hyde de Neuville
The New-York Historical Society

hat, often with a silver band, was much in favor at Onondaga later in the century. The shawl and dress leave one to guess whether she wore the short woman's leggings above her moccasins.

The Baron and Madame Hyde de Neuville next visited Utica, where he penned a long letter to his sister, telling her about the country west of Albany where the villages were named after the cities and heroes of antiquity, though "at the first glance you would think that these lands were only inhabited by savages, or by a people in the lowest stage of civilization."[11] In the same letter the Baron wrote:

We have just come back from visiting parts of the country that five years ago were inhabited only by the bear, the beaver, and a few fugitive and savage Indians; and now you cannot go a mile without finding a

[11] Hyde de Neuville, *Mémoires*, I:456.

house, an inn, and here and there villages, churches, schools, and even towns that begin to be worthy of the name.

We visited a few savage tribes. They are poor wretches, besotted with drink, stagnating in idleness and misery, and rejecting every effort to draw them out of it. The French missionaries did them a great deal of good, but since Canada is no longer part of France, these poor Indians have fallen back into miserable degradation. The American government treats them, however, with kindness; but in order to civilize such men, to overcome the obstacles inseparable from so charitable an enterprise, would require more than zeal of humanity, more than all the speculations of philosophy; it requires the courage of men who go through life for the sole purpose of overcoming its weaknesses; and finally it demands evangelical faith. . . .[12]

The first of the "savage tribes" visited by the de Neuvilles were the Oneidas in the vicinity of Utica, where they stopped both going to and returning from Niagara Falls. Here the Baroness made at least three drawings, of which two are identified by her own hand and the third by her husband's description of the division of labor between the sexes.

The family portrait of "an indian and his Squah," which appears on the same sheet as a view of Utica Church in 1807, illustrates well the Baron's remarks to his sister on the sloth and wretchedness of the aborigines. These people, I judge, may be typical of Kirkland's pagan Oneidas who have come up to town for a drink. The man carries a staff, a symbol of status still affected by the old men of Iroquoia and by the maskers at the Midwinter Festival. Madame de Neuville's training as a painter shows in her handling of these subjects; the legs are too massive for Indians, although the Baron does note that "this tribe is ugly and have pockmarked, malformed legs and tawny copper colored skin, with black straight hair."[13] Though, as he points out, these people are scarcely covered by breechcloth and blanket, I am even more intrigued by the unfinished sketch on the same sheet showing an Iroquois in long shirt, leggings, and moccasins, engaged in some free-flowing activity. I speak of this because the

[12] Hyde de Neuville, *Mémoires*, I:458.
[13] Hyde de Neuville, *Mémoires*, I:459.

"AN INDIAN AND HIS SQUAH" WITH PENCIL SKETCH OF INDIAN AT WORK

By Baroness Hyde de Neuville, Utica, N.Y., 1807

The New-York Historical Society

costume anticipates the style of a generation later, so beautifully illustrated by Lewis H. Morgan.[14]

The portrait of "Mary, Squah of the oneida tribe" was sketched at Utica in September 1807 on the de Neuville's return from Niagara. Here is a typical Iroquois woman, in physical appearance much resembling her more-nearly fullblooded descendants today. I take it she was not used to sitting on a chair and possibly felt not dressed for the occasion, in a mere blanket and leggings, without moccasins. Iroquois women still wear their

[14] *The League of the . . . Iroquois* (Rochester, 1851.)

INDIAN FAMILY, PROBABLY NEAR UTICA, FALL OF 1807
Baroness Hyde de Neuville Collection at the Society

hair parted in the middle and they still like earrings, but the nose ornament has vanished. (Reproduction on page 136.)

The third sketch, probably drawn near Utica in the late fall of 1807 and inscribed "Envoyé à Mde. Boisgrand," illustrates perfectly the Baron's remarks on the traditional division of labor between the sexes:

> The men do nothing, while the women are always encumbered with cultivating the earth; and they carry constantly heavy burdens which they hold suspended on their backs and which a large strap of leather holds fixed on the forehead, whilst the men are loaded only with their bow and arrows.[15]

This picture holds immense ethnological interest. It belongs to the "they-went-to-the-woods-to-hunt-for-meat" genre and apparently depicts a family group on the autumn hunt. The attire of all ages and both sexes is illustrated. The boy and his father both wear leggings to the mid-thigh, gartered at the ankle and

[15] Hyde de Neuville, *Mémoires*, I:458.

below the knee; the hunting shirt leaves the thigh bare. Father wears both nose- and earrings, the son only the latter; both wear the scalp lock. The father slings the deer over the left shoulder using the bow as a balance. A floral design decorates the instep of his moccasins. The woman, who appears in both front and side views, is equally interesting. Her shorter leggings are similarly tied; blanket replaces shirt and covers the head; but most unusual is the arrangement of burden-strap and pack-frame, which suggests that the cradle-board came much later.

The next of these Indian portraits, reproduced as a frontispiece to this article, presents a provoking problem of identification. Although there is little definite to go on, the temptation is great to put a name to it. Here is an Iroquois hunter in the full vigor of manhood; probably a full blood, he sports the same distended ear lobe as the "fair-indian" pictured by the Baroness at Canisteo the following year. His right index finger takes a peculiar crook, possibly an old injury, which might show in other portraits. Note the knife sheath and powder horn worn over the buckskin shirt, the patched leggings extending to mid-thigh, the moccasins; note also the chair and drop-leaf table, which must have belonged to someone of consequence. Knife in hand, this Indian hunter appears to be holding a piece of buckskin, possibly the vamp of a moccasin. The artist has not named her subject; but the Baron tantalizes us:

> The Chief *Read Jaret* [could he mean Red Jacket?] is no better housed than the rest; he was busy making foot-gear of deer skin called *mocassins,* and he readily accepted the money which we offered him.[16]

The Baron next writes:

> We went to see the Cagugas [Cayugas] in their little village which is close to the side of the road. Their squalid dwellings are lined on the inside with miserable beds of which deer skins form the only mattress and covers. The fire is kindled in the middle of the cabin, and a hole made in the shingles is the only chimney, so that with any wind at all, the smoke must blind them.[17]

[16] Hyde de Neuville, *Mémoires,* I:459.
[17] Hyde de Neuville, *Mémoires,* I:459.

After commenting on the safety of the backwoods in contrast with the dangers of travel in France, the Baron mentions Kirkland's school among the Oneidas, and goes on about their appearance and dress, saying that they wear breechcloth, smock or shirt, and wrap their legs with cloth, leaving the thighs and arms nude. He never saw one smile nor did they resemble at all Atala and the warlike savages of Chateaubriand. "These poor savages," he wrote, "addicted to drunkenness and laziness, are not at all formidable, and, acting on the advice of the people of the country, we left our arms behind in setting out. . . ."[18]

In a rare burst of directions, de Neuville mentions passing what I take to be the Finger Lakes, as well as "Geneva, Batavia, Buffalo, where we found the best savages, well adorned with tin plate, silver rings, and streaked grotesquely with variegated paints. . . ." The account continues:

> The first of September we at last saw the famous falls of Niagara, a sight at which we did not regret the troubles experienced in getting there. Leaving Buffalo in the early morning and favored with fair weather, after having followed for three miles a path which the sand made tiring, we reached the shore of Lake Erie, where the surf is strong and presents the look and sound of the sea when not very rough.[19]

This must have been the day that Madame de Neuville painted the watercolor inscribed: "tonaventa Peter de Bufalo dessiné en allant à Niagara." So far Buffalo Peter's name has not cropped up in any of the registers, and I am not certain that he was entirely Indian, though he exhibits the finest set of deformed ears of the lot.[20] Aside from the linen shirt, the usual hunting gear is augmented only by the battle axe. A string of wampum in the left hand marks him as a councillor. The artist has also attempted to picture some of the flora of New York—pine or hemlock, and

[18] Hyde de Neuville, *Mémoires*, I:459.
[19] Hyde de Neuville, *Mémoires*, I:460.
[20] He may have been Tall Peter, of Buffalo Creek, who joined the Christian Church in 1823 and was one of the chiefs most active in promoting the 1838 sale of Indian lands in northwestern New York. See Henry R. Howland, "The Seneca Mission at Buffalo Creek," *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society*, VI (Buffalo: 1903), 136, 148; and "Journals of Henry A. S. Dearborn," *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society*, VII (Buffalo: 1904), 194, 206.

PETER OF BUFFALO [PERHAPS TALL PETER, SENECA CHIEF AT TONAWANDA]
Inscribed: "tonaventa Peter de Bufalo dessiné en allant à Niagara," 1807
Baroness Hyde de Neuville Collection at the Society

Indian hemp, milkweed or perfoliate bellwort in the foreground.

The next two pictures date from a subsequent visit of the Hyde de Neuvilles to the Indian country of western New York. The "Squah of Seneca tribe with his [*sic*] papou," dated August 1808, is a very good likeness of a Seneca woman. Perhaps not as Mongoloid as Oneida Mary, her Seneca sister is equally unused to chairs and hides her feet similarly. I have seen Seneca women of the Handsome Lake followers carry a nursing child in a blanket in this fashion, and the dark skirt recalls the blue muslin in the lists of annuity goods. Compare the chair (see the reproduction on page 136) with that in the following sketch.

The last of the Baroness's New York State Indian portraits is inscribed: "the fair indian of the buffalo tribe drawn to canisteo 8bre 1808." Obviously a white captive had mothered or sired him, but which one? His age, the location, and his garb might do for one of the sons of the "White Woman of the Genesee," or the son of one of her sons, possibly Jacob Jemison who entered Dartmouth College in the spring of 1816, aged 27.[21] There is nothing to go by, however; the dress recalls the Quaker mission box, and only the slit ears and earrings betray his ethnic origin.

The three remaining Indian pictures in the Hyde de Neuville collection date from a later period, when the Baron was French Minister at Washington during the administration of James Monroe. Of these, two are obviously copies of St. Mémin's earlier portraits of Osage chiefs. The third and, ethnologically, much the most interesting, shows a Cherokee hunter with bow and long blunt arrows, pack, blanket coat, leggings, and moccasins. The picture bears the inscription: "Cherokee 1820 Mr. Martin"; but whether Martin was the subject, the artist, or the intended recipient of the picture is uncertain.

To summarize, there are in the Hyde de Neuville collection at The New-York Historical Society portraits of three Iroquois women and three Iroquois men, of whom at least one is part white. There are two family groups, and children appear with mothers in three sketches. The costumes show an admixture of Iroquois and white influence. Ear-lobe distension among the men, scalp lock, wampum beads, buckskin shirt, leggings of men and women, breechcloth and moccasins—these are traits of Indian culture, those of the children resembling the parents'. The hat, shawl, blankets, cloth (where it replaces buckskin), and the mission-box garb of the "fair Indian" may be ascribed to white influence. Apart from dress other items of ethnological importance may be noted. The persistent use of the staff by old men of

[21] *A narrative of the Life of Mary Jemison, the White Woman of the Genesee* . . . (New York: 1932), p. 102. The "fair-indian" may also have been Mary Jemison's youngest son Jesse, who was born c. 1776/77 and was murdered in 1812 by his brother John.

THE FAIR INDIAN OF THE BUFFALO TRIBE, CANISTEO, OCTOBER 1808

Perhaps Seneca-captive Mary Jemison's half-blood son Jesse (1776/7–1812) or her grandson Jacob who entered Dartmouth College in 1816, aged 27

Baroness Hyde de Neuville Collection at the Society

rank, wampum beads as the symbol of chiefship, the pack-frame instead of the cradle-board, cast interesting lights on Iroquois cultural history. The powder horn and the wooly strap we may assume came in with the gun, but they have already gone with the muzzle-loader. The obviously medieval shape of the battle axe is puzzling.[22] The furniture is what we would expect for the period in New York.

[22] There is, however, a similar scimitar-shaped axe in the best-known engraved portrait of "the brave old Hendrick the great Sachem or Chief of the Mohawk Indians" (published *c.* 1756), which shows that such weapons were no recent innovation among the Iroquois.

SENECA SQUAW AND PAPOOSE

Dated August 1808

MARY, ONEIDA SQUAW

Utica, September 1807

Baroness Hyde de Neuville Collection at the Society

Posture and body movements are believed by anthropologists to be culturally conditioned. These Iroquois women are not yet used to sitting in chairs. The position of the children facing forward in transport contradicts the cradle-board position aft but corresponds with the way modern Seneca women within my observation carry their children. Likewise, I could duplicate the position of the hunter's bow in relation to the deer he is carrying by reference to the modern Seneca's method of carrying a burden using an axe. Thus while cultures change they also remain remarkably stable.

How important are Madame Hyde de Neuville's Indian portraits? As the only on-the-spot pictorial record of Iroquois Indians and their activities at the beginning of the nineteenth century, they are of unusual significance to both historians and ethnologists, despite the artist's technical limitations and occasional overtones of romanticism. To be sure, well-known Indians had been portrayed before. Joseph Brant sat for his portrait

twice in England, as well as to Charles Willson Peale at Philadelphia in June of 1792, while four years later Cornplanter sat to Bartoli in New York for the colorful portrait now owned by this Society. But it was nearly twenty years after the Baroness Hyde de Neuville visited Buffalo Creek that George Catlin painted his first great Indian portrait, that of Red Jacket, who much preferred his portrait by R. W. Weir, painted two years later in New York and now owned by The New-York Historical Society. Red Jacket had a torn left ear, but a good right ear like the hunter reproduced as a frontispiece to this article. Though we may never know for certain who the Baroness's subject was, this and her other sketches will remain an important record of the Indian scene.

RED JACKET, AGED SEVENTY
By Robert W. Weir, 1828
New-York Historical Society

WASHINGTON IRVING (1783–1859)

Plaster bust, 1928, by Daniel Chester French (1850–1931)

Gift (1953) of Mrs. William Penn Cresson, daughter of the sculptor

A DISTINGUISHED COMPANY

by R. W. G. Vail

IT HAS SOMETIMES been assumed that the worthy Diedrich Knickerbocker, when in 1809 he dedicated his *History of New-York from the Beginning of the World to the End of the Dutch Dynasty* to that lusty five-year-old youngster The New-York Historical Society, did so with his tongue in his cheek. We would not suggest any action so undignified on the part of our venerable author, though he may have had a sly twinkle in his eye when, with a flourish, he wrote: "To the New-York Historical Society this work is respectfully dedicated, as a humble and unworthy testimony of the profound veneration and exalted esteem of the Society's Sincere Well Wisher and Devoted Servant, Diedrich Knickerbocker." He himself confessed that he had originally set about writing a good-natured parody on the somewhat pedantic *Picture of New-York; or, the Traveller's Guide, through the Commercial Metropolis of the United States*, the laborious offspring of one of our Society's earliest members, Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill, which appeared in 1807 as the city's first guide book.

There seems to be some evidence that a few of the stuffier descendants of the original burghers of New Amsterdam did not relish our author's gentle satire.[1] We can well imagine that the Tenbroecks may have resented his explanation that their cognomen was derived from the alleged custom of their worthy emigrant ancestor's wearing ten pairs of breeches and it may be that the Hardenbroecks cursed him roundly in Low Dutch for ex-

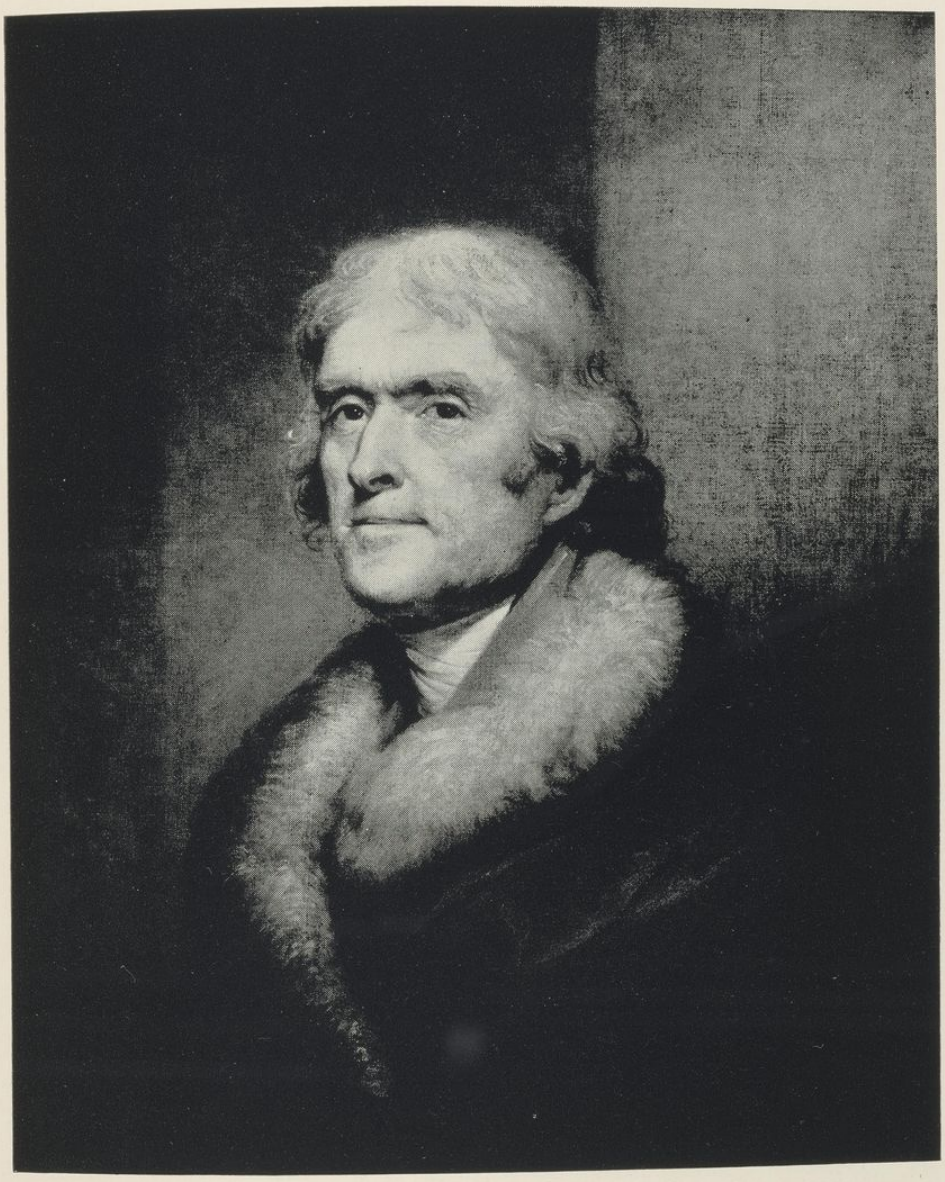
[1] "It is more 'in sorrow than in anger' that I feel myself compelled to add to these gross instances of national injustice, a recent work of a writer of our own, who is justly considered one of the brightest ornaments of American literature. I allude to the burlesque history of New-York, in which it is painful to see a mind, as admirable for its exquisite perception of the beautiful, as it is for the quick sense of the ridiculous, wasting the riches of its fancy on an ungrateful theme, and its exuberant humor in a coarse caricature."—*An Anniversary Discourse, Delivered Before The New-York Historical Society, December 7, 1818*, by Gulian Crommelin Verplanck, Esq. (NYHS *Collections*, Vol. III, 1821, p. 88).

plaining that their revered forebears customarily wore hard breeks or tough leather smallclothes. Perhaps the joke, after all, was on Washington Irving for, in the same year that saw the publication of his famous *History*, he became a life member of our Society and found to his surprise that his genial burlesque on Dutch New York had made him a famous historian in spite of himself. So he was compelled to spend much of the rest of his literary life continuing in more sober and scholarly fashion the history of his native land which he had begun with so much youthful levity.

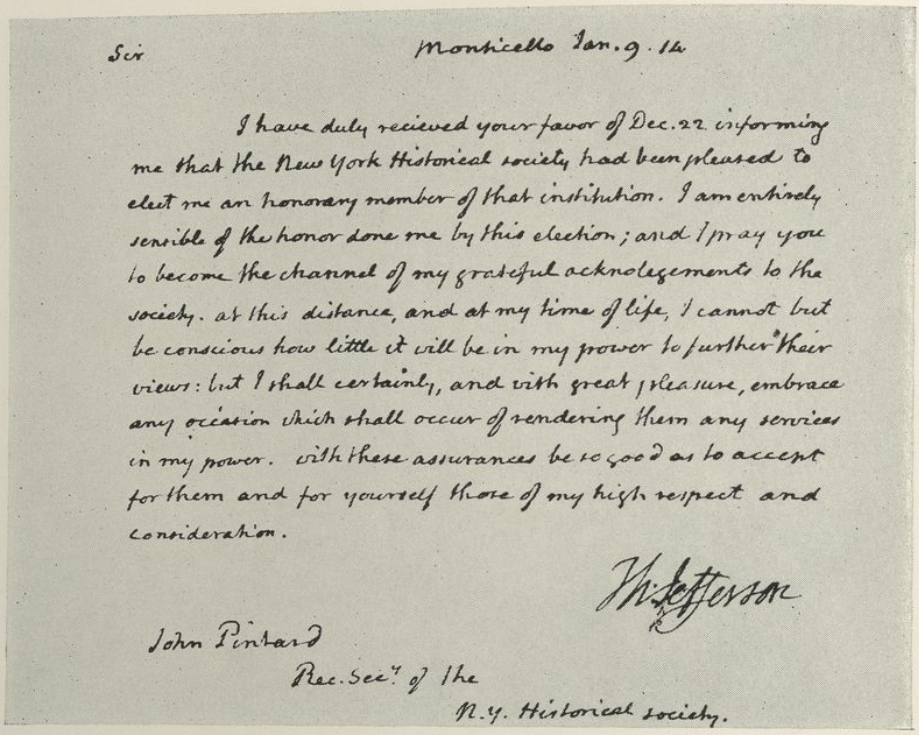
Washington Irving was only one of the distinguished Americans who realized that our Society was the first to collect the history of the Western Hemisphere and so was worthy of their scholarly commendation. From its founding in 1804, the Society has steadily attracted to its membership the intellectual leaders of our nation and many eminent scholars from other countries as well. What a distinguished company it would be if we could assemble our famous former members at the anniversary celebration in November at which, of course, the Presidents of the United States would be given the place of honor.

Unfortunately, George Washington died shortly before our Society was founded but from John Adams to Dwight D. Eisenhower every President of the United States has been a member of our Society with the possible exception of Calvin Coolidge, though President Eisenhower, who became a member when he was Chief of Staff of the United States Army, resigned after occupying the White House. The record of Coolidge's election cannot be found in our files and so it is possible that again he "did not choose to run" but at any rate he was most willing to pose for the oil portrait painted for the Society by our Recording Secretary, Mr. DeWitt M. Lockman, N.A., who also painted from life our portrait of Franklin D. Roosevelt.[2]

[2] We have in our collection over forty portraits of twenty of the thirty-four Presidents of the United States in oil, watercolor, drawing, miniature, silhouette or sculpture, not to mention hundreds of portraits of all of the Presidents in copperplate, steel engraving, etching, lithograph, woodcut, or photograph.



THOMAS JEFFERSON (1743–1826)
Painted from life by Rembrandt Peale, 1805
Gift of Thomas J. Bryan, 1867



Sir Monticello Jan. 9. 14

I have duly recieved your favor of Dec. 22 informing me that the New York Historical society had been pleased to elect me an honorary member of that institution. I am entirely sensible of the honor done me by this election; and I pray you to become the channel of my grateful acknolegements to the society. at this distance, and at my time of life, I cannot but be conscious how little it will be in my power to further their views: but I shall certainly, and with great pleasure, embrace any occasion which shall occur of rendering them any services in my power. with these assurances be so good as to accept for them and for yourself those of my high respect and consideration.

Th: Jefferson

John Pintard
Rec. Sec.y of the
N.Y. Historical society.

JEFFERSON'S ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF ELECTION TO THE SOCIETY, 1814
Manuscript letter in the Society's Archives

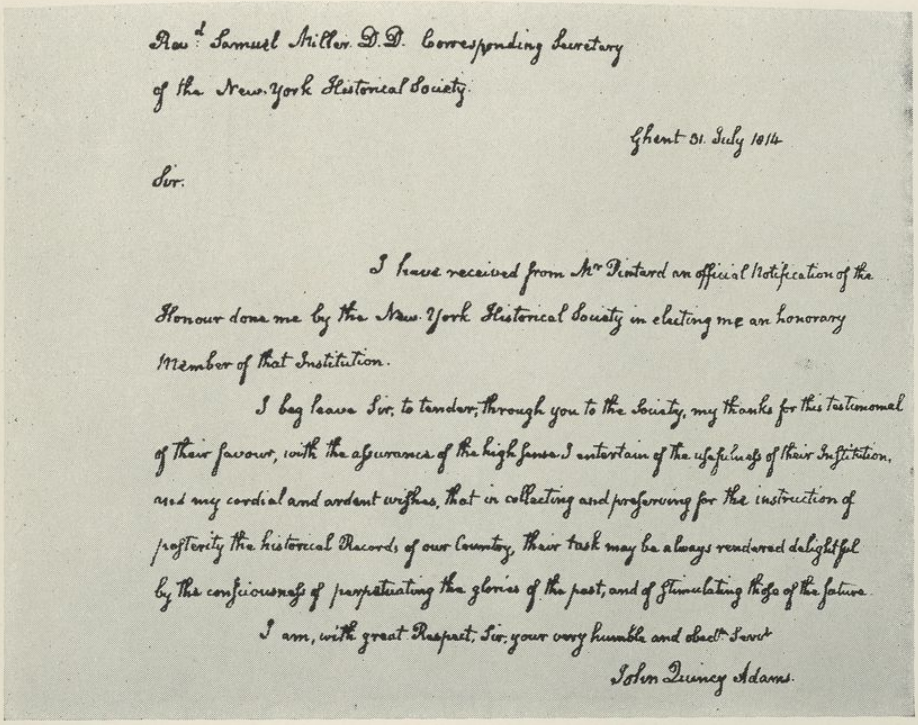
What a delightful flavor of old-world courtesy we find in the letter which the venerable Thomas Jefferson wrote to John Pintard, the Recording Secretary of our Society:

Sir Monticello Jan. 9. [18]14

I have duly received your favor of Dec. 22 informing me that the New York Historical Society has been pleased to elect me an honorary member of that institution. I am entirely sensible of the honor done me by this election; and I pray you to become the channel of my grateful acknowledgments to the Society. At this distance, and at my time of life, I cannot but be conscious how little it will be in my power to further their views: but I shall certainly, and with great pleasure, embrace any occasion which shall occur of rendering them any services in my power. With these assurances be so good as to accept for them and for yourself those of my high respect and consideration.

TH: JEFFERSON

That New England was in no way inferior to Virginia in



Revd Samuel Miller D.D. Corresponding Secretary
of the New-York Historical Society.

Ghent 31. July 1814

Sir.

I have received from Mr Pintard an official Notification of the Honour done me by the New-York Historical Society in electing me an honorary Member of that Institution.

I beg leave Sir, to tender, through you to the Society, my thanks for this testimonial of their favour, with the assurance of the high sense I entertain of the usefulness of their Institution, and my cordial and ardent wishes, that in collecting and preserving for the instruction of posterity the historical Records of our Country, their task may be always rendered delightful by the consciousness of perpetuating the glories of the past, and of stimulating those of the future.

I am, with great Respect, Sir, your very humble and obedt. Servt

John Quincy Adams.

J. Q. ADAMS' ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF ELECTION TO THE SOCIETY, 1814
Manuscript letter in the Society's Archives

courtesy we know from the following letter from John Quincy Adams, written to Reverend Samuel Miller, Corresponding Secretary of the Society, while Adams was busy negotiating peace with Great Britain after the War of 1812:

Ghent 31. July 1814

Sir.

I have received from Mr Pintard an official Notification of the Honour done me by the New-York Historical Society in electing me an honorary Member of that Institution.

I beg leave Sir, to tender, through you to the Society, my thanks for this testimonial of their favour, with the assurance of the high sense I entertain of the usefulness of their Institution, and my cordial and ardent wishes, that in collecting and preserving for the instruction of posterity the historical Records of our Country, their task may be always rendered delightful by the consciousness of perpetuating the glories of the past, and of stimulating those of the future.

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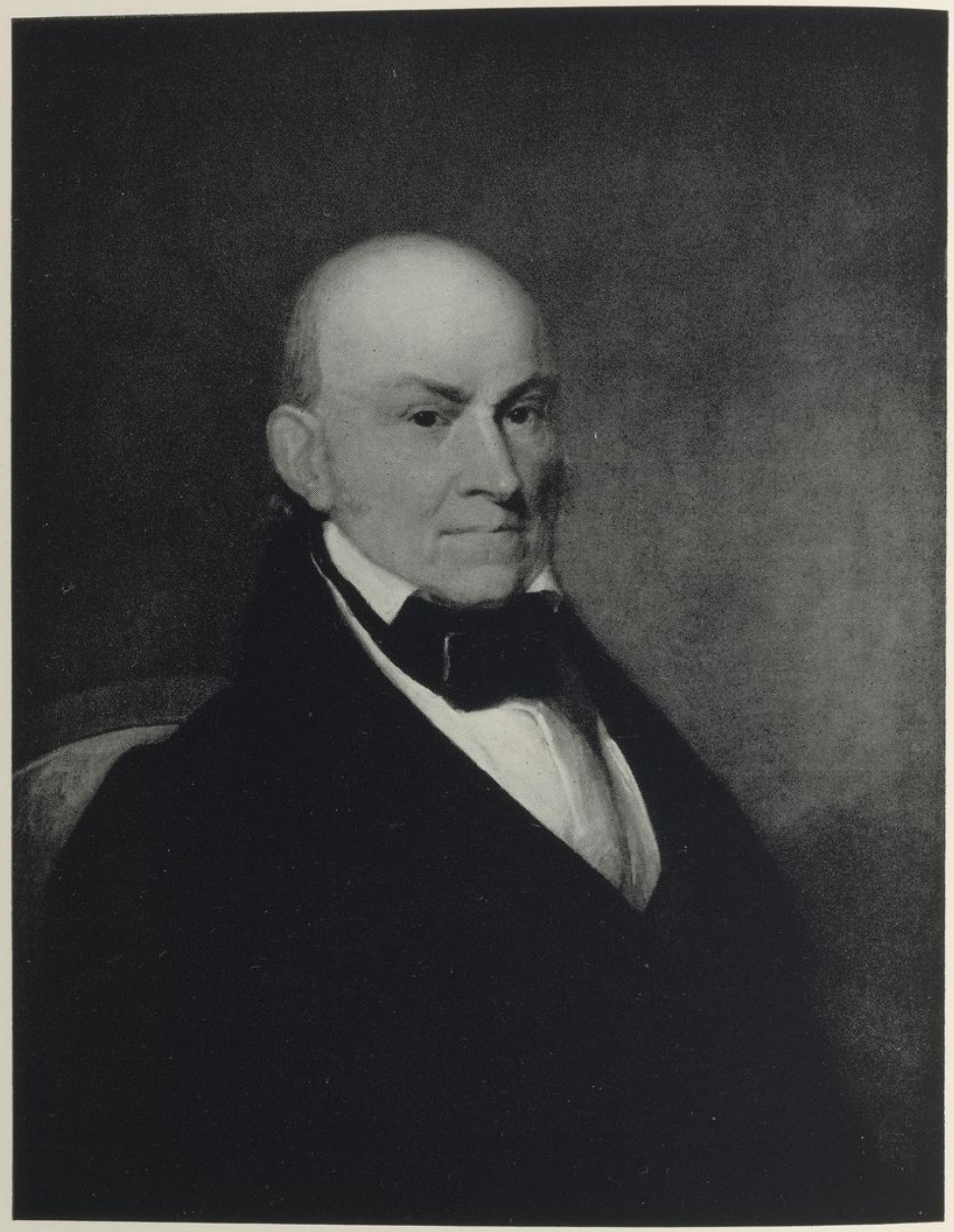
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS (1767–1848)
Painted from life by Asher B. Durand, 1834
Gift of the New York Gallery of Fine Arts, 1858

This friendly association with our sixth President, so happily begun in 1814, was to continue for thirty-four years. That his membership in our Society was a real satisfaction to President Adams is evident from his acceptance of our invitation to the Fortieth Anniversary Meeting of the Society, written to Erastus C. Benedict of the Executive Committee in the clear but somewhat shaky handwriting of a gentleman of seventy-seven years:

Quincy, Mass^{tts} 12. Novr 1844

Sir.

I have received your favour of the 26th ult^{o}. with the invitation of the President and Executive Committee of the Society inviting my attendance at the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Society which invitation I take great pleasure in accepting, and I will use my best endeavour to be punctual to the time. And with my affectionate respects to the President of the Society [Albert Gallatin], I pray you to assure him that the pleasure of meeting him will be to me a warm additional impulse to punctuality.

I am very respectfully, Sir

Your obed^{t} Servt

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

Though many of the Presidents were elected after they had reached that high office (Lincoln on the day after his inauguration in 1861), not a few became members long before they reached the White House. Lieutenant General Grant was elected at the end of the Civil War, Cleveland when he was Governor, Teddy Roosevelt when he was a North Dakota ranchman in 1885, Franklin D. Roosevelt when he was studying law at Columbia in 1906, and President Eisenhower when he was Chief of Staff of the United States Army.

The Society's correspondence files contain many interesting letters from future Presidents. A characteristic letter from Theodore Roosevelt, written from his home at 689 Madison Avenue to Charles Isham, the Librarian of the Society on March 12, 1888, the day of the great blizzard, begins: "Dear Mr. Isham, I went down to the Society Rooms to see you today but I pre-

sume the blizzard kept you at home." Not even the greatest blizzard in New York's history could stop the strenuous Teddy!

The same year, a quarter of a century before he became a member of the Society, an obscure college professor wrote one of his rare longhand letters, asking permission to use the Library which, in those days, was generally available to non-members only on presentation of a card of introduction. The professor identified himself (but not the rest of his party) as follows:

GRAND UNION HOTEL
OPPOSITE GRAND CENTRAL DEPOT

New York, 3rd Sept. 1888

To the Secretary of the Historical Library,

Dear Sir,

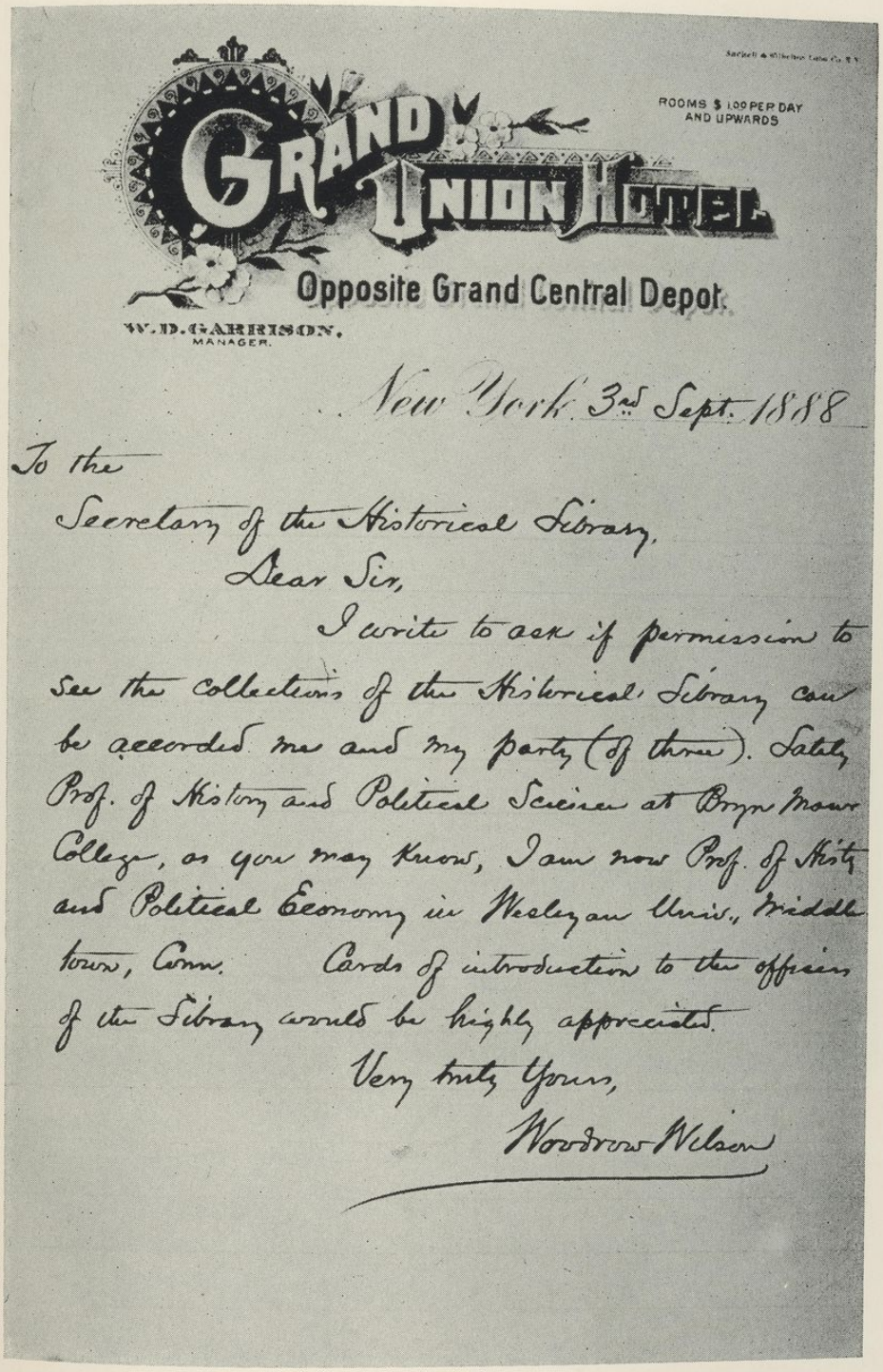
I write to ask if permission to see the collections of the Historical Library can be accorded to me and my party (of three). Lately Prof. of History and Political Science at Bryn Mawr College, as you may know, I am now Prof. of History and Political Economy in Wesleyan Univ., Middletown, Conn. Cards of introduction to the officers of the Library would be highly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

WOODROW WILSON

From George Clinton in 1777 to Thomas E. Dewey in 1942, every regularly elected Governor of New York State has been a member of our Society, with five exceptions. Many of them were greatly interested in the past of their native State and did much to encourage us in our desire to see its history preserved and published. The list of famous Governors, not counting those who later became Presidents, include such names as John Jay, Daniel D. Tompkins, DeWitt Clinton, William L. Marcy, William H. Seward, Hamilton Fish, Horatio Seymour, Samuel J. Tilden, Charles Evans Hughes, and Alfred E. Smith.

It is indeed thrilling to find in our files a letter of appreciation for his election to the Society written in 1829 at the age of 92 by Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the last survivor of the Signers of



GRAND UNION HOTEL

ROOMS $1.00 PER DAY AND UPWARDS

Opposite Grand Central Depot.

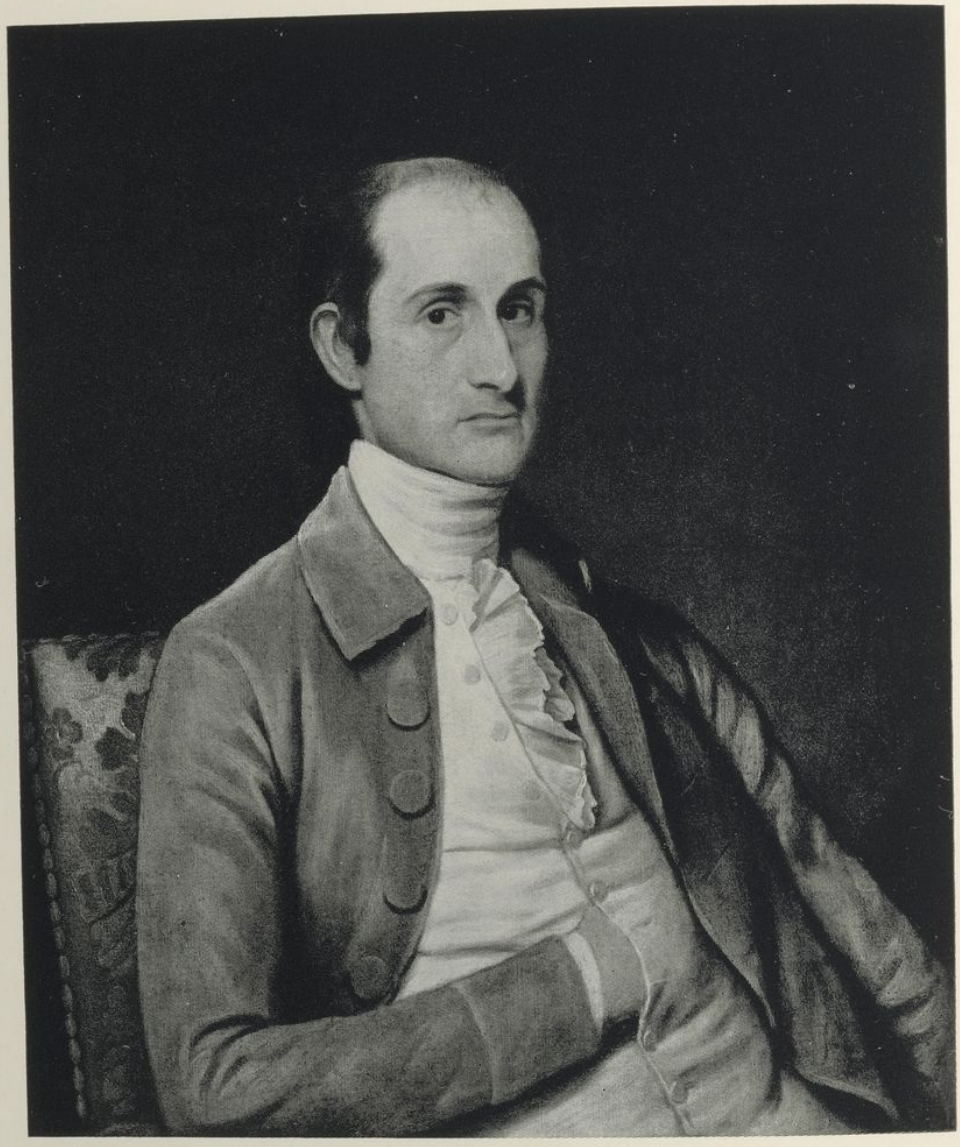
W. D. GARRISON, MANAGER.

New York 3rd Sept. 1888

To the
Secretary of the Historical Library,
Dear Sir,
I write to ask if permission to see the collections of the Historical Library can be accorded me and my party (of three). Lately Prof. of History and Political Science at Bryn Mawr College, as you may know, I am now Prof. of Hist. and Political Economy in Wesleyan Univ., Middletown, Conn. Cards of introduction to the officers of the Library would be highly appreciated.
Very truly Yours,
Woodrow Wilson

WOODROW WILSON'S REQUEST TO USE THE SOCIETY'S COLLECTIONS, 1888

Manuscript letter in the Society's Archives



JOHN JAY (1745–1829)
Painted from life by Joseph Wright, 1786
Gift of John Pintard, 1817

the Declaration of Independence. But the famous patriot from Maryland was not the only Signer to belong to our distinguished company. John Adams of Massachusetts, Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, and Dr. Benjamin Rush of Pennsylvania were also members as well as Chancellor Robert R. Livingston who helped draw up, though he did not sign, the famous document on which our liberties are founded.

Let us look at the roster of a few of the great statesmen who have belonged to our ancient Society. Beginning with the Secretaries of State (at first they were called Secretaries of Foreign Affairs), we find Robert R. Livingston and John Jay heading the list. When the latter resigned to become the first Chief Justice of the United States, Thomas Jefferson took his place. Other eminent holders of the office who were among our members, but not counting those who later became Presidents, were Timothy Pickering, Henry Clay, Edward Livingston, Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, Edward Everett, William L. Marcy, Lewis Cass, William H. Seward, Hamilton Fish, William M. Evarts, Elihu Root and Charles E. Hughes.

Two Secretaries of the Treasury also belong in our distinguished roster: Oliver Wolcott and Albert Gallatin; two Secretaries of the Navy: the eminent historian George Bancroft and the novelist James K. Paulding; two Attorneys General: Richard Rush and Caleb Cushing; and one Postmaster General, Francis Granger. Our membership is also represented in the United States Supreme Court by Chief Justices John Jay, William H. Taft, and Charles E. Hughes and by Justices Brockholst Livingston and Joseph Story; and by the following foreign ministers: Rufus King and Edward Everett, Ministers to Great Britain; Gouverneur Morris, Whitelaw Reid, and John Bigelow, Ministers to France; Washington Irving, Minister to Spain; and Andrew D. White, Minister to Russia and Ambassador to Germany.

Gouverneur Morris who, like Peter Stuyvesant, was a valued New York public servant with a vivid personality and a wooden

leg, and who was our Minister to France during the French Revolution and ended his public service as United States Senator in 1803, wrote to John Pintard, our Recording Secretary, the following characteristic letter when he was elected to resident membership in the Society:

Morrisania, 27 Jany. 1810

Sir

I have received your Favor of the 16th and enclose a Check for forty five Dollars. If I find any Books or Papers which may be useful to the Society they shall be furnished to you with great Pleasure. On the Conditions you mention I am content to accept of the Office. In all Events I am very grateful to the Gentlemen who have done me the Honor of their Choice and you will oblige me by communicating the deep Sense I entertain of their Goodness. I feel that I shall be but an unprofitable Servant. I have not the Resolution to engage in any Thing like Toil, for since I was dismissed from the public Service my Mind has had such a long Holiday that like a Truant Boy it can't bear the Sight of a School.

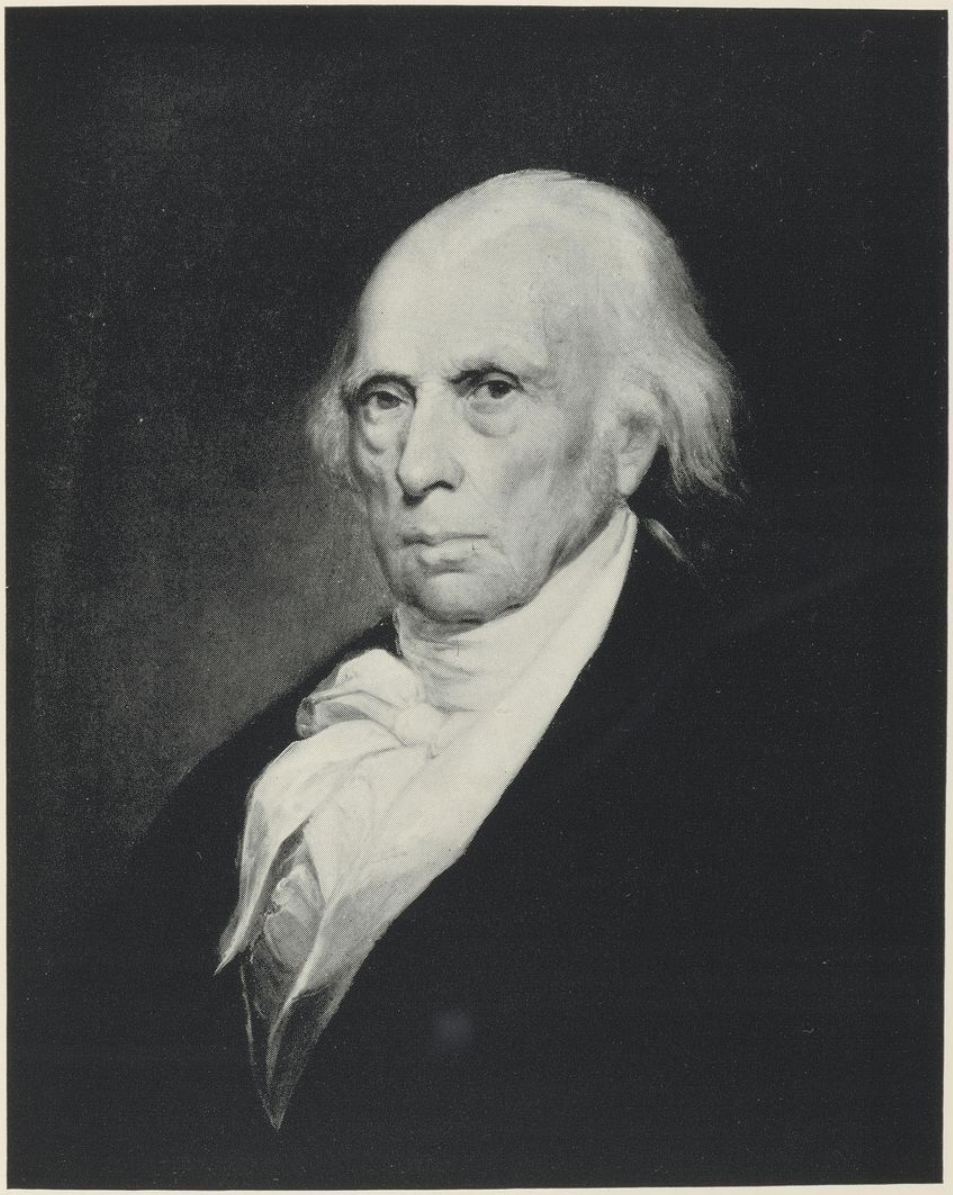
With Esteem and Respect I am Sir

Your obed^{t}. Servant

GOUV MORRIS

The greatest orator of his day was Edward Everett, the famous Unitarian minister who had also been President of Harvard, Governor of Massachusetts, United States Representative and Senator, Minister to Great Britain, and Secretary of State under Fillmore. His long and eloquent oration at the dedication of the national cemetery at Gettysburg is now forgotten though the brief remarks of a tall, angular citizen of Illinois, who was given a spot on the program because of his high office, will be remembered while our civilization lasts.

When Everett was invited to attend the fiftieth anniversary celebration of our Society he wrote, on November 17, 1854, a letter summarizing the achievements of New York State and her distinguished sons, among whom he particularly mentioned his fellow members DeWitt Clinton, Robert Fulton, James Fenimore Cooper, and Chief Justice and Chancellor of New York, James Kent. He continued:



JAMES MADISON (1751–1836)
Painted from life by Asher B. Durand, 1833
Gift of P. Kemble Paulding, 1870

. . . Nor have you less to boast of in the studies, which more immediately belong to an historical society. No great branch of literature has been so successfully cultivated in America as History. . . . America has within twenty five years produced three historians, whose works will go down to the latest posterity, with those that have already stood the test of ages: . . . Irving, Prescott and Bancroft. I believe their works will be read till the English language is forgotten. I rejoice to be able to add, that, while they belong assuredly not only to the Country but to the world, our two States may claim the more immediate property in them, in nearly equal Shares. The Author of the life of Columbus [Washington Irving] by birth & residence is wholly yours; the Author of Ferdinand & Isabella [William H. Prescott], in the same sense, is wholly ours; while the Historian of the United States [George Bancroft] has divided himself pretty fairly between us.

Membership in our Society was no empty honor to our distinguished historians, for its meetings brought them in contact with each other and its excellent library was of great service to them all. Bancroft, Prescott, and Everett were elected the same day in 1839 and the former continued a member until his death in 1891. The Society wrote to congratulate him on his eightieth birthday, to which the great historian replied with this moving letter to Andrew Warner, the Recording Secretary:

Newport, R. I.
7. October. 1880.

My dear Mr. Secretary,

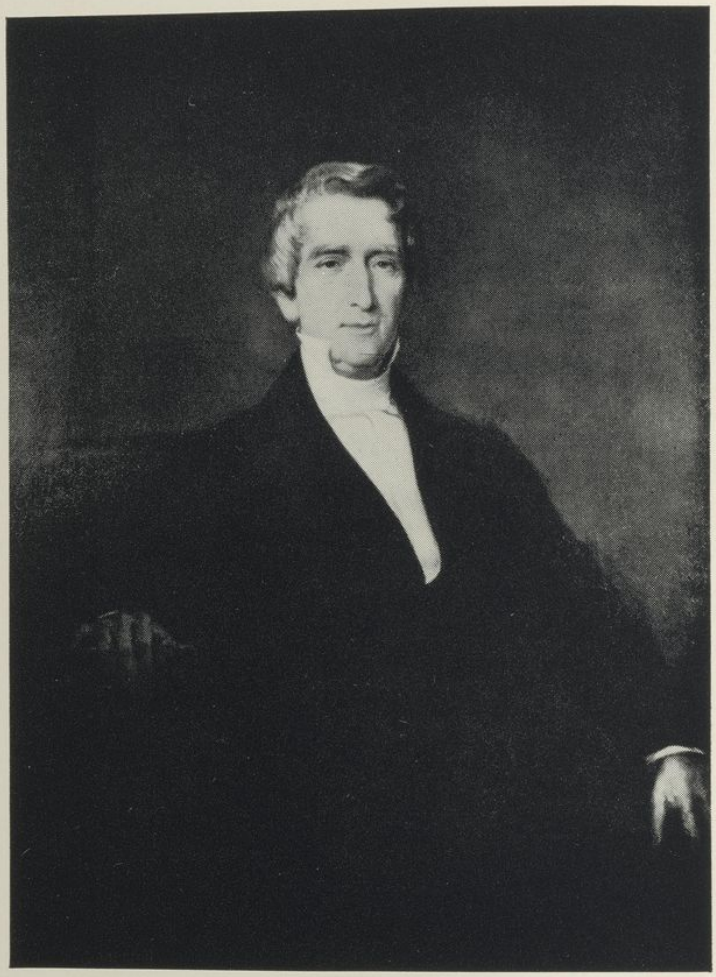
The congratulations of the New York Historical Society on my completing my eightieth year touch every fibre of my heart. The intimate relations which subsisted between us during my long residence in New York are fresh in my memory; and I am ever happy in its constant friendship which I may now be sure will follow me to my latest days. Express to the Society the gratitude and affection with which I receive this great evidence of its regard.

Most truly yours,

George Bancroft

Irving, Prescott, and Bancroft were not the only historians on our membership books, of course. The Italian historian, Carlo Botta; George Grote, the English historian of Greece; and James

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER (1789–1851)
By Asa W. Twitchell after Charles L. Elliott
The New-York Historical Society



WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD (1801–1872)
Painted from life by Emanuel Leutze, 1861
Gift of an Anonymous Donor, 1949

Bryce, author of *The American Commonwealth*, are there and so are our native writers: John Lothrop Motley, historian of The Netherlands; Jared Sparks, historian, biographer, and President of Harvard; Francis Parkman, great and readable historian of Canada and the West; Benson J. Lossing, historian and engraver, whose illustrated histories have been industriously mined by his successors; Charles Francis Adams, diplomat and historian of the Adams family; Moses Coit Tyler, educator and historian of early American literature and the Revolution; Herbert L. Osgood, historian of the American colonies; Peter Force, compiler and publisher of the *American Archives;* James Truslow Adams, recent American historian of distinction; and such authorities on the Indian as Lewis H. Morgan, Henry R. Schoolcraft, William L. Stone, E. George Squier, and Daniel G. Brinton.

Dr. Peter Wilson, in his native tongue, Wa-o-wa-wâ-na-onk, or *They heard his voice*, a Cayuga chief who graduated from Dartmouth and became a government interpreter and Civil War surgeon, was, on May 4, 1847, a guest of the Society when his friend the great anthropologist, Lewis H. Morgan, read a scholarly paper on the Iroquois towns, trails, and geographical names. After the lecture, Dr. Wilson was invited to address the Society. "He spoke with such pathos and eloquence of his people and his race, their ancient prowess and generosity, their present weakness and dependence, and especially upon the hard fate of a small band of Senecas and Cayugas which had recently been hurried into the western wilderness to perish, that all present were deeply moved by his eloquence."[3] He said in part:

You see before you an Iroquois, yes, a native American! You have heard a history of the great Indian trails, the geography of the state of New York, before it was known to the Pale Faces. The land of Ga-nun-no, was once laced by these trails from Albany to Buffalo, trails that my people had trod for centuries—worn so deep by the feet of the Iroquois, that they became your own roads of travel, when my people no longer walked in them. Your highways still lie in those paths, the same lines of communication bind one part of the "Long House" to

[3] *Pioneer History of the Holland Purchase*, by Orsamus Turner, Buffalo, 1849, p. 64 note.

another. My friend has told you that the Iroquois have no monuments. These are their monuments. The land of Ga-nun-no, the Empire State, is our monument. We wish to lay our bones under its soil among those of our fathers. We shall not long occupy much room in living—still less when we are gone. . . .

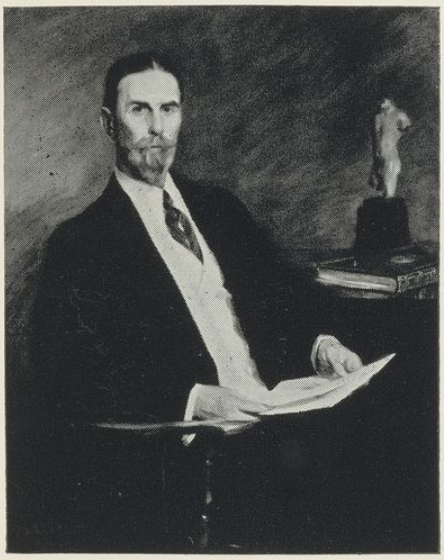
I have been told that the first object of this Society is to preserve the history of the State of New York. You, all of you, know that alike in its wars and its treaties the Iroquois, long before the Revolution, formed a part of that history; that they were then one in council with you, and were taught to believe themselves one in interest. In your last war with England [the War of 1812], your red brother—your elder brother—still came to help you, as of old, on the Canadian frontier! Have we, the first holders of this prosperous region, no longer a share in your history? Glad were your forefathers to sit down upon the threshold of the "Long House"; rich, did they then hold themselves, in getting the mere sweepings from its door. Had our forefathers spurned you from it when the French were thundering at the opposite end, to get a passage through and drive you into the sea, whatever has been the fate of other Indians, the Iroquois might still have been a nation; and I, instead of pleading here for the privilege of lingering within your borders, I too might have had a country! [4]

It is fitting to record that, at the next meeting of the Society, "Wa-o-wa-wâ-na-onk or Peter Wilson (an Iroquois) of the Cattaraugus Reservation," was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society. We still have his letter of acceptance with which he sent some books in the Seneca language for preservation in our Library. Our second distinguished Indian member was Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh, or George Copway, Chief of the Ojibways and author of several books on his nation, who was elected a Corresponding Member the following year. And we should not forget that Dr. Arthur C. Parker, a Seneca Indian and the greatest living authority on the Iroquois, is one of our Associate Members today.

The fine art of keeping a daily journal is all but lost, though an observant diarist is often a great historian, perhaps without realizing it. During the life of our Society there have been three great American diarists and, fortunately, the better parts of their

[4] New-York Historical Society *Proceedings*, 1847, p. 65–69; also quoted in part in Turner, *op. cit.*

diaries have been preserved and published and, as you have no doubt surmised, all three were members of our Society. Their combined records of men and events, with the exception of the years 1820 to 1827, cover nearly a century, from 1784 to 1875. Reverend William Bentley of Salem was a scholarly, genial and inquisitive old fellow who knew everybody in Massachusetts from the Governor to the freaks in the circus side shows; Philip



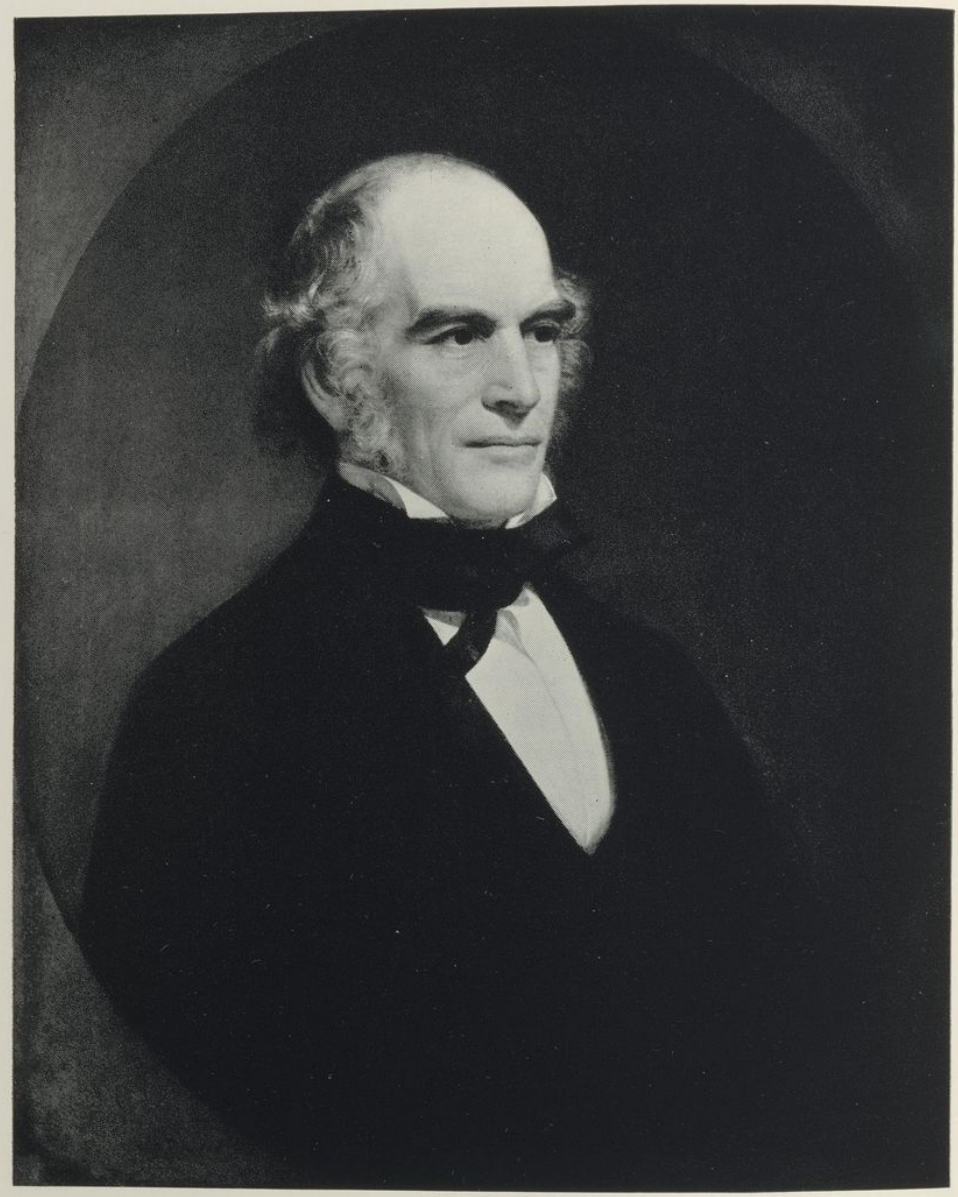
I. N. PHELPS STOKES
(1867–1944)

Painted from life for The New-York Historical Society by DeWitt M. Lockman, N.A., 1930

The Society's 121st anniversary was observed in 1925 by the presentation of its first Gold Medal for Achievement in History to Mr. Stokes in recognition of his monumental work: the *Iconography of Manhattan Island*

Hone (whose manuscript diaries, much of them still unpublished, are on the shelves of our Library) was a prominent New York merchant who impersonally recorded the social, commercial, and political life of his city, State, and nation; and George Templeton Strong was another observant New Yorker who, however, wrote far from impersonally, of the social, educational, musical, and religious goings-on of his native town. He joined our Society at the age of twenty-three and was frankly bored by the lectures, as he sarcastically recorded in his diary.

Of course, practically all of the local historians and antiquaries of our region, from Samuel Latham Mitchill to I. N. Phelps Stokes, author of the great *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, were members, as well as many from other States. Famous western explorers and travellers who helped make and record history,



WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT (1794–1878)
Painted from life by Henry Peters Gray, 1850
Gift of the American Art-Union, 1863

in addition to Irving and Parkman, include the fiery and quarrelsome Major General John C. Fremont, who explored Oregon and helped bring California into the Union; the natural scientist and explorer, Baron Alexander von Humboldt; and, it is interesting to note, General John A. Sutter, pioneer of Oregon and California, founder of Sutter's Fort and Sacramento, on whose property California gold was first discovered though he got none of it.

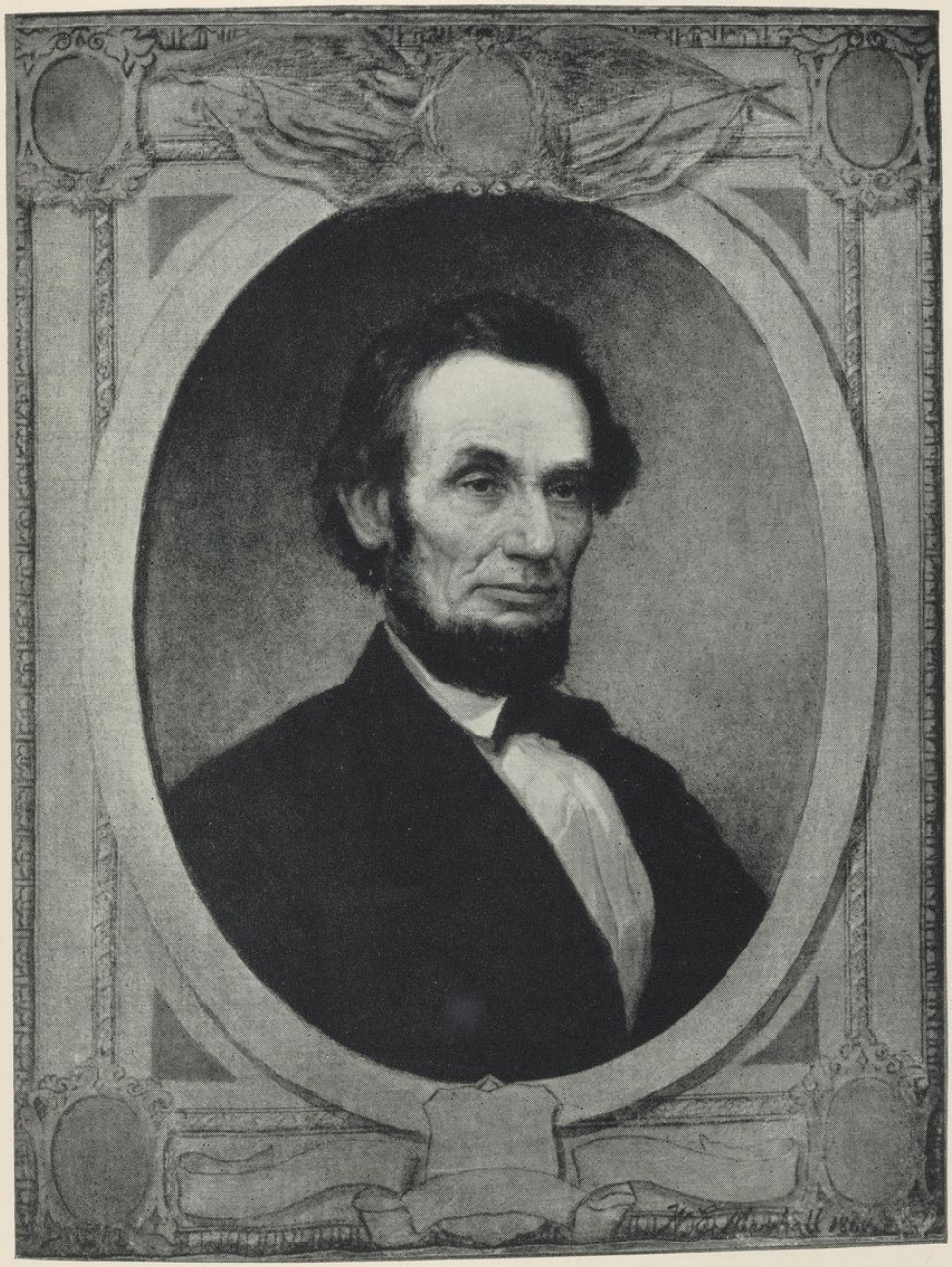
As you might imagine, historians are not the only literary folk on our rolls, for we find such names as Noah Webster, famous for his blue-backed spellers; Charles Brockden Brown, our first professional novelist; Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper, of course; and such poets as William Cullen Bryant, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and the English Poet Laureate, Robert Southey. Then there is James K. Paulding who helped Irving edit *Salmagundi*, wrote *The Dutchman's Fireside*, and became Secretary of the Navy; Samuel G. Goodrich, better known as "Peter Parley"; the editors George William Curtis of *Harper's* and Richard Watson Gilder of the *Century;* the novelists Henry Van Dyke and Paul Leicester Ford; the genial humorist, John Kendrick Bangs; and a host of others.

The roster includes many famous publishers such as Isaiah Thomas of Worcester, founder of our younger sister, the American Antiquarian Society, and James T. Fields of the *Atlantic Monthly* and the Boston publishing firm of Ticknor & Fields; and our local publishers, Horace Greeley and Charles Scribner. We must not forget our members the bibliographers, like Joseph Sabin, Charles R. Hildeburn, Worthington C. Ford, Victor Hugo Paltsits and, greatest of all, Wilberforce Eames, who live in their publications and in grateful acknowledgments in the writings of others.

During at least the first half-century of our history, many famous clergymen, doctors, educators, and lawyers belonged to our Society, including such people as Dr. Benjamin Rush, the Signer; Reverend Timothy Dwight, President of Yale; Josiah

Quincy, President of Harvard; the famed pulpit orators and abolitionists Reverend William Ellery Channing of Boston and Reverend Henry Ward Beecher of Brooklyn; and Andrew D. White, diplomat, historian, and first president of Cornell, as well as Nicholas Murray Butler and many others from the faculties of Columbia, New York University, and the General Theological Seminary.

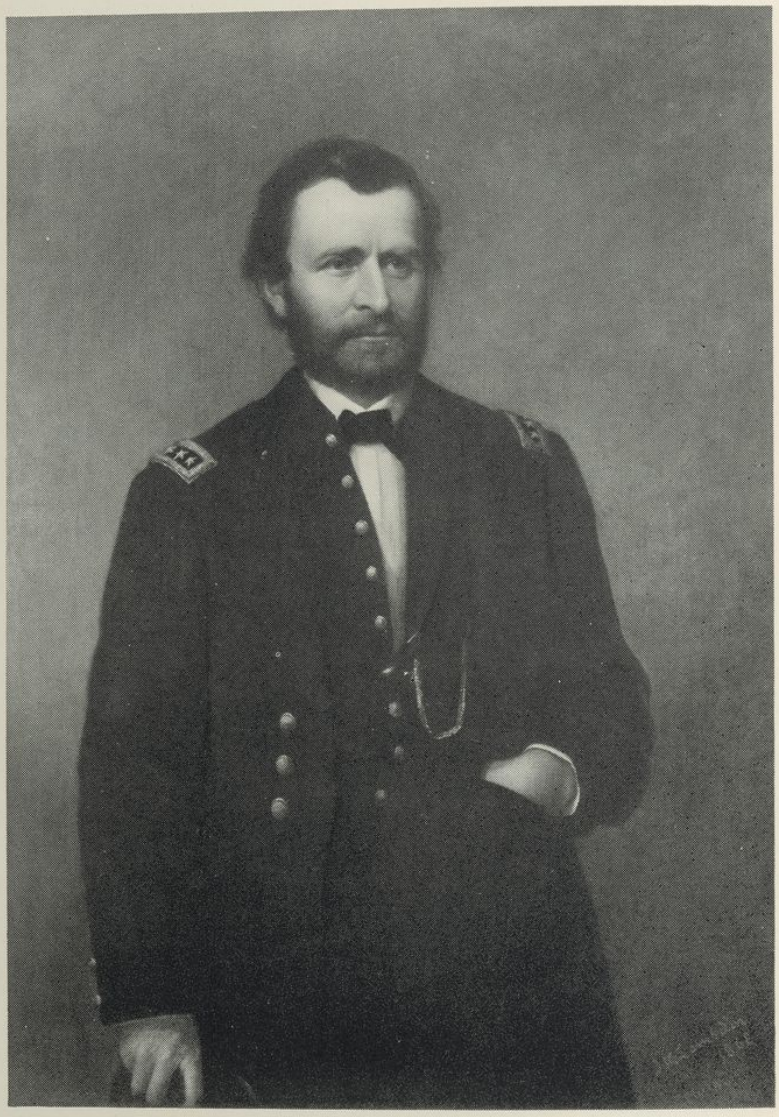
If you are a book collector, the following names will mean much to you for they are members of our fraternity whose great collections of books, manuscripts, and prints were famous in their day and brought distinction to the public collections they enriched or the auctions at which they were dispersed: John Carter Brown whose magnificent sixteenth-, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Americana went to Brown University; William L. Clements whose Revolutionary and other Americana is at the University of Michigan; James B. Wilbur whose matchless Vermontiana is at the University of Vermont and who was the benefactor of our own and other libraries; Lyman C. Draper whose great collection of Western manuscripts is at the University of Wisconsin; Grenville Kane whose Americana of great rarity is at Princeton; and A. S. W. Rosenbach whose wonderful library is endowed for the use of the public at Philadelphia. In our own city there are the outstanding James Lenox collection of Americana, the Thomas Addis Emmet collection of extra-illustrated history, the Worthington C. Ford Americana, the Samuel P. Avery prints, the George Bancroft library, and the Alexander Maitland collection at the New York Public Library; The Francis L. Hawks, Rufus and Charles King, Buckingham Smith and Daniel Parish, Jr., collections in our Library and the Edward W. C. Arnold collection of New York views recently bequeathed to the Metropolitan Museum. In this distinguished group of collectors we should also mention Dr. Lathrop C. Harper, wise and scholarly builder of public and private libraries of Americana and incunabula whose generous bequests will greatly benefit our chief American history libraries.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN (1809–1865)

Painted from life by William E. Marshall, 1864

Gift of Mrs. Oscar Marshall and her children, 1926



GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT (1822–1885)

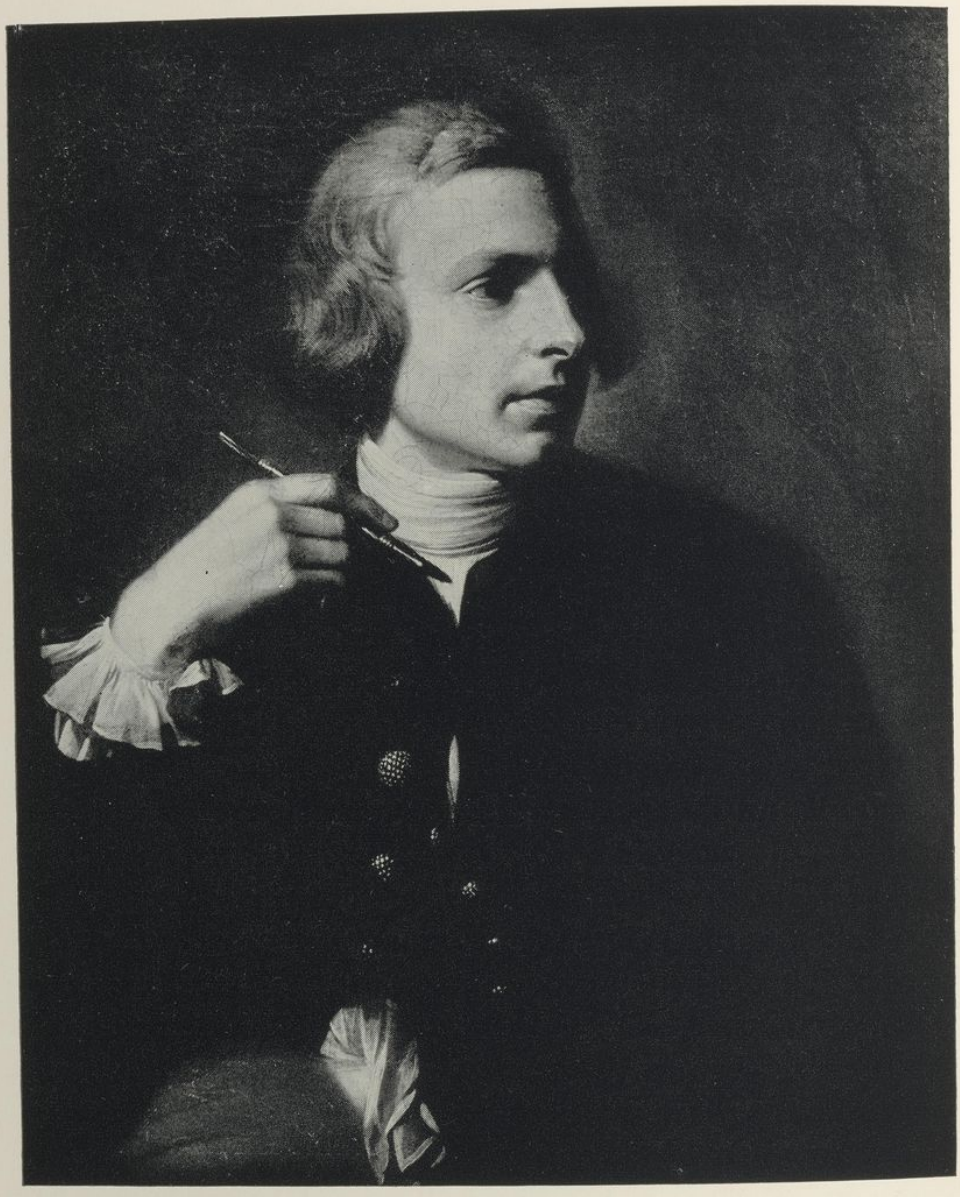
Portrait signed: "J[ames] R. Lambdin 1868" at Philadelphia

Purchased through the Beekman Fund, 1954

There are also the famous libraries of our former members which were sold at auction, to enrich the public institutions and private collections of the country, including that of George Brinley, the greatest Americana sale of all time; the Robert Hoe library, one of the greatest general sales of extreme rarities; the Samuel S. Purple genealogical collection; the Russell Benedict library of early laws; the choice Americana collection of our warm friend Henry F. DePuy; the notable Adrian H. Joline autographs; the very select Beverly Chew library of English literature; and the large general collections of Henry W. Poor and Edwin B. Holden. What fun it would be to assemble this group of great booklovers around the table of a modern Mermaid Tavern of a wintry evening!

Since our library is one of the richest in the fields of American military and naval history, it is appropriate that we have had many soldiers and sailors among our distinguished members, a few of whom we will introduce to you. There is the Marquis de Lafayette who brought French aid to Washington; Brigadier General Rufus Putnam, also a Revolutionary War officer and organizer of the Ohio Company; Major General Zachary Taylor, "Old Rough-and-Ready," hero of the Mexican War who rode into the White House on his military record; Major General John E. Wool who won fame in the Mexican and Civil Wars; Lieutenant General Winfield Scott, with distinguished service in three wars; Generals U. S. Grant, George B. McClellan, and William T. Sherman and Major General Daniel E. Sickles of the Civil War or, if you prefer, the War Between the States; and General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower. The Navy is also represented on our roll of members by such names as Rear Admiral George H. Preble of the Civil War; Rear Admiral George Dewey, hero of Manila Bay in the Spanish-American War; and Commander Robert E. Peary, discoverer of the North Pole, and the entire distinguished membership of the Naval History Society which we absorbed.

It also seems fitting that the Society with the largest collection of early American oil portraits should have had eminent artists



CHARLES WILLSON PEALE (1741–1827)
Painted from life by Benjamin West, 1767–69
Gift of Thomas J. Bryan, 1867

among its members and that all of them should be well represented in our galleries. And what a talented and interesting group they are! There is Colonel John Trumbull, patriot-painter of the Revolution, whose great historic paintings in the rotunda of the Capitol are admired each year by tens of thousands of visitors to Washington, whose best work is in his Trumbull Gallery at Yale, who was President of the American Academy and Vice-President of our Society. There is John Wesley Jarvis, the sprightly and popular New York portrait painter whose life by Harold E. Dickson was published by our Society in 1949. The much more distinguished Philadelphia portrait painter, father of a family of artists and museum promoter, Charles Willson Peale, was of our company and also Asher B. Durand, portrait, landscape, and figure painter and engraver, a founder and President of the National Academy. The talented and versatile William Dunlap, portrait painter, dramatist, theatrical producer, first historian of American art and theatre, a founder and Secretary of the National Academy, was an active member of our Society, which owns and has published his diaries. William Sidney Mount of Stony Brook, Long Island, portrait painter but more famous for his still-popular rural genre paintings; and Robert W. Weir, Professor of Drawing at West Point and well known in his day as a portrait and figure painter whose Hudson River landscapes are still in demand, belonged to our group of artists.

A much better remembered artist is the portrait painter and Professor of Art at New York University, Samuel F. B. Morse, whose greatest fame, however, is in the field of invention. George Catlin was first a portrait and miniature painter but his lasting reputation rests on his paintings and sketches of the Indian life of the West, made popular on two continents by his illustrated books and his exhibitions. Our Society owns one of the large collections of his drawings of Indian life.

Our member, John Rogers, made sculpture popular, understandable, and available at modest cost to everyone. In great demand during and after the Civil War, his delightful small sculptured groups lost their popularity for a time but are now

eagerly sought once more. Our virtually complete collection of his published works, together with other privately made portraits and groups, have their own permanent gallery, and we own a large collection of his letters and papers as well. Dr. Alexander Anderson, father of American wood-engraving, and our Honorary Member, is largely represented in our Library, including the charming woodcut of St. Nicholas, executed for our Society. And we are happy that we still have with us the distinguished portrait painter, Mr. DeWitt M. Lockman, N.A., former President of the National Academy and of the Allied Artists of America, Chairman of the National Association of Portrait Painters, Recording Secretary, Patron, and Medalist of this Society, whose more than 500 portraits will remain his permanent monument.

We are proud that our members are doers and not merely scholarly philosophers. Who was it who introduced the method of vaccination with cowpox virus as a preventive of smallpox? Our member, the English physician, Dr. Edward Jenner. Who went around the world with Captain Cook to collect biological specimens and became a famous botanist and President of England's Royal Society? Our member, Sir Joseph Banks. Who continued the discoveries of the great English astronomer, Sir William Herschel? Our member, his talented son, Sir John F. W. Herschel who was also distinguished as a chemist and did much to improve photography. Who was the well-known early American botanist and writer on fish and shells, who taught at Transylvania University and wrote numerous books of travel and American history? Our member, Constantine S. Rafinesque. Who was the first important American geologist, a Scotch philanthropist and the founder of New Harmony and other idealistic communities? Our member, William Maclure. Who was the great American navigator whose manual on the subject has been standard since 1802? Our member, Nathaniel Bowditch. Who are the men who built the first practical steamboat, invented the telegraph, laid the first Atlantic cable, began the modern navy by building the *Monitor*, constructed the first suc-

cessful electromagnet, dynamo and transformer, and served as the first Director of the Smithsonian Institution? Our members, Robert Fulton, Samuel F. B. Morse, Cyrus W. Field, John Ericsson, and Joseph Henry.

America has been famous for her men of vision and of means who were also great and generous philanthropists. Many of them have had sufficient faith in the usefulness of our Society to become its members and Patrons. They include such distinguished citizens as John Jacob and William B. Astor, August Belmont, Peter Cooper, Edward H. Harriman, Abram S. Hewitt, Archer M. and Collis P. Huntington, James Lenox, J. Pierpont Morgan the Elder, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Cornelius Van Schaack Roosevelt, Russell Sage, Jacob Schiff, Cornelius and William K. Vanderbilt—the doers, the empire-builders of America.

Many distinguished scholars, thinkers, and valued public servants in Europe and in South and Central America have also been of our membership. Varied in abilities and temperament, they are alike only in that they have reached places of distinction in their own lands and in the estimation of other peoples as well. We are proud that these names are among them: Baron Randall Thomas Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury; Desideratus Cardinal Mercier who braved the invader during the occupation of Belgium in World War I; the brave and well-loved King Albert of Belgium; Britain's great Prime Minister, William E. Gladstone; François Marquis de Barbé-Marbois, Napoleon's Director of the Treasury, who sold Louisiana to the United States; and Otto Edward Leopold von Bismarck-Schönhausen, the Iron Duke, creator and first Chancellor of the once-powerful German Empire.

When we read this partial roster of the members of our Society, we may indeed be proud of the distinguished fellowship which, for a century and a half, has shown, by its association with us, its confidence in the importance and success of our undertakings. Membership in The New-York Historical Society carries with it a certain distinction for, throughout the years, it has been a goodly company.

GEORGE ALBERT ZABRISKIE (1868–1954)

Portrait by Henry R. Rittenberg, 1941

The New-York Historical Society

GEORGE ALBERT ZABRISKIE

1868–1954

THE New-York Historical Society has lost a devoted friend and munificent benefactor.

George Albert Zabriskie departed this life on January 2, 1954, at his home at Ormond Beach, Florida, in his eighty-sixth year.

Born in New York City on December 7, 1868, he was a typical American boy who took advantage of his birthright and became distinguished as businessman and scholar. He did not have the advantages of a college education but nevertheless became learned through study and was awarded the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws in 1942 by Rollins College as a "wise executive, generous philanthropist, artist and craftsman, scholarly historian and great merchant of material things."

He was awarded the Knight Order of the Crown [Belgian]; the Icelandic Falcon [Iceland]; and the Polonia Restituta [Poland] for outstanding work in the relief of the devastated countries during the first World War.

His many friends and associates know well his hobbies: the welcome Christmas reminder of short essays of his own choice in attractive bindings; his historical communications which appeared in *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly;* and the skillfully bound volumes so handsomely finished by his own hands.

A most loyal American, he was also a staunch advocate of carrying on the traditions of his native land. He became a member of the Society of Colonial Wars, the Society of the War of 1812 and of the Sons of the Revolution in the State of New York, of the last he was one of its most distinguished presidents.

George A. Zabriskie's greatest interest, however, was centered in The New-York Historical Society to which he was elected a life member on October 19, 1920. From then to the time of his

death, for over thirty-four years, his devotion was continuous as shown by the time and money he gave to the Society—his frequent gifts of items of art, museum material, books, maps and prints, and of funds such as a donation to establish a bindery. Because of this outstanding generosity, he was elected a Fellow in 1928 and a Patron in 1929.

Serving as Treasurer for ten years until 1939 when he was raised to the presidency of the Society, an office held for eight years, he gave liberally of his services. His most important achievements occurred while he was Treasurer during a time when the plant and operations of the Society underwent rapid expansion, the result of the sudden acquisition of wealth. Showing exceptional financial judgment in investing the Society's monies, he was able to pay a large part of the construction costs of the building from increased values of the principal sums, as well as establish an endowment fund that earned an income which more than covered the operations of the Society. It was at this time that the policy was first put into effect of laying aside any excess of annual income as a general fund of income for use only in time of actual need.

His discernment and sound advice while planning the building, with recognition of important details of construction and formal supervision of the actual work, accomplished much in making the building and its furnishings the most outstanding of its kind.

Deciding to make our picture galleries the most up-to-date in the country he journeyed to Europe, accompanied by the director at that time, in order to observe and investigate the foremost ones in France and Holland. After careful studies, he brought back plans and materials to make our galleries the most practical in America. Those of us who were associated with him at this time marveled at his ability in so many ways as an executive with broad vision, ingenuity and determination to place The New-York Historical Society in the forefront of institutions of its kind.

As President he showed his leadership in directing the affairs of the Society in a judicious and kindly manner, guiding the activities of the Board of Trustees for the benefit of the public and advancement of American history.

The Board awarded him the Society's Distinguished Service Medal in 1937 while he still held the office of Treasurer and at a meeting in the spring of 1946 "being desirous of expressing its appreciation of the quarter century of generous and devoted service and outstanding leadership" presented him with an engrossed testimonial signed by each member.

On retiring from the presidency in January, 1947, he was unanimously given the title of Honorary President for life.

Although these honors show the appreciation in which he was held by the Board, the greatest memorials to his generosity and services are the gifts (both tangible and intangible) which he has left behind him.

With the coming of spring once more, when the cherry blossoms bloom in Central Park, we will be unable to welcome George A. Zabriskie to our Board meetings but his memory, we are sure, will be found engraved upon every heart of his associates.

Dated at New York the 27th of January, 1954

DeWitt M. Lockman
Recording Secretary

Fenwick Beekman
President

THE WRITINGS OF GEORGE A. ZABRISKIE

by Charles E. Baker

WHEN OUR BELOVED Honorary President, George A. Zabriskie, died in his eighty-sixth year on January 2, 1954, he left an impressive contribution of booklets, pamphlets, articles, reports, and reviews on a wide range of historical and biographical subjects. For the interest of his host of friends and admirers, those writings which appeared in our *Quarterly* or other Society publications or which embodied and described some of the Society's rich and varied holdings, are listed in two groupings chronologically below.

Excluded are his writings on other subjects or in the periodicals published for the great flour and sugar industries which claimed so much of his attention and energy. Yet some of the articles excluded reflect the interests which made him prominent not only in those industries but also in such societies as ours, the Holland Society, the Grolier Club, the Salmagundi Club, India House, the Sons of the Revolution, the Society of Colonial Wars, and the Society of the War of 1812. For instance, his article on "G. Washington Engages a Miller," in *The Northwestern Miller* of December 22, 1943, embodying Washington's letters to Oliver Evans, inventor of the grain elevator, and Mr. Zabriskie's address at the 1940 unveiling of a memorial to Evans in Trinity Churchyard, might appropriately have appeared in our own *Quarterly*.

Also excluded are Mr. Zabriskie's official letters and reports as United States Flour Administrator, United States Sugar Administrator, Chief of the Distribution Division of the United States Food Administration, President of the United States Sugar Equalization Board, and Director of the United States Grain Corporation, during and following World War I. Some of those letters—to President Wilson, Food Administrator Herbert

Hoover, Secretary of Agriculture D. F. Houston, the War Trade Board head Lawrence Bennett, the American Refiners' Committee chairman James H. Post, and others—are published in Joshua Bernhardt's *Government Control of the Sugar Industry* . . . (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920), which devotes some half-hundred pages to Mr. Zabriskie's services in the War Government. And Albert N. Merritt's *War Time Control of Distribution of Foods* (also published by Macmillan in 1920) helps to round out the picture. There we learn that Mr. Zabriskie's experience in having built up "one of the greatest flour distributing organizations in the world . . . rendered his services *necessary* to the Food Administration." Long afterwards his wartime achievements were so highly valued by the industries over which he had exercised control that the United States Sugar Association elected him its president and invited him to become the national arbiter of the newly organized sugar industry with power virtually to write his own ticket (see *New York Sun*, January 11, 1928). But in those years he was making history—not writing it—so those official products of his pen (of which any complete history of World War I and its aftermath must take cognizance) are not listed here.

Also excluded are most of those charming gift books—dressed always in an intimate but appropriate format and with a characteristically gracious Zabriskian introduction—which Mr. Zabriskie privately printed and distributed to his friends every Christmas beginning with that of 1924 and not ending before the one just celebrated in 1953. To refresh your memories, their titles, as they stand in a long row among the resplendent hand-tooled volumes of his craftsmanship in the fine-books section of our library, are recited here:

1924 *Eneas Africanus* by Harry Stillwell Edwards
1925 *The Horse Shoe* . . .
1926 *The Gift of the Magi* . . . by O. Henry
1927 *Phantom Falls* . . . [by William Henry Harrison Murray]
1927 *The Albatross* by Frank Waters

The Writings of George A. Zabriskie

1928 "*An' the Way They Had*" [From London *Punch*, July 13, 1927]

1929 *The Mansion* by Henry Van Dyke

1930 *A Visit from St. Nicholas by Clement C. Moore* by George A. Zabriskie

1931 *Christmas: Its Observance and Ancient Customs Culled from Original Manuscripts . . . in . . . The New-York Historical Society* by George A. Zabriskie

1932 *Old Christmas: from the Sketch Book of Washington Irving . . .*

1933 *The Bon Vivant's Companion, or How to Mix Drinks . . .* by George A. Zabriskie

1934 *The Spirit of Christmas* [by Charles] Dickens

1935 *Stenelaus and Amylde: A Christmas Legend*

1936 *The Return of Mr. Pickwick*

1937 *Father Gaucher's Elixir* by Alphonse Daudet (translated by G. Robinson)

1938 *Pipe All Hands: A Collection of Salty Verse*

1939 *The World and the Door* by O. Henry

1940 "*The White-Aproned Man.*" A sermon by Rev. Kennison Juniper

1940 *Songs of the Azooks, Being a Collection of Verse and Worse Sung by that Honorable Society of Golfers. By One of 'em.*

1941 *Stephen Collins Foster, Song Writer* by George A. Zabriskie

1942 *A New Year's Present* [Reprint in facsimile of "A New Year's Present to the Little Ones from Five to Twelve" (New York: 1821)]

1943 [In the introduction to his 1942 gift book, Mr. Zabriskie predicted that "with good paper hard to get, binders' cloth and boards taboo, no more buckram or metal plates, it looks as tho' this copy of the first Christmas book will be my last." Luckily, these hurdles proved too high for Mr. Zabriskie to clear only in 1943.]

1944 *William Phips (1651–1695) An Uncommon Man* by George A. Zabriskie

1945 *A Little about Washington Irving* by George A. Zabriskie

1946 *Ships' Figureheads in and about New York* by George A. Zabriskie

1947 *The Pathfinder* by George A. Zabriskie

1948 *The Bon Vivant's Companion . . . Containing directions for mixing most of the beverages used in America . . .* Compiled for His Friends by George A. Zabriskie

1949 *John Brown: Saint or Sinner?* by George A. Zabriskie

1950 *The Story of a Priceless Treasure: The Original Water Colors of John James Audubon* by George A. Zabriskie

1951 *Perry's Expedition to Japan 1853–1854* by George A. Zabriskie
1952 *O Henry's "A Ruler of Men"* Reproduced for the delectation of his friends by George A. Zabriskie
1953 *Between Shipmates* by James B. Connolly

Mr. Zabriskie as an author and amateur historian needs no introduction in this place, for the titles listed below speak for themselves, and readers of this *Quarterly* will readily remember that in 1929 he established the Society's bindery at his own expense; that ten years later the Society exhibited its collection of his beautifully hand-finished bindings; that in 1937 he accompanied Director Wall on a tour of European museums and galleries "in search of light" for our new building and later in the same year received a gold medal "in Appreciation of Distinguished Service Rendered the Society"; that he was elected President of the Society in 1939 after ten years of brilliant service as its Treasurer; and that when he resigned the presidency in 1947 upon completion of eight fruitful years in that office, a grateful Society showed its appreciation by making him its Honorary President.

His friends will recall that in 1942 Rollins College, recognizing his qualities as "wise executive, generous philanthropist, artist and craftsman, scholarly historian and great merchant of material things, but greater merchant of good will among men," conferred upon him the honorary degree Doctor of Laws. They will remember, too, that several foreign governments recognized his services as a "merchant of good will among men" by honoring him with lofty decorations, including the Knight Order of the Crown of Belgium, the Icelandic Falcon of Iceland, and the Order of Polonia Restituta of Poland.

Members of this Society, recalling the easy charm and verve of his writing as reflected in the titles printed below, will also remember how greatly the holdings of the Society have been enriched by his many discriminating gifts and that more than one of its publications saw the light of print through his per-

sonal generosity. We grieve that his long and useful life is ended —that his warm and ready pen is still. But always we shall know his active and discerning mind and his courtly spirit in what he wrote.

ARTICLES, REPORTS, REVIEWS

"Report of the Treasurer . . ." *Annual Report . . . of The New-York Historical Society* (New York: 1929–39).

For the year *1928:* pp. 46–55; *1929:* pp. 53–62; *1930:* pp. 49–58; *1931:* pp. 46–55; *1932:* pp. 34–43; *1933:* pp. 29–37; *1934:* pp. 29–37; *1935:* pp. 37–45; *1936:* pp. 43–51; *1937:* pp. 36–44; *1938:* pp. 44–52.

[Address of Welcome by George A. Zabriskie] quoted in "Historical Cruise," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXIII:4 (October 1939), pp. 116–117.

Cruise, September 14, 1939, of the steamship *Alexander Hamilton*, chartered by Mr. Zabriskie to commemorate the 330th anniversary of the discovery of the Hudson River, the members of The New-York Historical Society being his guests.

"Marine Museum Collection," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXIII:4 (October 1939), p. 143.

Mr. Zabriskie's first published communication as President of the Society.

[The Year 1939] "Report of the President," *NYHS Annual Report . . . 1939* (New York: 1940), p. 9.

Discusses the re-opening of the Society's building and the year's activities therein.

[Anthropological Studies in Florida] "President Zabriskie's Communication," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXIV:1 (January 1940), pp. 3–4.

Describes the *Marineland* Aquarium near St. Augustine and discusses the excavation of a near-by Indian mound dating back to pre-Spanish times.

[Two Pictures Relating to the Indian Wars in Florida] "President Zabriskie's Communication," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXIV:2 (April 1940), 39–43, illus.

The story behind August Köllner's watercolor, 1883, of *Jackson and the Indian Babe* after the battle of Tallushatchee in the Creek War, and the story of *Osceola the Seminole* (*c.* 1800–1838), whose portrait was painted in the year of his death by George Catlin.

[The Making of a Book] "President Zabriskie's Communication," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXIV:3 (July 1940), pp. 71–74, illus.

Describes the "five processes" in the making of a book, from author, through printer, binder, and forwarder, to finisher. Illustrated with photographs of books finished by Mr. Zabriskie and on exhibition in the Society's Museum, 1940.

[Cleopatra's Needle] "The President's Communication," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXIV:4 (October 1940), pp. 103–112, illus.

The history of the obelisk and the placing of a tablet thereon, at Park Commissioner Moses' invitation, by The New-York Historical Society.

[1940—A Fateful Year] "Report of the President," *NYHS Annual Report . . . 1940* (New York: 1941), pp. 7–8.

Discusses the preservation of documents and works of art in wartime.

[William Sawitzky] "The President's Communication," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXV:1 (January 1941), pp. 3–9, illus.

Biographical sketch and appreciation, occasioned by the inauguration in 1940 of Mr. Sawitzky's course in early American painting in the Society's auditorium under the auspices of the Society and the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University.

[The General Horatio Gates Papers of the NYHS] "The President's Communication," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXV:2 (April 1941), pp. 43–47, illus.

Evaluation of these important papers and proposal to publish them in the *Collections* of the Society.

"Stephen Collins Foster," in the souvenir program *In Commemoration of Stephen Collins Foster, July 4, 1826–January 13, 1864* (New York: the Society, June 11, 1941). 8 pp. in paper cover, illus.

Mr. Zabriskie's summary of Foster's career, which occupies 2 of the 8 pages of the souvenir program, was expanded by him into a 37-page booklet with illustrations and examples, issued from Ormond Beach, Florida, under the title *Stephen Collins Foster, Song Writer* as his 1941 Christmas gift book.

[Buckingham Smith, 1810–1871] "The President's Communication," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXV:3 (July 1941), pp. 91–95, illus.

The story of the unveiling of a tablet to the eminent historian at St. Augustine, Florida, April 3, 1941, and of The New-York Historical Society's participation therein.

[John Gorrie, M.D., 1802–1855] "The President's Communication," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXV:4 (October 1941), pp. 123–127, illus.

The first biographical sketch of the obscure inventor of the process of manufacturing ice.

"Rainbow on the River," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXV:4 (October 1941), p. 143.

Description of the George W. Murdock Collection of Hudson River Steamboats, bequeathed to the Society, 1941.

[Regardless of War] "Report of the President," *NYHS Annual Report . . . 1941* (New York: 1942), p. 7

The Society carries on.

[Herodotus and Historical Societies in Massachusetts] "The President's Communication," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXVI:1 (January 1942), pp. 3–4.

[Johnny Appleseed] "The President's Communication," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXVI:2 (April 1942), pp. 27–28.

A myth of American folklore and recent researches into its origin.

[The Thompson Homestead at East Hampton] "The President's Communication," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXVI:3 (July 1942), pp. 51–54, illus.

History of the homestead and of Charles Griswold Thompson, the Society's benefactor, in whose memory the Society maintained it as a Memorial.

[Astrolabes] "The President's Communication," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXVI:4 (October 1942), pp. 75–79, illus.

Description of the Samuel V. Hoffman Collection, bequeathed to the Society. Reprinted with additions.

[The War Emergency and The New-York Historical Society] "Report of the President," *NYHS Annual Report . . . 1942* (New York: 1943), pp. 9–10, illus.

[Henri I of Haiti] "The President's Communication," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXVII:1 (January 1943), pp. 3–9, illus.

Account of Henri Christophe (1767–1820), first and only monarch of the Black Republic, occasioned by two imprints from *Chez P. Roux, imprimeur de Sa Majesté* owned by the Society.

[Lue Gim Gong, 1860–1925] "The President's Communication," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXVII:2 (April 1943), pp. 31–34, illus.

Account of the Chinese horticulturist of De Land, Florida, who developed the orange that bears his name and contributed greatly to the cultivation of other citrus fruits.

"Charles Courtney," in the printed program: *Lecture and Musical Entertainment—Strawberry Festival . . . June 7, 1943* (New York: printed for the Society, 1943). 1 page of 4-page folder.

Account of the Assistant National Chief of Staff, Marine Corps League, who lectured before the Society on "Unlocking Adventure," June 7, 1943.

"Victor Herbert (1859–1924)," in the printed program: *Lecture and Musical Entertainment—Strawberry Festival . . . June 7, 1943* (New York: printed for the Society, 1943). 1 page of 4-page folder.

"The Flag of the Free," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXVII:3 (July 1943), pp. 55–61, illus.

The story of our Republic's first battle-flags—the fore-runners of Old Glory—and conflicting claims evaluated.

"Why We Are Called Americans," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXVII:4 (October 1943), pp. 79–86, illus.

Rival claims of Columbus and Vespucci weighed, and the careers of the two men compared, with a *Note* on an effort to change the name of the country some hundred years ago. Also issued separately.

[The Society's Wartime Program] "Report of the President," *NYHS Annual Report . . . 1943* (New York: 1944), pp. 9–10.

"Verrazano," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXVIII:1 (January 1944), pp. 3–10, illus.

The evidence for and against the claim that Giovanni da Verrazano was the first discoverer of New York Harbor in 1524, with a discussion of the Globe of Ulpius as clinching the case in the affirmative. Issued separately under the title: *New York's First Visitor.*

"Sunken Treasure and the *Hussar*," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXVII:2 (April 1944), pp. 35–41.

English gold wrecked in Hell Gate during the Revolution and the story of recurrent attempts to salvage it, with an introduction concerning William Phips's salvage of sunken treasure from the Spanish Main.

"Alexander J. Wall—A Eulogy," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXVIII:3 (July 1944), pp. 67–71, port.

An appreciation of the Society's first Director and his 46 years at the Society, ended by death April 15, 1944.

"The Chesapeake Affair," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXVIII:4 (October 1944), pp. 117–128, illus.

The story of H.M.S. *Leopard's* attack on the U.S.S. *Chesapeake*, 1807, of Commodore James Barron's court martial, 1808, and of his duel with Stephen Decatur, 1820. Also issued separately.

[The 140th Anniversary Year of the Society] "Report of the President," *NYHS Annual Report . . . 1944* (New York: 1945), pp. 9–11, illus.

"A Little about Washington Irving," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXIX:1 (January 1945), pp. 5–15, illus.

An account of the author of *Knickerbocker's History*, occasioned by the Society's exhibition, 1944–45, of "The World of Washington Irving." Among the illustrations is a halftone of an oil sketch by Mr. Zabriskie of a "Moorish Flour Mill on the Guadalquivir at Cordova" where Irving had gathered material in 1828.

"From Swords to Ploughshares," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXIX:2 (April 1945), pp. 69–75, illus.

The problem of reabsorbing the Veteran into civilian life as illustrated by American experience after other wars. Also issued separately.

"Franklin Delano Roosevelt," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXIX:3 (July 1945), pp. 133–136, port.

An appreciation of our late President with an account of his death. Portrait by DeWitt M. Lockman, N.A.

"Landing of Ponce de Leon in Florida 1513," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXIX:4 (October 1945), pp. 197–202, illus.

The rival claims of St. Augustine and Miami as the site of the first landing discussed. Issued separately.

"Two Trustees of This Society Honored," *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXIX:4 (October 1945), pp. 255–256.

Arthur Hastings Merritt, D.D.S., M.Sc., Sc.D., and LeRoy Elwood Kimball, A.B., A.M., LL.D., honored by New York University, Dr. Merritt by the bestowal of an honorary degree, Mr. Kimball by appointment as Vice Chancellor in addition to his office of Comptroller.

"*Recommended Readings for the Florida Centennial* . . . by A. J. Hanna" [book review], *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin*, XXIX:4 (October 1945), pp. 243–244.

[The Most Momentous Year in History] "Report of the President," *NYHS Annual Report . . . 1945* (New York: 1946), pp. 9–11, illus.

"Ships' Figureheads in and about New York," *NYHS Quarterly*, XXX:1 (January 1946), pp. 5–16, illus. Also issued separately.

"*The First Americans in North Africa* . . . , by Wright and Macleod" [book review], *NYHS Quarterly*, XXX:1 (January 1946), pp. 43–44.

"The Story of a Priceless Art Treasure: The Original Water Colors of John James Audubon," *NYHS Quarterly*, XXX:2 (April 1946), pp. 69–76, illus. Also issued separately.

"*Soldier of Liberty, Casimir Pulaski*, by Clarence A. Manning" [book review], XXX:2 (April 1946), pp. 112–113.

"Parallels and Contrasts [between the American careers of Lafayette and Kosciuzko]," *NYHS Quarterly*, XXX:3 (July 1946), pp. 133–141, illus. Also issued separately.

"*Johnny Appleseed, A Voice in the Wilderness: The Story of the Pioneer, John Chapman*, by Leslie Marshall" [book review], *NYHS Quarterly*, XXX:3 (July 1946), p. 184.

"Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry," *NYHS Quarterly*, XXX:4 (October 1946), pp. 197–207. Also issued separately.

"*Men and Power*, by Henry J. Taylor" [book review], *NYHS Quarterly*, XXX:4 (October 1946), pp. 255–257.

[1946: "With this report, having completed eight years, your President takes his leave"] "Report of the President," *NYHS Annual Report . . . 1946* (New York: 1947), pp. 9–10.

"The Pathfinder [John Charles Fremont (1831–1890)]," *NYHS Quarterly*, XXXI:1 (January 1947), pp. 5–17, illus.

"*A Prince in Their Midst: The Adventurous Life of Achille Murat on the American Frontier*, by A. J. Hanna" [book review], *NYHS Quarterly*, XXXI:1 (January 1947), pp. 51–53.

"The Society's New President: Fenwick Beekman, M.D.," *NYHS Quarterly*, XXXI:2 (April 1947), pp. 65–67, portrait frontis.

"*Lost Men of American History*, by Stewart H. Holbrook" [book review], *NYHS Quarterly*, XXXI:3 (July 1947), pp. 166–167.

"*Early Memories of Gardiner's Island . . .*, by Sarah Diodati Gardiner" [book review], *NYHS Quarterly*, XXXI:4 (October 1947), pp. 233–234.

"*Howe & Hummel . . .*, by Richard H. Rovere" [book review], *NYHS Quarterly*, XXXII:2 (April 1948), pp. 125–126.

"*Lake Okeechobee, Wellspring of the Everglades*, by Alfred Jackson Hanna & Kathryn Abbey Hanna" [book review], *NYHS Quarterly*, XXXII:3 (July 1948), pp. 225–227.

"*Anson Jones: The Last President of Texas*, by Herbert Gambrell; *Rehearsal for Conflict: The War with Mexico 1846–1848*, by Alfred Hoyt Bill" [book review], *NYHS Quarterly*, XXXII:4 (October 1948), pp. 301–303.

"*Our Unknown Ex-President: A Portrait of Herbert Hoover*, by Eugene Lyons" [book review], *NYHS Quarterly*, XXXII:4 (October 1948), pp. 303–304.

"John Brown: Saint or Sinner?" *NYHS Quarterly*, XXXIII:1 (January 1949), pp. 31–38, illus.

"*The Alamo*, by John Myers Myers" [book review], *NYHS Quarterly*, XXXIII:4 (October 1949), pp. 272–276.

"Bookplates: The Oliver Clement Sheean Collection," *NYHS Quarterly*, XXXIV:1 (January 1950), pp. 59–64, illus.

"*When New York Was Called Angoulême*, by Jacques Habert" [book review], *NYHS Quarterly*, XXXIV:3 (July 1950), pp. 235–236.

"*Frontier Justice*, by Wayne Gard" [book review], *NYHS Quarterly*, XXXV:1 (January 1951), pp. 98–100.

"*The People's General: The Personal Story of Lafayette*, by Donald Loth" [book review], *NYHS Quarterly*, XXXV:3 (July 1951), pp. 322–326.

"*The Four Seasons of Manuela. . . : The Love Story of Manuela Sáenz and Simón Bolívar*, by Victor W. von Hagen" [book review], *NYHS Quarterly*, XXXVI:4 (October 1952), p. 467.

PAMPHLETS AND BOOKLETS

A Visit from St. Nicholas by Clement C. Moore with a facsimile of the autographed copy of the poem from the archives of The New-York Historical Society (Cliffdale, Alpine on the Hudson, N.J.: 1930). 12 pp., illus.

Mr. Zabriskie's introduction gives the history of the poem and its printings. Bound in boards, illuminated. Mr. Zabriskie's Christmas gift book for 1930.

Christmas, Its Observances and Ancient Customs, Culled from Original Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of The New-York Historical Society but Never Published (Cliffdale, Alpine on the Hudson, N.J.: 1931). xi + 5 + [1] pp., frontispiece.

Bound in boards, illuminated. Mr. Zabriskie's Christmas gift book for 1931. The introduction clothes its erudition in a particularly felicitous Yuletide charm.

The New York Obelisk, "Cleopatra's Needle," from Egypt to Central Park (New York: 1940). 10 pp., illus.

The history of the famous obelisk and its international peregrinations with an account of the placing of a tablet upon it by this Society. Reprinted from the *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin* for October 1940.

Stephen Collins Foster, July 4, 1826–January 13, 1864, Song Writer ("The Doldrums" Ormond Beach, Florida: 1941). 37 pp., illus., hand-colored.

An expansion of Mr. Zabriskie's summary of Foster's career in the Society's souvenir program commemorating the great song writer, June 11, 1941, with a selection of Foster's work and richly illustrated. Bound in boards. Mr. Zabriskie's Christmas gift book for 1941.

A Story of Astrolabes (New York: 1942). 13 pp., illus., frontis., map.

The Samuel V. Hoffman Collection at The New-York Historical Society, including the story of the discovery of the famous Champlain Astrolabe with Mr. Zabriskie's original map of the course of Champlain's explorations, showing the spot where he lost his astrolabe overboard. Reprinted with additions from the *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin* for October 1942.

Presentation of The New-York Historical Society's Gold Medal for Achievement in History to George Clinton Densmore Odell in the Auditorium of the Society, New York City, October 23, 1942 (New York: 1943). 44 pp., portraits.

Mr. Zabriskie's welcoming remarks will be found on p. 8
His introduction of Dr. Joseph Wood Krutch, p. 9
His introduction of Dr. Arthur Hobson Quinn, p. 15
His introduction of Mr. Walter Hampden, p. 21
His introduction of Dr. Walter Prichard Eaton, p. 24
His introduction of Dr. William Lyon Phelps, p. 28
His expression of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler's regrets, p. 36
His presentation of the medal to Dr. Odell, p. 37
His closing remarks, p. 44

Charles E. Baker

Henri I, King of Haiti (New York: 1943). 13 pp., illus., frontis., map.

A reprint, with additions, of Mr. Zabriskie's article in the *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin* for January 1943.

Why We Are Called Americans (New York: 1943). 12 pp., illus.

Rival claims of Columbus and Vespucci to first discovery of the American continents resolved in the former's favor with an explanation of how the latter came to be given the credit and a description of efforts to rectify the error. Reprinted from the *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin* for October 1943.

New York's First Visitor (New York: 1944). 11 pp., illus., frontis., map.

An account of Giovanni da Verrazano's discovery of New York Harbor in 1524. Reprinted from the *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin* for January 1944.

The Chesapeake Affair (New York: 1944). 16 pp., illus.

Includes an account of Commodore Barron's court martial and of his duel with Stephen Decatur. Reprinted from the *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin* for October 1944.

William Phips (1651–1695) An Uncommon Man ("The Doldrums" Ormond Beach, Florida: 1944). 9 pp. + 4 plates.

An account of the successful search conducted by the first Governor-to-be of Massachusetts for sunken Spanish treasure in West Indian waters. Contains the introductory material from the author's "Sunken Treasure and the *Hussar*" in the *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin* for April 1944. Bound in boards, gold stamped on cloth. Mr. Zabriskie's Christmas gift book for 1944.

From Swords to Ploughshares (New York: 1945). 11 pp., illus.

The history of the reabsorption of our veterans of past wars into civilian life with a suggested solution of the problem to follow the present war. Reprinted from the *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin* for April 1945.

Landing of Ponce de Leon in Florida 1513 (New York: 1945). 10 pp., illus.

A discussion of the conflicting claims concerning the spot where the great discoverer first set foot upon the American mainland. Reprinted from the *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin* for October 1945.

A Little About Washington Irving ("The Doldrums" Ormond Beach, Florida: 1945). 19 pp., illus.

A reprint, with additions, from the *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin* for January 1945. Bound in boards, gold stamped on cloth. Mr. Zabriskie's Christmas gift book for 1945.

Parallels and Contrasts (New York: 1946). 14 pp., illus., paper bound.

A reprint, with additions, from the *NYHS Quarterly* for July 1946, it presents a comparison of the American careers of Lafayette and Kosciuzko.

Ships' Figureheads in and about New York ("The Doldrums" Ormond Beach, Florida: 1946). 21 pp., illus.

A reprint, with additions, from the *NYHS Quarterly* for January 1946. Bound in boards, gold stamped on cloth. Mr. Zabriskie's Christmas gift book for 1946.

The Pathfinder ("The Doldrums" Ormond Beach, Florida: 1947). 24 pp., illus.

The story of John Charles Frémont (1813–1890), his expeditions, public life, honors, and contributions. Reset, with additions, from the *NYHS Quarterly* for January 1947. Bound in boards, gold stamped on cloth. Mr. Zabriskie's Christmas gift book for 1947.

John Brown: Saint or Sinner? ("The Doldrums" Ormond Beach, Florida: 1949). 20 pp., illus.

Reset, with additions, from the *NYHS Quarterly* for January 1949. Bound in boards, gold stamped on cloth. Mr. Zabriskie's Christmas gift book for 1949.

John Gorrie, M.D.: Inventor of Artificial Respiration ("The Doldrums" Ormond Beach, Florida: 1950). 12 pp., illus.

Reset, with additions, from the *NYHS Quarterly Bulletin* for October 1941. Bound in boards, gold stamped on cloth. Distributed in support of Gorrie's candidacy for recognition by the Electors to the Hall of Fame.

The Story of a Priceless Treasure: The Original Water Colors of John James Audubon ("The Doldrums" Ormond Beach, Florida: 1950). 19 pp., 10 illus., 3 in color.

Reset, with additions, from the *NYHS Quarterly* for April 1946. Bound in boards, gold stamped on cloth. Mr. Zabriskie's Christmas gift book for 1950.

Perry's Expedition to Japan 1853–1854 ("The Doldrums" Ormond Beach, Florida: 1951). 26 pp., illus.

A revised printing, with additions, of Mr. Zabriskie's "Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry," *NYHS Quarterly* for October 1946. Bound in boards, gold stamped on cloth. Mr. Zabriskie's Christmas gift book for 1951.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Autobiography of Colonel John Trumbull. Edited by THEODORE SIZER. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1953. xxiii + 404 pages, 4 illus. $6.00)

When William Dunlap wrote the first history of American art he mingled faint praise with sly denigration of the "emphatically well-born" John Trumbull. Nearly a century later Professor Sizer undertook the heavy task of establishing the truth about the complex Colonel, and in the past twenty-seven years has come to know Trumbull better than Trumbull knew himself. Disentangling the true and the false among the artist's works, he published a check list in 1950, and planned a biography of his subject, but wisely decided that a fully annotated new edition of Trumbull's *Autobiography* would have greater authenticity.

The original, issued in 1841 when Trumbull was eighty-five, met little response at the time and has been a source of frustration to subsequent readers. Although it contained lively passages about its author's military career, his travels, his friendship with Jefferson and the cooling of that friendship, the commission for the four Rotunda pictures in the Capitol, and other matters, it slighted or ignored equally important passages in Trumbull's life. The years from 1799 to 1804, for example, were not discussed by him at all; of his long connection with the American Academy he said practically nothing; and he was proudly reticent about the three women in his life.

In this new edition, Professor Sizer reproduces the main text of 1841 without change, and out of his knowledge of every last detail of Trumbull's life and with the aid of a vast collection of unpublished letters and papers, completes the picture. He corrects the Colonel's spelling, identifies the people, places and works of art mentioned, and deals at length with those aspects of Trumbull's life on which the starchy old gentleman was silent. When the artist says that he suffered from cholera in 1832, his editor corrects the diagnosis; when Trumbull remarks that Boston was a small town in the early 1800's, he gives us the population figures.

In addition to the running commentary of his footnotes, Sizer provides a 91-page appendix. Some of the briefer notes of this appendix might perhaps more effectively have been placed alongside the narrative itself; the more extended essays are wisely printed by themselves: the story of the young man's love for Harriet Wadsworth; the brief encounter with Temperance Ray which gave him an illegitimate son; the marriage with the mysterious Sarah Hope Harvey; Trumbull's relations with Benjamin Silliman; contemporary comments on his art; the Trumbull Gallery at Yale; the American Academy concerning which its ex-President was so

curiously silent. (A more exhaustive recent account of this institution by Sizer appears in volume one of Mary B. Cowdrey's *American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art-Union,* The New-York Historical Society, 1953). At the end of the appendix appears a supplement to the 1950 check list of drawings and paintings.

Out of this synthesis of Trumbull's self-revelation with the comments of his learned and sympathetic editor emerges a complete portrait of the man against the rich background of his place and time—Trumbull the soldier, the traveler, the dabbler in commerce, the propagandist, the diplomat. As for the artist, one learns here what books on art shaped his ideas, how the Copleyesque "hard-as-nails" manner of his earlier days was modified by West and Reynolds, and how vital an influence was exerted by David and Madame Vigée-LeBrun. Best of all, Sizer never tries to explain away the defects of his long-studied subject—the old-fashioned hauteur, the stubbornness, the opportunism, the inadequacies of Trumbull's pencil and brush. And the reader ends by sharing the editor's half-humorous affection for the Colonel as he was.

Silliman said of the original *Autobiography* that it was "gotten up in a dignified style" and would "adorn a gentleman's library." The Yale press has given this new edition a distinguished and beautiful form which is in all respects worthy of its content.

Smith College OLIVER W. LARKIN

Jeremiah Theus, Colonial Artist of Charles Town. By MARGARET SIMONS MIDDLETON. (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1953. xviii + 218 pages, 51 plates, catalogue of portraits, biblio., index. $4.50.)

Within recent years information concerning early American artists and their work has increased considerably, and much of this material has been made available in magazine articles and monographs. Among the latest of the monographs is the present useful little volume on Jeremiah Theus, the portrait painter active in Charleston, South Carolina, from 1740 until his death in 1774. One knows that by 1740 he was already active as an artist, for in that year he inserted an advertisement in a newspaper addressing himself to ladies and gentlemen who wished their portraits "drawn" or their coats of arms painted on their coaches. His death is noticed in the issue for March 14, 1774, of the same *South-Carolina Gazette* wherein he had advertised for patronage thirty-four years earlier. About two hundred of the portraits he painted between these years are recorded in the catalogue of the volume under review. Fifty-one of the portraits by or attributed to him are reproduced.

A brief overview of the principal artists who were painting in the

Colonies during the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century, grouped as to the style in which they painted, will show the position which Theus takes in the chronology of American art history. During the first two quarters of the century the artists painted in the Baroque style; during the third quarter, they painted in the Rococo manner which was fashionable until 1775. Even the very early work of John Singleton Copley and Charles Willson Peale who long outlived these mannerists is tinged with the Rococo influence.

The prominent Baroque painters, active between about 1730 and 1750, were: John Smibert, Robert Feke, John Greenwood, and Joseph Badger, all of whom painted in and about Boston. Feke also painted in Philadelphia. It was precisely in 1750 that both Smibert and Feke stopped painting; while John Greenwood was relatively inactive before sailing for Surinam in 1752. Joseph Badger alone continued to paint portraits in his primitive out-moded manner until his death in 1765.

Then the Rococo style became the fashion. Jeremiah Theus was one of the four prominent Rococo painters active during the following quarter of a century, that is from 1750 to 1775. These painters, besides Jeremiah Theus of Charleston, were John Wollaston and Joseph Blackburn, both of London, and John Hesselius of Philadelphia and Annapolis. John Wollaston painted numerous portraits in New York, Annapolis, Philadelphia, Virginia, and Charleston, returning to London in 1767. Joseph Blackburn worked exclusively in New England from 1755 to 1765. John Hesselius worked at Annapolis, as well as Philadelphia and in Virginia. Jeremiah Theus spent his working career as a painter in Charleston.

In writing of these artists as prominent painters, I mean that they were those who have left a greater number of portraits of artistic quality than their contemporaries. All of them, except Jeremiah Theus, have been written about adequately and their work is fairly well known by reproduction. Considering his position among this group of painters by reason of the quality and quantity of his work, Mrs. Middleton has made a distinct contribution to the history of early American painting in assembling all that is thus far known about Jeremiah Theus and his work.

His work, with a discussion of the possible foreign influences on the artist, is reviewed in a very scholarly introduction by Miss Anna Wells Rutledge, who remarks of the artist: "Theus was not a painter in the *baroque style*." Indeed Theus was essentially a Rococo painter. The distinguishing features of the two styles are shown very readily by comparing the characterization, composition, and technique of the Baroque portraits with these features in the Rococo portraits. Whereas in the Baroque portraits the expressions are, generally, serious, those in the Rococo portraits are, generally, gay or smiling. The composition, that is the placement of the sitters, is similar except that in Baroque portraits

in which there is a painted mat, this is sometimes painted in part as if to imitate a wooden frame; whereas in Rococo portraits the mat is generally a flat area showing a clearly defined oval. Of course in both styles the mat is frequently omitted. It is in technique that the greatest difference is apparent. Technically the Baroque portraits are painted somewhat more heavily than the Rococo portraits. The painting in the latter is generally thin, and the costumes are depicted with the same care as that used on the invariably smiling faces. The difference in the textures of the costumes are delightfully contrasted. Laces, pearl necklaces, and other personal adornment are all painted minutely. This is the manner in which Theus painted.

The two excellent portraits of Elizabeth Rothmaler and Polly Ouldfield, in which there are traces of the Baroque in the slight ornament bulging out at the lower end of the oval mat, are typical Rococo portraits in characterization and technique. The characterization of the sitters as bright and alert young women is quite convincing. One of the portraits, which I have seen, is a beautiful example of brushwork. Both portraits are as charming in their way as some of those by John Hesselius. One wonders if the two artists ever met.

One wonders also if Theus ever met Wollaston. Miss Rutledge writes: "apparently only Wollaston challenged him locally for any time." He probably met the fashionable London painter who was in Charleston when Theus was there. The precept as well as the example of the painter trained in London might explain why Theus was able to undertake and to carry out so successfully the handsome three-quarter-length portrait of Mrs. Peter Manigault which he painted as a pendant to a three-quarter-length portrait of Peter Manigault painted in England by Allan Ramsay. Two other three-quarter length portraits are reproduced, of Barnard Elliott, Jr., and his wife. One of the reproductions is after a full-length portrait of Ralph Izard as a boy of eight or ten. It recalls the delightful full-length portrait of Charles Calvert by John Hesselius.

To mention one more of the portraits: the half-length likeness of Elizabeth Allen must certainly rank with the best of the artist's work. It is of a very attractive, cheerful young woman with flowers. One would like to see the picture. It is admirably drawn; and looks like a pleasing work of art, as well as a family record and a colorful wall-decoration.

It remains to write of the text of the volume. Mrs. Middleton has made an exhaustive research into her subject, and manages to convey her interest in the artist to the reader. She furnishes the slight information there is to be found about the painter with notes on the happenings in Charleston during the dates that he was active there. One closes the volume with the thought that the wholly enjoyable book is likewise an indispensable work.

Librarian, Century Association THEODORE BOLTON

After the Hunt: William Harnett and Other American Still Life Painters 1870–1900. By ALFRED FRANKENSTEIN. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1953. v + 189 pages, 137 plates, catalogue and index. $10.00.)

The work of William Michael Harnett, the late nineteenth-century American painter of illusionistic still lifes was rediscovered in 1935. Since the first exhibition held soon afterwards, the majority of critics have tended to interpret Harnett's work in terms of modern art. Impressed by the flawless technique of painting and the meticulous realism with which he rendered assorted objects, many writers have considered Harnett as a precursor of Surrealism. Others have seen a prototype for Cubism in his abstractly arranged compositions. While such interpretations seemingly give a historical precedent for revolutionary art forms, they also help to account for the great popularity which Harnett's work has enjoyed in recent years.

In 1946, when Alfred Frankenstein started his researches, over one hundred paintings were attributed to Harnett. Despite the similarity in subject matter—arrangements of old books, card racks, mugs, and pipes—many of the pictures, including some of the signed ones bore little resemblance to one another. By skillfully combining documentary evidence patiently dug up, scientific laboratory examination of the actual paintings, and shrewd stylistic analysis, Frankenstein was able to separate the works of over thirty-five artists, all of whom produced illusionistic still-life paintings in America in the late nineteenth century. Men such as John Frederick Peto, John Haberle, and Jefferson Davis Chalfant have been rediscovered through the efforts of Frankenstein. More important, William Michael Harnett himself has emerged as an important figure in his own right, regardless of his so called modern quality.

It is rare that a scholar capable of making such an important contribution to art history is also able to write a fascinating and eminently readable account of his researches which will have a wide appeal. Fortunately, Mr. Frankenstein, who is Art and Music Critic on the *San Francisco Chronicle*, is such a person. Not only has he discovered an unusual and unknown phase of American art, but, equally important, he has been able lucidly to demonstrate to the public the manner in which an art historian works. Heretofore, it has not been possible for the layman to have a clear picture of the collaboration of the connoisseur, the researcher, and the laboratory man, all of whom played major parts in Frankenstein's work. Alfred Frankenstein has made an important contribution to art history and to historians.

THOMAS J. MCCORMICK, JR.

Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond

The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution. By EDMUND S. MORGAN and HELEN M. MORGAN. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va., 1953. x + 310 pages, index. $6.00.)

The Stamp Act was of course not just another tax measure, onerous though it would have been as that alone in the depression which blanketed America in 1765. It constituted in fact a cold-blooded effort to destroy the exclusive power of Colonial legislatures to impose taxes within the several Colonies. As such it meant not only taxation without representation; it also threatened every vestige of the political autonomy which successive Colonial assemblies had pried from royal officials with the lever of fiscal control. It is a curious reflection on the caliber of British and American leadership that so few foresaw the tumult which the Act would cause.

This attractively written, well-organized, and heavily documented study of the crisis by Edmund S. Morgan of Brown University and his wife stresses two important themes. It demonstrates, partly through biographical sketches of some of the victims, how the crisis was used by radical leaders to destroy their more conservative opponents. In this respect the book presents many fascinating dramas of political manipulation which left the Colonies with a new set of leaders who were soon to launch a revolution.

The second theme concerns the formulation of the ideological issue about which that revolution was to be fought. Here the authors have produced a brilliant interpretation clarifying constitutional positions which they indicate were deliberately obfuscated at the time and have never been completely unscrambled since. Simply stated, the American view, as the authors see it, was that Parliament could "legislate" for the Colonies, but could not tax them except for the regulation of commerce. This clashes with the older interpretation which had Americans accepting "external" but rejecting "internal" taxes. The majority in Parliament, everyone agrees, insisted that no qualification whatsoever limited its power over the Colonies. Conciliatory leaders, the authors imply, succeeded by clouding the two positions in confusing later historians as well as in patching up the quarrel temporarily, although the basic issue remained unresolved until the conclusion of the American Revolution. Should this new interpretation withstand the onslaughts of other scholars, as it seems likely to do in some measure at least, revision of our standard textbooks will be mandatory.

Despite its preoccupation with conservative figures, the book is marked by a strong sympathy for the most radical Colonial leaders. One suspects that should certain passages come to the attention of some superpatriots now remolding the American tradition—an unlikely event in view of the book's scholarly nature—questions might arise as to its

suitability for use in the schools and libraries of some American communities as well as in our overseas libraries, for its heroes not only advocated but used force and violence for the overthrow of the existing government. That it so reminds us is not the least interesting feature of this challenging work.

The most glaring omission of the authors, particularly striking in view of the book's "definitive" billing, is an adequate treatment of the non-importation movement which the authors themselves rate as "more effective" (p. 295) in securing repeal of the Stamp Act than was the Stamp Act Congress to which they devote a 13-page section. In general, however, the Institute of Early American History and Culture, sponsored by Colonial Williamsburg and the College of William and Mary, is to be congratulated for this ninth book in its fine series on our Colonial ancestors.

New York City PHILIP L. WHITE

A Bibliography of Oliver Wendell Holmes. By THOMAS FRANKLIN CURRIER. Edited by ELEANOR M. TILTON for the Bibliographical Society of America. (New York: New York University Press, 1953. xiv + 708 pages, indexed, illus. $20.00.)

It is no exaggeration to say that students of nineteenth century American literature have been looking forward to the appearance of this bibliography for more than a dozen years. The project was originally undertaken by the late Thomas Franklin Currier, well-known for the bibliography of Whittier he published in 1937. At the time of his death in 1946 his work on Holmes was about two-thirds finished. Two years later Eleanor M. Tilton, now Professor of English at Barnard College and author of *Amiable Autocrat*, an outstanding biography of Holmes, agreed to complete Mr. Currier's manuscript. The enterprise, which required another five years of demanding work, was sponsored by the Bibliographical Society of America. New York University Press agreed to publish. The result of this exacting effort and faithful support does high credit to all concerned. Mr. Currier and Miss Tilton have produced a bibliography in the broadest sense of the word, a tool which will not easily be superseded.

The plan of the Holmes bibliography plainly derives from Mr. Currier's *Whittier*, which in turn goes back to earlier models. One of these is George B. Ives' *Bibliography of Oliver Wendell Holmes*, published in 1907, an excellent work for its day, to which it would have been gracious, considering the similarity of their bibliography, of Mr. Currier and Miss Tilton to make some acknowledgment. In his time Mr. Ives had acknowledged his debt for this arrangement to George

Willis Cooke, who used it in his bibliographies of Lowell in 1906 and of Emerson in 1908.

The new Holmes bibliography has an orderly and comprehensive plan. The first part presents in 264 pages what from the strict point of view might be called the essential bibliography, the description of Holmes's publications as physical objects. This part—somewhat unhappily headed "Editions and Leaflets"—is a chronological listing of each of the Doctor's separate publications and would have been rendered more useful for quick reference if each item had been numbered. Each title page is transcribed, though the transcriptions are not always consistent and the inconsistencies are not explained. Sometimes line endings are given and sometimes not. Sometimes the use of capital and lower case letters is indicated and sometimes not. Such inconsistencies are certainly understandable in a work that has involved two editors and has been in progress over a long period of time.

Immediately below each transcription is a paragraph of notes on the date of publication and the cost per copy if known. Next comes a paragraph or two on leaf dimension, collation, binding, etc. Inconsistency in rendering the summarized pagination statement might be the source of considerable confusion. Sometimes in the preliminary pagination (in Roman numerals) the last page if unnumbered is reflected in the count and sometimes not. Sometimes in the main pagination (in Arabic numerals) the fact that the first few pages may carry no numbers is indicated and sometimes not. The confusion thus created is happily clarified in the expanded pagination statement, where the matter on each page is identified.

Additional paragraphs are devoted to further information of a varied sort about the history of the piece and of its publication. This information generally is pertinent and illuminating and, as in the notes on *The Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table*, demonstrates a high power of condensation. Occasionally the notes are burdened with non-essential details that are presented at length, an example being *Poems*, 1849. By and large, however, these final notes are most interesting and make the bibliography good reading in a way bibliographies seldom are.

The next two parts of the bibliography, headed "Poems" and "Prose" and covering 234 pages, are an alphabetical listing of each of Holmes's poems and prose pieces, published and unpublished, with information as to when and why each was written, where it first appeared in newspaper, magazine, book or pamphlet, and where it first appeared in a book or pamphlet by Holmes. Each of these parts is carefully cross-referenced. In addition there are further notes on other matters relating to a piece's history at these various stages. Inevitably this means that each individual title is given in the contents note of the chronological part and entered again in the alphabetical parts. The method is far from

economical but it has the advantage of working in at different places in the bibliography all the information which the compilers have been able to accumulate about each publication of Holmes's and each item in each publication. If all this information had been assembled in one entry in the chronological part, where logically it can be said to belong, the first section would have collapsed under its own weight. These alphabetical second and third parts, furthermore, extend the bibliography so that it can be considered a biography of Holmes's books as distinguished from a biography of Holmes the man.

The three principal parts, which run altogether to 498 pages, are followed by ten appendixes, which occupy another 161 pages. Some of these appendixes, such as those on Holmes's anonymous work and his lectures, are of considerable interest. The usefulness of the list of his printed letters, however, will be over as soon as Miss Miriam R. Small has brought out the collected letters. An appendix like the one devoted to the first printings of his work in a book or pamphlet not his own—exclusive of serials—is repetitious in costly fashion of the alphabetical lists of his poems and prose and the chronology of his printed letters; it offers only a third, and subsidiary, chronological table. Similarly the most important information in the list of English reprints and foreign editions, found in Appendix 9, had already been covered in the first section of the biography entitled "Editions and Leaflets." Furthermore the final appendix devoted to biography and criticism of Holmes makes no attempt to be exhaustive or selective and hence rather falls between two stools. It is not that the material found in the appendixes is without interest and value, but that its usefulness comes too high.

A Bibliography of Oliver Wendell Holmes forces the collector and student to ponder the difficult question of the reasonable limitations of a bibliography. It is a question that this reviewer would not have the temerity to answer. It must be an almost irresistible temptation to the bibliographer to include all the information that he has been at such pains to recover from oblivion. And it cannot be denied that probably every iota of it will be of use at some time to somebody. Yet all-inclusiveness involves heavy repetition, cumbersomeness and even confusion from the mingling of essential and non-essential matters. It raises the cost of bibliographical tools to a prohibitive level. Even such an excellent work as *A Bibliography of Oliver Wendell Holmes* could have been improved by a more rigorous selection. The Amiable Autocrat would perhaps be the first to protest that his position in American literature would not justify the addition of another word. All collectors of Holmes, however, and students of nineteenth-century American literature will long be deeply indebted and grateful to Mr. Currier and Miss Tilton.

John D. Gordan

The Berg Collection of The New York Public Library

Mary Lincoln: Biography of a Marriage. By RUTH PAINTER RANDALL. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1953. xiv + 555 pages, biblio., index, illus. $5.75.)

The average reader might assume that enough books about Lincoln have been written to exhaust the subject. But *Mary Lincoln: Biography of a Marriage* by Ruth Painter Randall is not just another Lincoln book. It is a greatly needed vindication of a maligned woman. It is fresh, vivid, and alive. A new, more human Abraham Lincoln emerges, painted in the warm colors of his wife's devotion. Mary Lincoln herself richly deserves this fine biography and Ruth Painter Randall, wife of the late J. G. Randall, the Lincoln scholar, is especially qualified to write the story because of unusual opportunities to study Lincoln documents.

Injustice had been done. Wrongs needed to be righted where Mary Lincoln is concerned and Mrs. Randall writes with the fervor of a crusader as she demolishes, one after the other, the falsehoods and the authors thereof. Mrs. Randall takes us behind the scenes as she painstakingly sifts evidence, establishes her facts and confounds Mary Lincoln's enemies. Historians of the future will rise up to call her blessed.

Not only is Mrs. Randall a meticulous researcher but she also succeeds in placing the reader upon the scene of events. The death of little Eddie is touching without being sentimental. And with the scene at the Lincoln-Douglas debates, *Mary Lincoln: Biography of a Marriage* gathers momentum and achieves the pace of first-class fiction. Lincoln's assassination is magnificently handled with new and illuminating detail.

Mary Lincoln's mental condition is expertly and sympathetically explained in ensuing chapters and throughout the book. It was necessary to discredit William H. Herndon whose enmity toward Mary Lincoln was so damaging. But that Herndon should be demolished so many times in the first few chapters constitutes a slight flaw in this biography. The too casual reader may grow weary. The historically minded, however, will delight in *Mary Lincoln.*

Darien, Connecticut LOUISE HALL THARP

Elias Boudinot, Patriot and Statesman, 1740–1821. By GEORGE ADAMS BOYD. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952. xii + 321 pages, biblio., index, illus. $5.00.)

Elias Boudinot does not stand with the titans of American history. His was a secondary role, but a role which kept him close to the pulse of the nation for many years. A New Jersey Revolutionary patriot, Boudinot moved on to a larger stage when Washington appointed him commissary general of prisoners in 1777. Later he served in the Continental Congress, and in 1782 was elected president of that body. A

leader in the first three Congresses of the United States, Boudinot supported Federalist policies. From 1795 to 1805, he was director of the Mint. Boudinot's later years were devoted to writing, education, religion, and philanthropy.

Though a self-made man, Boudinot did not seek preferment or office, nor was he oversure of his own abilities. He once wrote (page 50), "My whole Plan has been to glide thro' this troublesome Scene of Things, in domestic Ease & Enjoyment, free from the Bustle of the World." Referring to a Revolutionary position he held, Boudinot modestly averred (page 90), "while I remain in this important Station, [I] will make up by Integrity & Application my want of those other Qualifications necessary for this important Trust."

Integrity and application appear to be the keys to this good man's character. He loved his wife, without whom he felt (page 110) "like a Pelican in the Wilderness." He loved his country, supported religion and good works, and, withal, grew rich. According to an enemy, Dr. Benjamin Rush, Boudinot had (page 277) a "canine appetite for wealth." Such a charge seems unwarranted, but could be true for all the reader knows. The biography unfortunately does not adequately describe Boudinot's climb from poverty to riches.

If the book tends to lose pace during the rather lengthy description of Boudinot's legislative record, it is a well-told and well-documented study. Boudinot was not an exciting nor a popular man, but he was respected. The author does not attempt to make Boudinot more important than the evidence will allow. Mr. Boyd presents Boudinot as part of the background that must be appreciated in order to understand the great men of the time. As Mr. Boyd writes (page 293), Boudinot was predictable: "He was faithful to his family, his country, and his God. Of such is composed the nation's solid core."

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania NICHOLAS B. WAINWRIGHT

Railroads of New York: A Study of Government Aid, 1826–1875. By HARRY H. PIERCE. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953. viii + 162 pages, maps, charts, illus., index. $3.00.)

During the three decades preceding the Civil War, the emergence of the railroad was undoubtedly one of the greatest factors in transforming American society. Although much has already been written about this, there is still much that we need to learn. Mr. Pierce's study of State and municipal aid in financing railroad construction in New York is, therefore, most welcome.

One of the important lacunae in our knowledge of railroad history is finance. What role did State, municipal, and private capital play in promoting construction? What effect did the financial disasters that over-

took the States during the panic of 1837 have upon railroad finance? These are just a few of the questions raised by this study. By examining the relevant public and private sources, secondary works, periodicals, and newspapers, Mr. Pierce presents some very significant conclusions. The results of his investigation are made even more convincing because of the care and objectivity employed. The excellent maps and charts in the appendix are of real aid.

In financing the construction of New York railroads before 1850, "the pioneer capital . . . was furnished principally by small investors supplemented by state subsidies." When the panic of 1837 forced many States into temporary insolvency and when the New York constitution of 1846 prohibited State aid to private corporations, the municipalities took over the job. The amount of foreign capital invested in New York railroads before 1875 was insignificant. In the decade following the Civil War, "the initial risk was assumed largely by the local communities through which the roads passed." By 1875 "more than 20 per cent of the municipal indebtedness of the state . . . was for railroad construction." New York contributed more to the construction of railways than any other State in the Union. This book should be of interest and value to all those concerned with railroad finance.

New York University VINCENT P. CAROSSO

The Story of Colt's Revolver. By WILLIAM B. EDWARDS. (Harrisburg, Pa.: The Stackpole Company, 1953. 470 pages including appendix, index, biblio., illus. Trade edition, $10.00; limited de luxe edition, $25.00.)

This book represents the most comprehensive history, published in modern times, concerning the life of one of America's industrial giants and inventor of the Colt's revolver. It is hardly debatable that any other invention in the course of the growth of the United States could so shape its history as did this remarkable pistol and the machinery for manufacturing it.

Author Edwards, in his research, has unearthed much new, and hitherto unpublished biographical, technical and historical material concerning Samuel Colt. The writer carries the story from Colt's frugal beginnings in Hartford, Connecticut, as a child, to the point of his death in 1862; Colt triumphing in both his industrial position and social aspirations.

From a collector's standpoint, Edwards' book makes its strongest contribution. The progression of certain models of the revolver, usually backed by documentation and sound reasoning, adds to its value. His technical points are generally well taken, and new material is presented to the fraternity.

The partnership of Colt with Samuel F. B. Morse, in which Colt supplied Morse with telegraphic cable, is an historical fact not generally as well known as Colt's use of a similar cable on his "submarine mines" for early under-water demolition. Edwards develops this well. That Colt was an inventive genius is indisputably outlined.

The author runs into controversial material when enlarging on the biographical side of Colt's life. His theory that Samuel Colt was secretly married to brother John Colt's mistress, and gallows-bride, Caroline Henshaw, is largely supported by inference built upon inference. While his story of John Colt's murder trial would do justice to any modern writer of crime stories, Edwards does not always base reasoning on fact, and a closer check of existing contemporary reports would prove that had Samuel Colt married Caroline Henshaw in 1835, she would have been 13 years of age, making this supposition highly unlikely.

The choice of illustrations in the book is generally good, while the reproductions are quite often only fair. A general lack of editing is apparent, and it is hoped that another printing, purportedly soon due, will see these corrections made.

Solely from an historical viewpoint, *The Story of Colt's Revolver* has made available new material, if the reader will accept only those statements which are documented.

The biography of Samuel Colt ended in 1862 at his death; the history of his revolver did not.

Greenfield, Massachusetts JOHN S. DU MONT

Westward The Briton. By ROBERT G. ATHEARN. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953. xiv + 208 pages, notes, illus., biblio., index. $4.50.)

In this study, by a teacher of history at the University of Colorado, the observations of British travelers on Western America from 1865–1900 have been ably synthesized. There were many such visitors; they were often literate and they noted customs and behavior which native empire-builders took for granted and left unrecorded. Herein lies the historical significance of these Britishers' accounts and comparisons, whether critical or sympathetic. Dr. Athearn's chapters on Queen Cities, The Egalitarian West, The Land of the 'Cow Servants,' and The Descendants of Mr. Cooper's Indians are particularly rewarding reading. His book is skillfully constructed and entertainingly written, its only limitations being those of the source material itself. A selective bibliography of one hundred and fifty titles enhances the value to Western Americana enthusiasts.

New York City JOHN E. PARSONS

The Protestant Crusade: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism 1800–1860. By RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON. (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1952. viii + 504 pages, index. $6.50.)

The Protestant Crusade is a curious book. Dip into it, and you will discover that hosts of problems are conjured up, political cauldrons are set to boiling merrily, and a gauntlet, believe it or not, is actually thrown down. As you might gather from just these three metaphors, the author is one of those professors—they are becoming increasingly rare nowadays, come to think of it—who take their topics too seriously to bother with anything as frivolous as English prose.

We might be able to forgive Dr. Billington's awkwardness in expressing himself on paper if this were a really penetrating study of anti-Roman Catholic agitation in the early 19th century. But *The Protestant Crusade* is far from profound. There is next to no examination of the causes for the riots, the church-burnings, and the other disgraceful incidents promoted by the bigots of a hundred years ago, and although the author is not the man to cheat on footnotes, he is guilty of more than one unsubstantiated generalization. We are told, for instance, that the Episcopal Church was dangerously divided by arguments over the teachings of the Oxford Group. As a matter of fact, Episcopalians were so little disturbed by the proponents of high and low churchmanship that they, to quote Manross, "passed through the Civil War without any lasting division."

This reviewer cannot understand why *The Protestant Crusade*, originally published in 1938, has been reprinted at this late date. The trials of the Roman Catholic Church in this period have been given their due importance by Theodore Maynard in *The Story of American Catholicism.*

The New-York Historical Society WAYNE ANDREWS

Town of Worcester, Otsego County, New York: History. [By a Committee of Townspeople.] ([For sale by Mrs. Henry Cooley, Worcester, N.Y., 1954.] viii + 156 pages, illus. $2.15.)

Worcester, "located near the geographical center of New York State, . . . was formed from Cherry Valley, March 3, 1797." By 1850 there were 2,042 inhabitants; a century later the population had grown to "slightly over 2100." The authoring committee set out to describe "Worcester's people, particularly her early settlers, and to study the institutions that have been a part of Worcester's history, tracing the story of their development and doings from early times to the present." Inns, banking, postal service, the coming of the railroad, the first telephone, various industries—all are part of the story. A chapter on the 1850 census names the 369 heads of families with their dependents and occupations. Scat-

tered quotations from the *Worcester Times* (founded 1875) and from the *History of Otsego County* (date and author not given) relate at first and second hand historical episodes ranging over two centuries. Paragraphs are assembled into chapters on "Organizations and Social Life," "Personalities and Livelihoods," schools and churches, and on other phases of the multifarious experience of this old, secluded, more than usually static American small town. A postscript acknowledges "that the work . . . makes no pretence of being a documented, omnibus accounting," but is rather a "gathering of fact, folklore, and legend"—"somewhat similar to an artist's charcoal sketch; a working model. . . ." Bibliographical notes and index are absent. Yet everyone concerned with local history will hope that the initiative and industry which produced these anonymous annals will be emulated by many other unchronicled communities.

C. E. B.

A Guide to the Principal Sources for Early American History (1600–1800) in the City of New York. By EVARTS B. GREENE and RICHARD B. MORRIS. Second edition, revised by RICHARD B. MORRIS. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953. xxxvi + 400 pages, index. $10.00.)

Greene and Morris's useful *Guide* was first published in 1929. Since then much new material has been added to New York documentary collections and hitherto unlisted materials have been turned up by inventories such as the federally sponsored Historical Records Survey programs. This revised edition of the Guide, taking into account the accumulations of the past quarter-century, is divided into two sections, of which the first contains the original *Guide*, with some changes and emendations. The second section lists the major additions and changes in location of primary historical sources, arranged and classified in accordance with the topical plan of the original edition. Despite some notable errors and omissions, new as well as old, Greene and Morris remains the most thorough and useful guide to the sources on early American history in New York City.

Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the William L. Clements Library. Compiled by WILLIAM S. EWING, Curator of Manuscripts. Second edition. (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Clements Library, 1953. ix + 548 pages, index of names. $4.00.)

The first Clements Library guide was published in 1942. The present edition incorporates much of the information in the first edition and includes descriptions of all material added since 1942. The arrangement is alphabetical by collection, with an index listing all writers of letters and authors and signers of documents.

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

DURING the coming months of April, May and June the following special exhibitions, lectures, and other programs for members and their guests will be presented at the Society:

Continuing to July 31: COMMODORE MATTHEW C. PERRY CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION of materials relating to his opening of Japan to American commerce.

Continuing to July 31: THE FIRST CENTURY OF COLUMBIA COLLEGE, an exhibition in observance of the 1954 Bicentennial of Columbia University. At the opening of this exhibition on January 5th, Mr. Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher of *The New York Times* and chairman of the Columbia University Bicentennial Committee, addressed the Society on "Man's Right to Knowledge."

Continuing as a permanent exhibition: EARLY AMERICAN ARTS AND CRAFTS from the permanent collections of the Society. At the special opening of this exhibition on February 2d, Mrs. Jean Lipman, editor of *Art in America*, gave an illustrated lecture for members and their guests on "American Folk Art."

Continuing to April 6: THE LATHROP COLGATE HARPER, LITT. D., COLLECTION, an exhibition of the recent gift to the Society by Mrs. Lathrop Colgate Harper of a large collection of contemporary materials relating to the Spanish-American War. At the special opening of this exhibition on March 2d, Mr. Charles Johnson Post addressed the Society on "The Spanish-American War."

Continuing to July 31: GENERAL AND MRS. TOM THUMB, a special exhibition which opened March 17th, replacing the exhibition of material relating to the colonial New York printer JOHN PETER ZENGER, which had been on view since January 6th.

April 6: Lecture for members and their guests by Mr. Wayne Andrews, Curator of Manuscripts, on "Baroness Hyde de Neuville and the Society's Collection of Her Early 19th-Century American Drawings." There will be a preview of the following exhibition:

April 7–July 31: EARLY 19TH-CENTURY AMERICAN DRAWINGS BY THE BARONESS HYDE DE NEUVILLE, a special exhibition of the Society's recently acquired collection of her work.

May 10 (changed from May 4th as announced in the January *Quarterly*): Lecture for members and their guests by Professor Theodore Sizer, Department of the History of Art, Yale University, on "Colonel John Trumbull, Vice-President of The New-York Historical Society, 1820." There will be a preview of the following exhibition:

May 10–December 31: The first special exhibition marking the SESQUI-

CENTENNIAL OF THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY 1804–1954: PORTRAITS OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

June 7: The Society's ANNUAL STRAWBERRY FESTIVAL, with appropriate entertainment and the traditional refreshments in the garden. There will be a preview of the following exhibition:

June 8–December 31: A special sesquicentennial exhibition: HISTORY OF THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1804–1954.

June 14–July 31: THE "GENERAL SLOCUM" DISASTER, a special exhibition relating to the calamity which befell the famous Hudson River steamboat and its passengers fifty years ago.

During the months of January, February, and March the Society presented the following thirteen Sunday-afternoon concerts in its auditorium—all well attended and enthusiastically received. *January 3:* Kirstine Nielsen, soprano, and Christopher O'Malley, baritone. *January 10:* Livio Mannucci, 'cellist, and Thomas de Hartmann, pianist, *January 17:* Bernice Kamsler in a program of folk songs. *January 24:* Paul Doktor, viola, and Vivien Harvey, piano. *January 31:* Lonny Epstein, pianist, in a Mozart program. *February 7:* the Community Opera, Inc., in "The Blessed Damozel" by Debussy and "The Coffee Cantata" by Bach. *February 14:* The Early Music Foundation in a program of 16th- and 17th-century church music. *February 21:* Joseph Bloch, pianist. *February 28:* The Classic String Quartet—Jesse Tryon, Peter Dimitriades, William Gromko, and Marjorie Neal. *March 7:* Franz-Thompson Duo—Emily Franz, violinist, and Verne Thompson, pianist. *March 14:* Chamber Music by Josef Marx, violinist, Jack Kreiselmann, clarinetist, Sylvia Deutscher, bassoonist, and Russell Sherman, pianist. *March 21:* Community Opera, Inc., in "Dido and Aeneas" by Purcell. *March 28:* Julius Schulman, violinist, and Eileen Flissler, pianist.

During the same months the public was welcomed to a series of ten documentary-film programs shown on successive Saturday afternoons in our auditorium. Under the general title KNOW YOUR U.S.A., the programs for January related to "The Land," for February to "Its History and Government," and for March to "The People," as follows: *January 9:* "America the Beautiful," "The River," and "New York—The Wonder City." *January 16:* "Lobstertown," "Mt. Vernon in Virginia," "The Town," and "Library of Congress." *January 23:* "The City," "People of the Cumberland," and "Yours Is the Land." *February 13:* "Early Settlers of New England," "Williamsburg Restored," and "The Story That Couldn't Be Printed." *February 20:* "Sons of Liberty," "Due Process of Law Denied," and "The Golden West." *February 27:* "You the People," "Democracy," "Yesterday Lives Again," and "Give Me Liberty." *March 6:* "The Quiet One." *March 13:* "Grandma Moses," "Boundary Lines," and "Working Together." *March 20:* "People of the Mississippi," "The

Cummington Story," and "The Challenge." *March 27:* "Valley of the Tennessee," "Palmour Street," and "Voices of the People."

Among the guest organizations which used our auditorium during the first quarter of the year were: Council of Jewish Women, January 19th; The Steamship Historical Society of America, January 23d; The Bibliographical Society of America, January 29th; the Oberlin Women's Club of New York, January 30th; and the New York Folklore Society, February 6th.

On January 27th, Mr. Richard J. Koke, Curator of the Museum, addressed the Colonial Dames of America on "Country Homes and Gardens of New York." And on February 26th, Miss Dorothy C. Barck, our Librarian, delivered a lecture to Miss Cromien's class in Library Science from St. John's University on the subject, "The Library in Contemporary Society."

Four School Art League programs were presented in our auditorium: On March 6th Miss Elizabeth McCausland spoke on "Careers in the Arts"; March 13th, Jo Musial on "Comics as a Communication"; March 25th, Mrs. Ingrid-Maerta Held, our Painting Restorer, on "The Art of Restoration"; and March 27th, Mr. Burne Hogarth on "Comics, Art and Fine Art."

The College of the City of New York inaugurated a new course in "American Social and Political History," which opened on March 11th in our auditorium where guest lecturers will address weekly meetings on successive Thursdays at 3:45 P.M. throughout the spring term.

Several staff changes occurred at the beginning of the year. Mr. William D. Wright, while continuing as Assistant Curator of the Bella C. Landauer Business and Professional Collection, was promoted from Library Assistant to Bibliographer, succeeding Mr. Oscar Wegelin who resigned. On January first Mr. Sylvester Vigilante, formerly in charge of the American History Room at the New York Public Library, was appointed Newspaper Librarian to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Mr. Louis H. Fox. And Mrs. Wreath Mason joined the staff as Secretary to succeed Miss Isabel Meek who resigned.

TAX DEDUCTIONS FOR GIFTS AND BEQUESTS

The New-York Historical Society qualifies as an educational institution to which life-time gifts of money or property or devises or bequests under a will may be deducted for income or estate tax purposes to the extent permitted by law.

RECENT ACCESSIONS

OIL PORTRAIT of Phoebe (Hand) Vanderbilt, mother of Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt, by an unidentified artist. *Gift of Mrs. A. D. Ayrault.*

Three hundred and twenty photographs, including views in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and New York City, and Hudson River steamboats; 392 trade cards of merchants in New York and New Jersey. *Gift of Mrs. O. T. Barck, Sr.*

Thirty-six-star American flag used at the burial of Lieutenant John MacLachlan at Fort Sumter during the Civil War. *Gift of Mr. Parker W. Barnum.*

Oil portrait of Mary Gaylord Barrow (1868–1870), daughter of John and Harriet Barrow, painted after her death by Walter Scott. *Gift of Mr. Archibald Barrow.*

Two photographs, taken June 1894, of members of the James W. Beekman family at "The Cliffs," the family country seat at Oyster Bay; three photographs of Judge Henry Rutgers Beekman; bookplate of Gerard Beekman; color print of "Mount Pleasant," country seat of James Beekman on the East River, from watercolor by Abram Hosier; two oil paintings of the William and Abraham Beekman House on the East River at 63rd Street; watercolor of the old New York Custom House, painted after 1841 by Régis François Gignoux (1816–1882); two pastels of the Beekman family crests; oil portrait of Johannis de Peyster; white pottery garniture. *Gift of Dr. Fenwick Beekman.*

Set of tea cups and saucers with the Beekman crest, made by Nast of Paris, active 1783–*c.*1835. *Gift of Mrs. Bradford Boardman.*

Seven hundred and seventy-seven engravings and lithographs relating to Europe, Asia, Africa, and America in the 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, including allegorical pictures, American political caricatures, religious subjects, and portraits of Benjamin Franklin. *Gift of Mr. James Hazen Hyde.*

Five hundred manuscripts of members of the Jay family, late 18th and early 19th centuries, including correspondence of Peter Augustus Jay, and 350 letters and papers of Miss Mary Rutherfurd Jay relating to the Jay and allied families. *Gift of the Estate of Miss Mary Rutherfurd Jay, through Miss Frances Jay.*

Collection of manuscripts of Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, including correspondence with Gouverneur Morris, John Jay, Charles

Pinckney, and other American statesmen. *Gift of Mrs. Goodhue Livingston.*

Two hundred and thirty-seven separate numbers of American magazines, 1889–1951; 218 paper-bound novels, *c.*1895; and five volumes and reports. *Gift of Mr. DeWitt M. Lockman.*

Oil portrait of Nathaniel Platt Bailey (1809–1891), by Robert W. Weir, 1859. *Gift of Mr. Lewis Gouverneur Morris.*

Three books and pamphlets about the *General Slocum* disaster, June 15, 1904, and the annual memorial service for its victims. *Gift of Mr. G. Fred Orphal, Financial Secretary of the Organization of General Slocum Survivors.*

Twenty-two portraits of British Army officers who served during the American Revolution, etched by Max and Albert Rosenthal. *Gift of Mr. John E. Parsons.*

Stern light from the excursion steamboat *General Slocum,* which burned in the East River, June 15, 1904, with a loss of over a thousand lives; pamphlet on the disaster. *Gift of Mr. Charles R. Sackman, President, and Mr. G. Fred Orphal, Financial Secretary of the Organization of General Slocum Survivors.*

Two daguerreotypes and 77 photographs of members of the Caesar family, of which the donor's mother was a member. *Gift of Mrs. Sybil Carpenter Shugg.*

Two manuscript sermons, 1811, of the Reverend Dr. Gardiner Spring, great-grandfather of the donor; two family letters. *Gift of Mr. Royce Riker Spring.*

Pastel portrait of Henry Clay (1777–1852), by Giuseppe Fagnani, Washington, 1850. *Gift of Mr. Forsyth Wickes.*

Five scrapbooks of clippings, 1904–1949, relating to real estate in New York City, cut from the New York *Globe* and New York *Times,* 1904–1938, and from *The Sun,* 1934–1949. *Gift of Mr. Garrett H. Winter, Jr.*

Campaign flag of William Henry Harrison, 1840; collection of Presidential campaign buttons. *Gift of the Estate of John Wintjen.*

Physician's saddlebags with original medicines used by Dr. Myron Orton (1784–1873) on the Niagara frontier in 1811 and during the War of 1812. *Gift of Mrs. E. L. Woolf.*