



ILLUSTRATIONS FROM UNFINISHED PORTRAITS OF GILBERT STUART'S
[By permission of the authorities of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston]

THE PERSONAL SIDE OF WASHINGTON

By General A. W. Greely, U. S. A.

Author of "Three Years of Arctic Service," etc., etc.

DRAWING BY B. WEST CLINEDINST

FIRST PAPER: WASHINGTON'S LOVES AND MARRIAGE

THIS series of brief articles on the most distinguished of Americans, George Washington, has for its aim the treatment of the personal side of the man. That is, he will be shown as a son, brother, guardian, citizen, neighbor, master and Christian, rather than in the aspect of soldier, President and statesman, in which his life has usually been treated.

In endeavoring to ascertain the opinion of the rising generation concerning this man many American youths have been questioned as to their relative interest in, and opinion of, Washington and Napoleon. Again and again came the answer that Napoleon was fascinating and magnetic, and hence, personally attractive. While it is true, said these responses, that Washington was a great and

good man, unfortunately there was nothing interesting in him, for one tires of hearing of him as an exemplar, devoid of all human minor defects that would throw into bolder relief his more manly characteristics.

I am firmly convinced that a serious injustice is done the rising generation by erroneously depicting this great man as faultless in character and action from childhood to his ripe old age. Washington gradually outgrew his eighteenth century environment. An attentive study of his private life shows that he steadily tended toward the higher standards of the present age, especially as regards habits and ideals.

The opinions here expressed, be they right or wrong, are the outcome of the perusal of more than two thousand

of Washington's letters—largely in the admirable collection of Mr. W. C. Ford, in fourteen volumes, which must remain the standard source of reference until Congress shall do its duty to the American people by publishing all of Washington's writings, now nearly complete in copies through the assiduous exertions of Dr. Toner.

It is not without difficulty that the character and personality of Washington are approached from the non-official standpoint. Yet if the fame of this greatest of all Americans is to attain its proper standing, and is to abide as a potent, living force among future generations of his countrymen, this is the side from which he should first of all be approached.

It is not within the scope or intent of these brief articles to write Washington's life, but rather to indicate, as far as possible, the opinions developed in an attentive study of the man, whereby he becomes greater and nobler as the evolution and growth of his life and character are unrolled—almost entirely, be it repeated, through the medium of his own letters.

TO judge rightly of a man's development one must know his environment—physical, mental and moral. Sparsely populated, even along the sluggish rivers that formed the highroads both to its few commercial centres and to the mother country, Virginia of the eighteenth century presented peculiar conditions, contrasting most strongly with modern phases of American life. This must be well borne in mind.

The debasing twin systems of indentured whites and African slaves formed the sub-stratum of the Colony. At the other extreme was the ruling aristocracy—royal officials, formalistic clergy and great planters with extensive estates. Between were a few traders, hunters and farmers, whose spasmodic efforts to rise into the upper class too frequently ended in deterioration through association and alliances with the whites emerging from indentures. The lordly landed gentry lived with wasteful extravagance in isolated villages. Every contrast existed between the grand mansions, London-fitted, and the clay-chinked log shanties that sheltered ignorant, idle slaves. Prosperity hung on one product, tobacco, which was often pledged to accommodating factors in advance of its planting. The country was largely wooded. Roads existed almost in name alone. Travel was rarely possible save on horseback. Visits lasted days rather than hours. The public school was an unknown institution. To these planters, separated miles from their social equals, the church, ministered to by a riotous clergy, offered a welcome break to the daily monotony. The church served both as a place for religious worship and for social Sunday gatherings, and was, in fact, an organization for governing the country. This latter phase, rather than deep religious bigotry, actuated the persecution of non-conformists.

SETTLED Virginia then comprised only the cis-mountain region. Its woods were full of game. Its waterways were stocked with fish, and its marshes haunted by wildfowl. Its southern location and proximity to the ocean insured a mild climate. This region thus offered sport and exercise of rare merit throughout the year. All men rode to hounds, shot, hunted and raced with an interest and zest that made them famous in all other Colonies.

Politics rather than religion, sports rather than learning, luxury rather than comfort, grace rather than exact-



WASHINGTON, AS A YOUNG LIEUTENANT, BEING RECEIVED BY THE LADIES OF NEW YORK

ness, exploiting rather than development, were characteristic of Virginia in Washington's time.

Intemperance prevailed, profanity and gambling were frequent. Might too often made right. Prisons, and not hospitals, opened to misery. The lash fell alike on black and white; a price was set on human scalps. It was an age of strong passions, coarse manners, violent methods and brutal harshness. In this community, while the Washingtons were not among the large planters, they could be classed among the minor gentry on the paternal side, and of the smaller planters on the maternal side.

Amid these environments, very briefly sketched, but yet adequate to the purpose of a short preface, George Washington was born and lived his boyhood.

IN gauging the moral character and determining the true manhood of any man, there is no single test better than his attitude toward, and treatment of, the women who enter into his life. And in presenting Washington's relations with women, as in other matters, my opinions are derived almost entirely from his own letters. It may be well here to say that there is nothing in any writing of Washington's which does not place woman on the highest possible plane. Spurious letters, it is true, have hinted otherwise. But these find no warrant nor suggestion in any genuine line from his pen, which never traced a word nor expressed a thought that would bring a blush to any woman's face.

Like all men of worth he loved women, and his fancy began early. One of the few authoritative reminiscences of Washington's schoolmates is to the effect that while his studies were never interrupted by boyish games, yet on one occasion he was found romping with one of the largest girls of the school. However this may be, we know not only his general interest in girl companions but also his extreme susceptibility at a tender age.

When barely seventeen he was suffering the pangs of unrequited love. He speaks in his letters of the revival of his former passion for the "Lowland Beauty," and in default of epistles from her, wrote his cousin Sally four unanswered letters, doubtless seeking information and consolation. To this period may well be ascribed two love poems, one an acrostic to "Frances," apparently of Alexandria, the other a wretched sonnet, which is only of interest as showing the love-sick and depressed frame of mind into which Washington was thrown by his youthful affairs of the heart.

About this time, when he was nineteen years of age, he courted and was refused by Betsey Fautelroy. This later passion survived his visit to the Barbadoes, for he renewed his suit shortly after his twentieth birthday, declaring his intention "to wait on Miss Betsey in hopes of a revocation of the former cruel sentence." These losing ventures seem to have left no deep impression on Washington's heart, and there appears no special attention to women on his part until his visit to Boston in February, 1756, a journey which confirmed his reputation as the best-known man in the Colonies. He spent his money royally for fine attire, uniforms, entertainments, etc. Perhaps the most significant entry in his cash account was "for treating ladies to ye Microcosm," £1 8s., and again £1 4s. for courtly attentions offered to some lady friends in New York, among whom, as a young Lieutenant, he was very popular. If either party included in it the famous heiress and beauty, Mary Philipse, with whom tradition links his name, it is certain he did not delay in New York on his return, to confirm his fancy for her, if he ever had any.

THERE are, however, the best of reasons to believe that there had already grown up in the heart of this masterful man a fervid but hopeless love. This great passion of Washington's life was in connection with Sally Cary, the wife of his friend, George William Fairfax, and a sister-in-law of his half-brother, Lawrence Washington. Sally Cary was already married when Washington first met her, he being a boy of seventeen. Then, from his letters, he was more interested in her vivacious sister, Mary Cary, than in Mrs. Fairfax, who was several years his senior. In time it appears that Washington became deeply attached to Sally Cary, and, despite the impossible conditions, his heart went out to her as it seems never to have gone out to any other woman.

In 1755 Washington endeavored by several letters to open a correspondence with Mrs. Fairfax, which, he says, "you had given me the hope of," and which "would make me happier than I am able to express." Later she appears to have relented, as is shown by her correspondence during the absence of her husband at the siege of Louisburg.

In his letter of September 12, 1758, Washington writes, "How joyfully I catch at the happy occasion of renewing a correspondence which I feared was disrelished on your part. . . . In silence I now express my joy; silence, which in some cases, speaks more intelligently than the sweetest eloquence. . . . Attributing my anxiety to the animating prospect of possessing Mrs. Custis, when—I need not tell you, guess yourself. . . . 'Tis true I profess myself a votary of love. I acknowledge that a lady is in the case, and further I confess that this lady is known to you as well as she is to one who is too sensible to her charms. . . . I feel the force of her amiable beauties in the recollection of a thousand tender passages that I could wish to obliterate, till I am bid to revive them. . . . How impossible this is. . . . There is a destiny which has the control of our actions, not to be resisted by the strongest efforts of human nature. You have drawn me . . . into an honest confession of a simple fact. . . . I dare believe you are as happy as you say. I wish I was happy also."

Whether this is a veritable love letter is a matter of opinion, but no doubt exists in my mind, owing to its extremely distinctive character as one out of a dozen letters in three or four thousand, where Washington gave vent to strong personal feeling.

The ardent tone of the epistle evidently startled Mrs. Fairfax, for she answered it immediately in such a tone as dictated the following passage from Washington in his second letter, dated September 25, 1758: "Do we still misunderstand the true meaning of each other's letters? I think it must appear so, tho' I would fain hope the contrary as I cannot speak plainer without,—but I will say no more and leave you to guess the rest."

* At the request of the editor of THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL Mrs. Burton Harrison, who, as Miss Constance Cary, is a lineal descendant of the Carys and Fairfaxes of Virginia, was induced to write the sketch of Sally Cary, found on page 2 of this issue of the JOURNAL, entitled "A True Colonial Dame."—THE EDITOR.

The significance of this letter depends, in a large measure, on the fact that only four months earlier he had met and become engaged to the widow Custis, the richest, as well as one of the most attractive women in the Colonies. Regarding this sudden marriage my opinion concurs with that expressed by Conway, who says: "When Washington and his wife met the days of romance were over, perhaps, for both of them, but they grew together."

Washington's letter to Mrs. Custis, written a few weeks earlier, was a model letter in its brevity and beautiful expression of affection: "I send a few words to one whose life is inseparable from mine. Since that happy hour when we made our pledges to each other my thoughts have been going continually to you as another self."

No doubt he felt the irony of fate in this matter, but he accepted it with the same courage and good judgment that ever marked his career. Three months after his letter to Mrs. Fairfax Washington married Martha Custis, on January 6, 1759.

AT the time of his marriage Washington was in the prime of his magnificent physical manhood. Fortunately, contemporaneous sources do not leave the description of his person to our imagination. Such was already his exalted standing that these pen-portraits omit entirely, or modify, what might be thought to be defects, as, for instance, the disfiguring facial marks from smallpox. Straight as an Indian, with limbs cast almost in a giant's mould,* his self-contained countenance, agreeable speech and dignified bearing made his personality most impressive. Probably half of his time at home was spent in the saddle, and this active out-of-door life gave him a glow of health and sense of vigor. We learn from his intimate friend, George Mercer, interesting details. His skin was clear and colorless; the nose straight; the face long, with high, round cheekbones; the blue-gray and widely-separated eyes shadowed by heavy brows; a large, mobile mouth, showing teeth somewhat defective; the muscular arms and legs unusually long, and a well-shaped head, gracefully poised on a superb neck. The dark brown hair was worn in a cue, and the small waist well set off by neatly-fitting garb.

The portrait that best represents the man is doubtless that as a Virginia Colonel painted by Peale about this period. The lack of expression which marks later portraits proceeds in part from the growing tendency of repression which marked the face during the most important periods of his public career, but is also due in part to his false teeth, which unfortunately detracted from his appearance. It may be added that the early loss of his teeth was more than possibly due to his great fondness for sweets. This fondness is apparent in certain ways, particularly for orders given for them at various times. On one occasion it was advanced that the sweets were rather for Mrs. Washington than the General. But his wife's fondness for sweets may be attributed to her noted housewife qualities, as connected with the pleasure that they gave Washington. We know by his sister Betty's letter of his extreme liking for honey, which, she says, "I noted on your last visit and have sent you a supply." His fondness for a good table dates from his early life, and one of the few allusions to hardships in the field related to his unsatisfactory table. As might be expected of a large man of very active life, his appetite was excellent, and he enjoyed a good and well-served meal, over which he lingered long, indulging in nuts and Madeira. An excellent cook seemed indispensable to his comfort—as especially appears in the last years of his life, when the loss of a runaway slave affected his domestic comfort to such an extent that he broke over his resolution of several years' standing against ever again purchasing a slave, and entered into negotiations for one, so that his table might be properly cared for.

The incessant use of his eyes in writing, together with the bad light (candles) of that period, affected his eyesight so that by the time he was fifty he was obliged to use spectacles for reading and writing. But the use of these appears to have been generally confined to hours of discussion.

The story that he never smiled is to be classed with many other unfounded legends. So much of anxiety and wearing responsibility entered into his life that he was more often serious than gay. Here and there acquaintances speak of his smiles, as a matter of course. Senator Maclay tells us not only of his smiling at a State dinner, but adds that he played with his fork. Lear mentions incidentally that he smiled during his last illness, when speech failed. From other sources it is learned that his smile gave an unusual beauty to Washington's face.

The theatre, cards and horse-racing were among the amusements to which he inclined next to his favorite sport of fox-hunting. Like the ordinary Virginian Washington was never more at home than on horseback. Chastellux says: "The General is a very excellent and bold horseman, leaping the highest fences, and going extremely quick, without standing on his stirrups, bearing on his bridle or letting his horse run wild." His extreme fondness for fox-hunting is shown by his diary for January and February, 1768, where it is recorded that he followed the hounds sixteen days, and shot on five days. Now and then his boldness brought him to grief, but these mischances failed to deter him. At fifty-five he wrote that he was still fond of the chase, which he occasionally indulged in till near his death.

IN the use of spirituous liquors from boyhood up Washington followed what was practically the universal custom. His favorite beverages were Madeira wine, porter, small beer and cider. One of the first purchases after his marriage was a pipe of "the best old Madeira." In his younger days he extended at his first election the usual post-election hospitality, which, in those days, consisted in the minimum amount of food with the maximum amount of spirits. We find him paying an account for such an entertainment for some four hundred voters, where the account was three shillings for food and thirty-seven for liquors. The capacity of the average drinker may, perhaps, be placed at three quarts at a sitting, as derived from this account, which covered one hoghead of punch, one barrel of punch, forty gallons of punch, nine bowls of punch, forty-five gallons of wine and forty-seven gallons of beer. Washington, who was not present, expressed his surprise at their moderation, and wrote his agent that he feared he had not been liberal

* He was six feet three inches tall at his death. His hands and feet were said to have been very large.

enough, and expressed the hope that he had not neglected those who had voted in the opposition.

His reflective mind and acute observation soon noted the ravages made by drink, and doubtless confirmed that personal moderation which never permitted him to run into excess of any kind. In the Provincial army, when general charges of drunkenness were made against the Virginia troops, there was no word against Washington personally. He had, moreover, thus early deplored it as a serious vice, forbade it by stringent orders, and applied a hundred lashes to every man found drunk. Still later he wrote that "Gin-shops served to ruin the proprietor and those who make the most frequent application to them," and in advising his nephew he adds, "Refrain from drink, which is a source of all evil and the ruin of half the workmen of this country."

IN the eighteenth century games of chance and betting were universal practices in Virginia, and from Washington's earliest accounts it is known that from the age of sixteen he indulged moderately therein. That most insidious form of gambling, the lottery, was an especial favorite, being resorted to for the purpose of raising funds for charity, church use, or public improvements. Active and zealous as Washington was in promoting plans for the public benefit or in extending a helping hand to others, it is not surprising to find that the tickets of the Mountain Road Lottery in 1769 were signed by him, and that he spent fifty pounds therein. In December, 1769, we find him engaged for three successive evenings in "drawing Colonel Moore's lottery." Now and then some one who in that day was called "straight-laced," ruffled the public complacency by objecting, on moral grounds, to lotteries. But Washington evidently failed to justly estimate their demoralizing influence, countenanced, as they were, by charity and church. In the lottery authorized by Congress, for the benefit of the incipient Washington City, Washington invested, and thought it a proper present to send a ticket to a favorite child, Lincoln Lear, with the hope that he might profit largely thereby. It illustrates the eighteenth century standpoint to find Washington interjecting in a letter on public business during the war a request to his friend to "examine if any of the inclosed tickets came up prizes." He evidently did not associate lottery tickets with gambling any more than the modern stock broker associates his "puts" and "calls" of to-day with the same vice. To his nephew, Bushrod, we find him writing, "Avoid gambling, a vice productive of every possible ill."

IT would be extraordinary if a man of Washington's passionate character had refrained entirely from the use of forceful and emphatic language. As has been elsewhere said his language was always clean, and, it may be added, never was in any way vulgar beyond an occasional expletive. One or two slips mar his youthful letters, but they must be attributed to his extreme feeling when writing. From his early letters it may be assumed that the violent language which he is reported to have used toward Lee at Monmouth was a lapse into former practices. In his later writings are marked mannerisms and repetitions, but it is extremely rare that any stronger phrase than "would to God" appears from his pen. Doubtless these lapses of the tongue were trying to Washington himself, for he is distinctly on record as declaring profanity to be one of the vices that afflict the camp, and which he endeavored by orders to suppress.

These phases of Washington's life bearing on the problems of drink, gaming, etc., emphasize most strongly the inevitable trend that local customs and opinions give to the thoughts and habits of a rising generation. Accepting unhesitatingly the amusements, habits and views of those whom he loved best as a child, he discloses the innate strength of his individuality in that he fell into no sloughs of despond, but that in years of discretion all his tendencies were away from his age and toward higher ideals of thought and action.

THE marriage of Washington to the widow, Martha Custis, gave him absolute control of one-third of the Custis patrimony, one of the largest fortunes in America. The remainder of the estate came into his hands as guardian.

It has been well said that prosperity is even a better test of one's manhood than adversity. However this may be, neither the habits nor the character of Washington were especially modified by his sudden acquirement of great wealth. It simply broadened his life and enhanced his responsibilities. It extended his opportunities for agricultural experiments. It increased his power of extending aid to others, and enabled him to so enlarge his style of living as to fully comport with the dignity and standing of a wealthy Virginia planter of the eighteenth century. Educated to class distinctions, he believed that those blessed with rank and station owed much to their inferiors. Of all men, he considered it a duty to regulate his life and establishment so as to be for the lower grades of Colonial society a model in external surroundings, as well as in intellectual ability and morality.

While always neat and suitable his dress avoided all extremes of fashion. His natural good taste invariably led him to avoid the overloading of its rich material with ornament. This conduct was in line with his comment in after life, that he should prefer it to be said that his appointments were simple and appropriate rather than rich and elegant.

It is interesting to note how the natural inclinations and taste of this great man display his fondness for two diametrically opposite occupations, those of farmer and of soldier. The books which he ordered for home life were almost exclusively confined to agriculture and military history. When his bachelor quarters were transformed into a home, with ample means for adorning it, his first chosen ornaments combined the elements of war and chase alone. The statuary then ordered included two wild beasts, which, perhaps, were not inappropriately associated with Alexander the Great, Charles XII, Frederick the Great, Julius Caesar, Marlborough and Prince Eugene. Advancing years confirmed these tastes, and the first collection of books ordered at the end of the American Revolution contained, apart from agriculture, the chase and military histories, only "Voltaire's Letters" and Locke's "Human Understanding."

In his next article, to be published in the succeeding (April) issue of the JOURNAL, General Greely will treat of Washington's married life, the influence of his mother upon him, and his attitude toward her—upon which latter point so many erroneous statements have been made. Special attention will also be paid to his religious views and life.

THE PERSONAL SIDE OF WASHINGTON

By General A. W. Greely, U. S. A.

Author of "Three Years of Arctic Service," etc.

*II—WASHINGTON'S DOMESTIC AND RELIGIOUS LIFE

MUCH has been written regarding the influence exercised by Mary Washington upon the character of her illustrious son, and no doubt exists that she was a thoroughly good mother, as were most of the Virginia matrons of her day. The deference

paid to her by Washington was, it should be remembered, one of the customs of the times.

Although it is unquestioned that this outward deference was but the expression of his filial affection, yet it cannot be denied that, with advancing years, there was an apparent lack of sympathy between mother and son which shows itself in almost every letter extant. There seems, indeed, to have been what may be called an incompatibility of temperament, arising possibly from their possessing strong and similar characters. Washington inherited that tenacity of purpose and persistency of effort, called obstinacy in inferiors, but designated as firmness of character in superiors. It should be remembered, moreover, that Washington's training in the broad schools of politics and war threw him not only in contact with the sturdy, rough humanity of the frontier, but also with cultured men of all professions, while his mother's life was practically confined to a single Virginia county. With restrictions, isolation and routine on the one hand, and expanding character and broadening experiences on the other, came the story, as old as antiquity and as new as to-day, of the weakening of sympathetic ties between those who change not and those who are steadily rising to higher levels of thought and life.

Although a rich man and lover of money it seemed to Washington absolutely essential to his own dignity and patriotic spirit that he should serve his country, the thirteen struggling Colonies, without salary, leaving his estate and property to steadily deteriorate. To his mother, on the other hand, whose material conditions in middle life were, if anything, superior to those of her earlier years, it seemed no less than proper that the Colony of Virginia should settle a pension upon her for her son's services, and it took Washington's direct influence to prevent such action being taken by the Virginia Legislature. Nearly every letter of the mother is a complaint of the hard times and the difficulties under which she exists, the inference being doubtless conveyed that Washington was neglectful of her. In this connection there exists a letter which, misquoted and considered without context and other facts being given, has been held to show him unfilial. If it be considered unfilial for a man of long business experience, after suffering pecuniary loss and vexations for a series of years, to indicate to his mother in writing the unfortunate results flowing from her persistency in certain lines of business operations, and to outline to her a course whereby her declining years may be free of all care and anxiety, then Washington was unfilial. The determined old lady, then some eighty years of age, persisted in maintaining an establishment, and in conducting a plantation of which she was sole mistress, and which she could not herself manage. At the same time she considered that her son was a banker, who could be drawn on to make good all deficiencies resulting from thievish overseers, bad management, and unfavorable crop conditions. These drafts Washington had met uncompromisingly for years, and even then sent her the last money he had in hand. He was unable to meet his own current charges, which, always large as a Virginia gentleman, were greatly increased by his acts of kindness and charity to his kinsfolk. His expenses had become enormous in connection with the entertainment of the host of people who frequented, as visitors, hospitable Mount Vernon and the Presidential mansion in Philadelphia.

Advising his mother to lease her estate and live with one of her children he offered her a home at Mount Vernon, but as an honest man and filial son he stated clearly the situation and its alternatives. In a house constantly filled with distinguished visitors she must either dress daily for dinner, or come in her ordinary costume (which it is well understood was not suited for company), to the mortification of himself and his wife, or she must live in her own rooms, which would be trying to her. There was no suggestion that she should not visit him. On the contrary, the letter urged that she should live with some of her children, and, if she preferred it, at Mount Vernon. It appears in Washington's last

account of moneys paid out, that his mother drew on him to the extent of one thousand pounds or more in a few years. Washington's thoughtfulness for his mother is evident at this time, for on his visit to Philadelphia to attend the Constitutional convention, he purchased for her a cloak for ten pounds and also a chaise for forty pounds, while the expenditures for his own household were relatively much less.

THERE is every reason to believe that Washington's married life was one of increasing happiness and satisfaction. Unfortunately his letters to his wife were destroyed by her. But there are sufficient allusions in his general correspondence to indicate that they grew together with declining years, and that both husband and wife showed that consideration toward, and respect for, each other which are the soundest guarantees of marital happiness. Since circumstances did not permit frequent visits of his wife to her relatives we find Washington inviting her mother to come to Mount Vernon as her

seriously after midnight Washington's malady was at least hastened by his unwillingness that his wife should incur the risk of a cold by rising during the bitter winter night to relieve his suffering.

CURRENT opinion regarding the religious life of Washington has as its basis a special work on this subject by a clergyman who was married to a grand-niece. This effort to depict Washington as very devout from his childhood, as a strict Sabbatarian, and as in intimate spiritual communication with the church, is practically contradicted by his own letters.

His services as a vestryman had no special significance from a religious standpoint. The political affairs of a Virginia county were then directed by the vestry, which, having the power to elect its own members, was an important instrument of the oligarchy of Virginia.

Justice can only be done to Washington by outlining his religious environments. As to the Colonial church Bishop Meade states that dissolute parsons, discarded as unworthy in England, were presented with livings in Virginia, while Fiske points out that the Legislature passed special laws prohibiting these clergymen from drunkenness and riotous living. "A reckless sensualist," adds Mr. Hawks, "administered the morning dram to his guests from the silver [communion] cup." What wonder that such a formalistic irreligion of the established church failed to stimulate Washington into spiritual communion with it!

What Washington really believed as to the fundamental truths of Christianity, or as to non-essentials on which so many sectarian issues have been raised, cannot be definitely stated. He inherited the Episcopal form of faith by baptism, and throughout his life took an active part as a vestryman of that church. But even if he was ever confirmed in its faith there is no reliable evidence that he ever took communion with it or with any other church. In short, it seems that the very honesty and integrity of the man caused him to refrain from the more spiritual forms of activity in the church. Possibly his mind, as have the minds of

many men of high moral character, followed the irrational bent of inseparably associating principles and professions, and so looked askant at creeds and dogmas, where the lives of their foremost advocates gave the lie to the profession of the lips. It is notable, however, that as time went on, the occasional indifference of his youthful days gave place to a respectful, even if not devout, attitude with reference to religious matters. In a feeling of spiritual indifference to the church it is not surprising that, neglecting spiritual reasons, he wrote, as a Virginia colonel: "The want of a chaplain does reflect dishonor upon the regiment, as all other officers are allowed." And when he was urged to have public prayers in camp, so as to excite the curiosity and foster the conversion of the Indians, he ignored the recommendation.

Whenever local and domestic occasions required we find him filling his formal duties as vestryman and appearing as sponsor. But in his letters, even those of consolation, there appears almost nothing to indicate his spiritual frame of mind. A particularly careful study of the man's letters convinces me that while the spirit of Christianity, as exemplified in love of God and love of man, was the controlling factor of his nature, yet he never formulated his religious faith. A striking fact about him should be remembered, that while he lived in a Colony that joined in the religious ostracism and persecutions characteristic of the age, yet he was noted for his broad, liberal and sincere respect for the religious beliefs and conscientious scruples of others.

AS to the Sabbath he conformed to the local Virginia habits. After service the day was largely given to riding, visiting, dining, and to those innocent amusements and gatherings that many then believed to be essential safeguards of a community. From his childhood he traveled on Sunday whenever occasion required. He considered it proper for his negroes to fish, and on that day made at least one contract. During his official busy life Sunday was largely given to his home correspondence, being, as he says, the most convenient day in which to spare time from his public burdens to look after his impaired fortune and estates.

He was not regular in attendance at church, save possibly at home. While present at the First Provincial Congress in Philadelphia he went once to the Roman Catholic and once to the Episcopal church. He spent four months at the Constitutional convention, going six times to church, once each to the Romish high mass, to the Friends', to the Presbyterian and thrice to the Episcopal service. He respected the devout religious attitude of the Romish church by forbidding the celebration of Guy Fawkes' Day in the army, and again in repeatedly impressing upon his officers the necessity of respect and consideration for the religious faith of the French Canadians, whom he hoped to win to the American cause. Nor can it be believed that this was a question of policy, as the whole tenor of his life was in this direction. It is, however, somewhat striking that in several thousand letters the name of Jesus Christ never appears, and it is notably absent from his last will.



GEORGE AND MARTHA WASHINGTON

[Reproduced in Mezzotint by Dawson Watson, from Sharpless' hitherto unpublished Pastel Portraits, in Wadsworth's Athenaeum, Hartford, Connecticut]

home. It does not appear that this introduction added to the harmony of the household, or if it did the admission of other women, relatives of husband or of wife, did not. In this respect Washington, writing later about his niece living at Mount Vernon, speaks of his love for her, but he says, "I will never again have two women in my house when I am there myself." It may be incidentally mentioned that a commonly-accepted portrait of Martha Washington is shown by Conway to be actually that of the General's favorite sister, Betty.

Mrs. Washington proved an unflinching support to her husband in camp or court, in peace or war, and Washington had her happiness and comfort always at heart. His field service was irksome only as entailing constant uneasiness on the part of his wife.

Of the many instances of his tender solicitude for her uncertain health there is none more touching than that connected with his fatal illness. Attacked suddenly and



From "Mary and Martha."

Copyright, 1886, by Harper & Brothers.

THE ONLY PORTRAIT EXTANT OF MARY WASHINGTON

[This portrait, loaned by Prof. S. F. D. Morse to Mr. Benson Lossing, is the only picture of the mother of Washington which can be accepted as at all authentic. It pictures Mrs. Washington before her marriage, when she was Mary Ball.]

*The first article on "The Personal Side of Washington" appeared in the March issue of the JOURNAL.

As time went on, the importance of religious faith and convictions to the life of the people became more apparent to him, and his most notable utterance on this subject is in his farewell address: "Let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that natural morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle."

Modern criticism is little given to testing man's religion by the creed he recites, preferring to note his acts—especially toward those not of his own clan. It thus happens that we know much of Washington's religion while in doubt as to his theology.

The dominating trait of Washington's life was a spirit of equity, which is the nearest approach to perfect justice. Nowhere, as far as I know, did Washington quote the golden rule. But if an attentive study of this man's correspondence reveals any single rule of conduct, as permeating his business and social affairs, it is represented by the scriptural passage: "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise."

Once he says: "Rather than do a possible injury you may pay his executors." Again he pays a debt of fifty-one pounds where it was omitted from the bond. Time and again he instructs his agent that he wishes only the equitable thing, but with a touch of human nature often made it evident that this was a concession, as when he says: "You were right in detaining a part of his [Butler's] wages for lost time: yet I can better afford to be without the money than he can. You may pay him for the full time." What a record of Washington's fair dealing, that after forty years, full of business, he could write: "I do not recollect that in the course of my life I ever forfeited my word, or broke a promise made to any one."

His beneficence and charities were numberless and unceasing, not alone to his immediate family and to his distant kinsmen, but also to his friends and to the unfortunate. Many entries in his cash account emphasize his earnest conviction that often these entries were secret gifts, known only to the donor and recipient. As an illustration of his delicacy and liberality in this direction, may be instanced his offer to give for several years fifty pounds annually to educate a promising boy of an impecunious neighbor, with the distinct understanding that this kindness should not be made known. Then, too, his sending a thousand pounds to Madame Lafayette when in distress. Again, in his offer to educate the orphan son of General Greene, and his liberal subscription for the support of an orphan school at Alexandria—all actions that show how broad, timely and comprehensive were Washington's acts of charity. When ready money failed him he did not hesitate to borrow that he might loan to his friends. His private fortune suffered from the continuous inroads thereon, but these burdens were willingly assumed on behalf of his near relatives. As another example may be mentioned the charge of his brother Samuel's orphaned children, two boys and one girl, to whose affairs he gave his most earnest efforts, and on whose education, clothes, etc., he expended some two thousand pounds in about ten years. His letter to his niece, Harriot, is worthy of reproduction. As our first President he was struggling, almost to mental and physical exhaustion, under the multifarious cares incident to the successful initiation of a novel and somewhat distrusted scheme of government. That he should then have written with his own hand a long letter of advice to a dependent girl of fifteen is one of the many acts indicating the greatness of his character. He says in part:

"Your cousins, with whom you live, are well qualified to give you advice; and I am sure they will, if you are disposed to receive it. But if you are disobliging, self-willed and untowardly it is hardly to be expected that they will engage themselves in unpleasant disputes with you. . . . To be under little or no control may be pleasing to a mind that does not reflect, but this pleasure cannot be of long duration; and reason, too late, perhaps, may convince you of the folly of mispending time. You are not to learn, I am certain, that your fortune is small. Supply the want of it, then, with a well-cultivated mind, with dispositions to industry and frugality, with gentleness of manner, obliging temper, and such qualifications as will attract notice, and recommend you to a happy establishment for life."

WHILE his hospitality was open-handed, unceasing and lavish, yet it was dispensed with a gracious courtesy and dignity that made it an honor and pleasure together. To such an extent was Mount Vernon open to guests, even during Washington's absence, that he had good reason to believe that strangers came to it both from curiosity and for their convenience while traveling. Washington's strong sense of his personal dignity and individual rights prevented it from becoming a "Liberty Hall." Indeed, the potent forces which made Washington great in the public service tended naturally to induce habits of conduct, thought and expression that could not be always agreeable or acceptable to many of the free-handed, jovial gentlemen of the Old Dominion. Courteous, considerate and hospitable as Washington was, he brooked no interference with his private plans. He permitted no liberties with his rights, be they of person or property. To a neighbor asking that he might hunt over his grounds Washington says: "My fixed determination is that no person whatsoever shall hunt upon my grounds or waters. . . . I would give the same refusal to my brother if he lived off my land." But no one welcomed more heartily and frequently than he hunting or shooting parties of his own planning.

The shiftless, vicious and dissipated were rated by him soundly, in words of no uncertain tenor. Petty thieving, trespassing and poaching, practices so common as to be generally ignored, were to him detestable "villainies." He abhorred even more a breach of trust on the part of his laborers. When actual suffering impended there was none quicker to extend relief, which wisely assumed other forms than money if it was possible.

Strictly punctilious in his social relations, he exacted proper deference from his neighbors and relatives. In one instance he sharply chides his nephew for disrespect in failing to promptly pay his respects when he came into the neighborhood. The tendency Washington had to speak the whole truth, when occasion seemed to call for it, must have been unpalatable to many. Although somewhat autocratic in opinion and bearing he was a model and genial neighbor. When friendly aid or advice was wanted, an arbitrator in demand, or a trust fund had to be administered, his neighbors instinctively turned to him, and his services were never denied.

HIS early youth was a mixture of the twin spirits of brutality and sentiment that were then interwoven in American character. At sixteen the war dance of drunken Indians about a human scalp struck him as agreeable and comical rather than terrible. In early manhood blood-money did not seem abhorrent, for he asks: "In what manner are they [the Catawbas] to be paid for scalps? Are our soldiers entitled to the reward like indifferent people?" Almost in the same breath, touched by the pathetic condition of frontiersmen, whose homes and families were experiencing the horrors of Indian raids, he says: "I have a generous soul, sensible of wrongs, and swelling for redress, [and] I would be a willing offering to savage fury, and die by inches to save a people."

How far this distinction of sympathy as to Indians and whites came from the impassable gulf between whites and negroes, arising from slavery, cannot be said, but it may well have exercised an influence. However that may be, the growth and evolution of Washington appear nowhere to greater advantage than in connection with the system of slavery, which was part of the political environment of his life. Knowing in his childhood no other system of labor than that of negro slavery and indentured whites it is probable that he never looked seriously beyond these conditions until his visit to other Colonies, where the same iniquitous system of bondage obtained to a greater or less degree, but where, also, existing contrasts between free and slave labor at once impressed him.

Few men of his day had as extended an experience with and knowledge of slaves as Washington, for at least five hundred passed through his hands. Inheriting at first some half dozen, he died possessed of three hundred and seventeen, of whom one hundred and twenty-four were his own, one hundred and fifty-three came by dower, and forty were leased with certain land. His dealings were not confined alone to negroes, for white convicts and indentured servants became subject to his will by purchase. Observation and reflection soon gave Washington ideas on slavery far beyond his century in sagacity and morality.

One action only fails to find excuse, even under justification of a custom then general from Massachusetts to Georgia. I refer to the sale of a negro for exportation, as shown by the following letter:

"With this letter comes a negro, Tom, which I beg . . . you to sell in any of the [West Indies] islands, for whatever he will fetch, and bring me in return from him one hhd. of best molasses, one ditto of best rum . . . lymes . . . tamarinds . . . mixed sweetmeats, and the residue, much or little, in good old spirits . . . This fellow is a rogue and runaway."

WASHINGTON evidently never exported another negro, but held this up as a warning to his other slaves, who doubtless pushed to the extreme his consideration for them. That Washington was most humane, as judged by the standard of his time, must be evident to any one who reads his many letters to the superintendent of his estate during the years of his enforced absence. Food in plenty, good clothing, care in illness, harvest rum, seasonable gifts, with moderate tasks—yet negroes would run away, would plunder their master and resort to all manner of deceit. As the lash fell on the soldier in the ranks, and on unruly children, so it was relentless at Mount Vernon as on other slave estates. Washington urged admonition and strictly discouraged brutality. But he approved of the whip as the last resort. In the case of white servants authority was given the agent to sell them when obstinate. Whether these were whipped is doubtful, but some of them ran away. As to the negroes, this one and that were to be whipped, etc., and he writes: "Let Abram get his deserts; don't let Crow give it, he being passionate." He recognized differences between them and says: "Harsh treatment will not do with him [French Will]."

The nobler elements of the man overcame his environment, and there gradually grew up in Washington's heart a strong aversion to the whole system. As a planter he found it essential to conform to existing conditions. As a master he ameliorated the wretched state of the slaves. As a politician he advocated gradual abolition. But as a man he deplored the disgraceful system as debasing to slave and to owner.

Applauding Lafayette's plan of emancipation he says: "Would to God a like spirit would infuse itself generally into the minds of people of this country." Later he writes: "I never meant to possess another slave by purchase." And again: "Were it not, then, that I am principled against selling negroes, as you would do cattle at the market, I would not in twelve months from this date be possessed of one, as a slave."

This spirit bore fruit in his will, whereby all his own slaves were freed, the helpless provided for, and such reparation made as was possible. It may be added that his freedom from race prejudice was most strikingly exemplified by his enlistment, after Congress had discouraged such action, of free men of color, and by his letter of courteous acknowledgment to the African poetess who had dedicated an ode to him.

The frailties and imperfections that entered into the life of Washington were in part due to dominating phases of his environment, and in part to his individuality—as God-given or inherited.

THESE articles have failed in their object if they do not tend to inculcate in the minds of American youth the importance of will-power and right aspirations to the complete development of the individual. What are the salient changes wrought by these forces in the evolution of the man George Washington? For money his indomitable will sacrificed to the exigencies of harsh labor and uncongenial surroundings the pleasures of home life. Later, his noble aspirations valued gold only as a means of serving his country, of alleviating suffering, and of extending charity. Rising in an aristocratic community to the apex of its social system he then eagerly offered his assured standing and acquired fortune in order to insure civic and religious liberty to all grades of society. Brutality and cruelty marked the contests of his earlier day; in his mature years he was one of the most humane warriors of any age. The brooding curse of slavery imposed upon him traffic in human lives; later he rose above the race prejudices of his time, and by his individual action forestalled by sixty years that inevitable goal of individual freedom, which futurity deferred for America to another century. His irreligious surroundings and youthful habits were such as have sapped the better

character of thousands. Yet he came to recognize that his own evolutionary processes were no safe guides to humanity, but that the only sure road is that pointed out by religious faith and assimilated action, through the by-paths of sobriety, industry, charity and right living.

The time may come when experts can question the superiority of Washington as a General, or the entire wisdom of his policy as President. But, fortunately for his fame, there is only one standard by which the whole world measures an individual, and it is certain that so long as equity, honesty and charity are deemed the highest attributes of human nature, so long will the man George Washington remain at the apex of American manhood.

THE ART OF DOING WITHOUT

By Christine Terhune Herrick

WE hear much about "the art of making much out of little," but who sings the praises of "the art of doing without"? Yet this art is neither so common nor so simple that it should be looked upon with lack of respect. On the contrary, there are few who have grasped it with a saving faith, and learned to practice it with grace and comfort. Yet in none is there greater profit.

A knowledge of "the art of doing without" is of great profit to a man—when his wife and daughters follow it. For some reason, best determined by themselves, men do not take kindly to this branch of learning. They admire it in others, but they do not think it suited to their personal practice. Of course, "the art of doing without" loses its artistic character when carried to extremes—as in the case of the man who brought his horse down to one straw a day. It should be cultivated in moderation in order to get the best results. Since it is among women that it has its chief followers it may be as well to illustrate its advantages by a few examples drawn from among them.

The woman who has learned "the art of doing without" does not buy a thing simply because it is cheap. She does not say to herself when she sees a mark-down sale of silk waists advertised: "There is my opportunity. I would like a silk waist. They are so cheap that it would really be saving money to buy one." Or, perhaps, she may say this, if she is but a tyro in the art. But even if she makes this slip she brings herself up at once with a round turn and says: "Stop! Do I really need this? Or can I do without it?" And in eight cases out of ten the answer to the first question is no, and to the second, yes.

On the same principle, the students of the art do not purchase teacups that have been selling at fifty cents, just because they have "for a few days only" been reduced to thirty-nine cents. Nor do they buy patent medicines at a cut-rate price in a department store because some one may be ailing and need them.

It will instantly be recognized what a safeguard this art is to a woman's purse. The post-graduate is even secure from the temptations of bargain counters and the allurements of auction sales. The one query with which she strengthens her failing resolution is always the same: "Can I do without it?" And if she can she snaps her pocketbook shut and passes by on the other side.

As I said a few moments ago, there are enthusiasts in the art who carry it too far. The woman who does without new overshoes when there is a hole in the old ones, thereby getting her feet wet and taking cold, has not a correct sense of proportion. She must learn to bring common-sense into her calculations. So must the woman who shows a tendency to do without sufficiently warm underwear, or the pretty and becoming trifles that are necessities to the woman who wishes to fill well her duty of keeping herself attractive in the eyes of those she loves. There are some things it is extravagant to do without, and the woman who lapses into dowdiness or untidiness in pursuance of her economy makes as great a mistake as her sister who buys four new hats in a winter when she could have done without two of them and still looked charming.

Particularly to the woman who "must make sixpence do the work of sevenpence halfpenny," is this art most helpful. Her proficiency therein is of great advantage to her in every department. When she entertains her guests at a little dinner it teaches her that she may do without costly flowers and content herself with her little fern-filled jardinière as a centerpiece. It warns her not to attempt a long and halting repast beyond the capacity of her purse and the capabilities of her servants, but to do without a series of entrées and side dishes, and offer her guests, instead, a few well-cooked courses—a soup, a fish, or one simple entrée, a roast and vegetables, a salad, a light dessert and a cup of perfect coffee, all well prepared and well served. It instructs her in the unwisdom of making the showrooms of the house luxurious, and the living-rooms uninviting, by inducing her to do without imposing bric-à-brac and gorgeous gift books, when their sacrifice enables her to add to the family library, and make the girls' sitting-room or the boys' den a place where they love to linger themselves and to bring their friends.

The woman who has learned to do without is in no danger of sacrificing essentials to appearances. She does not buy her baby the silk and velvet cloak her motherly pride covets for him, when she knows that if he has it it must cover shabby and unsuitable frocks, since she cannot afford both. She herself does without an evening gown she might wear twice in the winter, for the sake of having a substantial and serviceable street costume that will be her stand-by for months. She does without seeing all the newest light plays and operas that come and go in a month, and saves the sum she can spend for amusements for good acting and good music.

Possibly it is too much to hope that the day will ever come when "the art of doing without" will have everywhere its leagues and its schools. Its chief school now, and always must be, is that of experience—the only school in which a fool will learn, runs the harsh proverb—but there are many matriculated there whose ignorance is by no means folly. Sometimes the students enter late in life, introduced by necessity, but even these eleventh-hour pupils are often graduated with honors. They make little noise in the world, but the art they practice leaves their lives. That "the art of doing without" is not better known and more highly esteemed is from no lack of intrinsic worth, but rather because of the modest and shrinking nature of those who practice it.