

ORIGINAL PORTRAITS OF WASHINGTON,¹
INCLUDING HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED PORTRAITS OF GENERAL
AND MRS. WASHINGTON AND NELLY CUSTIS.



THE DE BREHAN MINIATURE OF WASHINGTON.
(ORIGINAL IN POSSESSION OF MRS. F. T. MOORHEAD.)

THE centennial celebration of the inauguration of Washington as the first President of the United States and the exhibition of personal memorials of him collected on that occasion, together with the several illustrated articles that have since appeared in *THE CENTURY* and other periodicals, have brought to light many interesting mementos of Washington and Mrs. Washington hitherto unknown except to the privileged few who were of the inner circle of the fortunate owners. The possessors of these invaluable relics are, however, ready to recognize that while the individual pieces remain their personal property, the interest in them and their enjoyment rightfully belong to the whole people.

To those previously brought out of their hiding and laid bare to the public eye can now be added several of no less importance belonging to Mrs. F. T. Moorhead, of Allegheny, Pennsylvania, who has inherited them in direct succession from Martha Dandridge, the widow of

Daniel Parke Custis, who, January 6, 1759, became the wife of Colonel George Washington. As is well known, Mrs. Custis had two children, a daughter named for her mother, who died in 1773, when just budding into womanhood, and a son, John Parke Custis. The son married, when a mere youth, Eleanor, daughter of Benedict Calvert, a lineal descendant of Lord Baltimore, and dying while he was with his stepfather before Yorktown, left three daughters and one son. The two younger children, Eleanor and George Washington Parke Custis, were adopted by Washington, and the two elder, Eliza and Martha, became the wives respectively of Thomas Law and Thomas Peter. Mrs. Peter had three daughters, whom she named Columbia, America, and Britannia Wellington. America married Mr. Williams, and one of her daughters became the wife of Rear-Admiral John H. Upshur, whose daughter is Mrs. Moorhead, sixth in lineal descent from Martha Washington.

While all personal memorials of Washington are fraught with great interest, those that hand down a portrayal of his noble lineaments as they were revealed to the minds of the many artists who sought thus to immortalize themselves are without doubt the most important. With this article are given reproductions of three of these original portraits, each in profile, and taken at different periods. The earliest one, by the Marchioness de Brehan, is among the treasures belonging to Mrs. Moorhead, to whom we are indebted for the privilege of reproducing it, the exact size of the original, while the skill of the engraver has preserved its character with the utmost fidelity.

The Marchioness de Brehan was the sister of the Count de Moustier, who succeeded the Chevalier de Luzerne as minister from France to this country. She was a woman of marked eccentricities, and was accomplished both with her pen and with her pencil, and in the autumn of 1788 accompanied her brother on a visit to Mount Vernon. While there she persuaded her host to give her a sitting "to complete a miniature profile which she had begun from memory, and which she had made exceedingly like the original,"—as Washington records in his diary, October 3.

On the same occasion she painted a profile miniature of Nelly Custis, then in her tenth year, which is particularly interesting from the

¹ See previous illustrated articles of the same title by Mr. Hart in *THE CENTURY* for April, 1889, and May, 1890.—EDITOR.



THE DE BREHAN MINIATURE OF NELLY CUSTIS.
(ORIGINAL IN POSSESSION OF MRS. F. T. MOORHEAD.)

thoughtful character of the features, quite unusual in a girl so young. The two profiles are framed back to back, with a gold band, as a medallion, and are painted upon ivory in monochrome, water-color, very light in treatment, upon a background originally dark blue, but changed by time to a chocolate brown. When the writer's article under the same title appeared in *THE CENTURY* for April, 1889, the whereabouts of this original, which was reputed to have been painted upon copper, was unknown, and its discovery is very gratifying.

Madame de Brehan is said to have made several replicas of her profile of Washington with more or less variation, in one of them the profile of Lafayette being accolated behind that of Washington. This last-mentioned belonged, in 1848, to the master of Arlington House. That she took one home with her to France when she returned the next year is assured

from the fact that Washington writes to her brother, the Count de Moustier, November 1, 1790, acknowledging the receipt of his "letters of the 11th of May and 12th of July last, together with the flattering mark of your and Madame de Brehan's regard which accompanied the former." This flattering mark of regard was some proof impressions from a copperplate of the profile engraved in Paris; and Washington emphasized the guinea stamp he had already given in his diary to the correctness of the likeness by presenting these proofs to several of his friends. One of them went to Mrs. Robert Morris with the autograph inscription: "The President's compliments accompany the enclosed to Mrs. Morris."

Among Mrs. Moorhead's mementos are a small silver cup used by Washington throughout the Revolutionary war as a wine-glass, with the Washington crest engraved upon it; a heart-shaped locket containing on one side the hair of Washington and Mrs. Washington and of her four grandchildren, with the cipher "W. C." (Washington-Custis) in gold, and on the other side the initial "S" with the hair of Mrs. Washington's daughter-in-law and several of her children by her second husband, Dr. David Stuart; also, a miniature of Mrs. Washington, by Field, similar to the one belonging to Mrs. Moorhead's great-aunt, Mrs. Britannia W. Kennon, reproduced in *THE CENTURY* for May, 1890. Mrs. Kennon's collection has been freely drawn from on a previous occasion, but we are permitted through her courtesy to give two illustrations of exceeding interest never before made public.

When Charles Willson Peale painted his first portrait of Washington, at Mount Vernon, in the spring of 1772, he painted a miniature of Mrs. Washington for her son, then a youth of eighteen, for which Washington, as his guardian, paid ten guineas, the receipt for which, dated May 30, 1772, in Washington's handwriting, signed by the artist, is still in existence. Mrs. Washington was at that time in her fortieth year, and allowing for the greater youthfulness always appearing in a miniature by reason of its delicacy and minuteness, I have no hesitation in placing the illustration at this period and the work as that of the elder Peale. I re-

*The President's Compliments
accompany the enclosed - to
M^{rs} Morris*

cently had the privilege of examining critically this artistic and historic treasure, and the artist's signature is clearly found in the drawing, color, and general treatment. The eyes are grayish-blue and the hair dark-brown, slightly powdered in front. The dress is a delicate lilac, with rich white lace about the neck, fastened by a butterfly pin. A white lace veil, caught in the back of the hair with pearl ornaments, hangs over the right shoulder, and around the neck is a row of pearls.

The miniature, the size of the illustration, is as fresh as though it were just painted, and the artist's reputation could safely rest upon it alone. It is exquisitely set in gold, richly chased, as a pendant. With it is mounted a portrait in enamel of John Parke Custis, the son for whom it was originally painted. How interesting it would be to know that the guardian subsequently acquired the miniature painted for his ward, and that this is the identical one that George Washington Parke Custis tells us Washington wore around his neck through all the vicissitudes of his eventful career until his last days at Mount Vernon!

The reproduction of this early portrait of Martha Washington seems to be an appropriate occasion to refute the statement of Mr. Moncure D. Conway, in the introduction to his recently published volume entitled "George Washington and Mount Vernon," that the well-known Woolaston portrait of Martha Washington is not a portrait of Martha, the wife of George Washington, but of his sister Betty, who married Fielding Lewis. Mr. Conway says:

It is one of the many curiosities of Washington portraiture that the portrait of Betty Lewis at Marmion (probably by Woolaston) should be going about the world as that of Martha, General Washington's wife. There are portraits representing Martha Washington at all ages, and it appears inconceivable that any one could discover a resemblance between her and the portrait published as hers in Sparks (I., p. 106), in the "Republican Court," and even in the centennial CENTURY MAGAZINE for April, 1889. How this delusion originated one can hardly conjecture.

The only evidence adduced by Mr. Conway in support of his assertion is a copy of the print from Sparks's "Washington," with the following inscription written over it by Lewis W. Washington:

This engraving is taken from the portrait of Betty Washington, only sister of the General, who married Colonel Fielding Lewis. One of the original portraits is at Marmion, the residence of the late Daingerfield Lewis, of King George County, Virginia, one other at the residence of the late Lorenzo Lewis, of Clarke County, Virginia, and one in my possession.

Against these statements two pieces of evidence can be presented which seem to be unanswerable and conclusive. The portraits of Betty Lewis and her husband Fielding Lewis, named by Lewis W. Washington as being "at the residence of the late Lorenzo Lewis," were both exhibited in New York at the Washington Loan Collection, in April, 1889, and at Philadelphia in December, 1890, when they were sold by Birch's Sons to Mr. Charles Gunther of Chicago. On each of these occasions the writer critically examined the portrait of Mrs. Lewis, and in Philadelphia, in view of what Mr. Conway had written, paid especial attention to a comparison with the engraving of Martha Washington from Sparks. This com-



THE CHARLES WILLSON PEALE MINIATURE OF MRS. WASHINGTON.

(FROM THE ORIGINAL IN POSSESSION OF MRS. B. W. KENNON.)

parison showed satisfactorily that the engraving of Martha Washington from Sparks was *not* made from the portrait of Betty Lewis. The pose and the arrangement of the hair are very similar, but the crudely painted features, drapery, and points of detail are very different. The chief resemblance is in the handling, such as artists much more eminent than itinerant John Woolaston are not unapt to carry through their work. Particularly is this likely to be the case in portraits painted about the same time, and Martha Washington and Betty Lewis were probably limned together. As an illustration of the correctness of this remark many readers will recall how the portraits painted by Stuart about the time he was painting Washington are tinged with the General's characteristics. So much is this the case that Stuart's portraits of Thomas Willing and William Shippen are frequently taken for portraits of the Pater Patriæ, and that too not by the uninitiated.

This is the direct evidence on the sub-

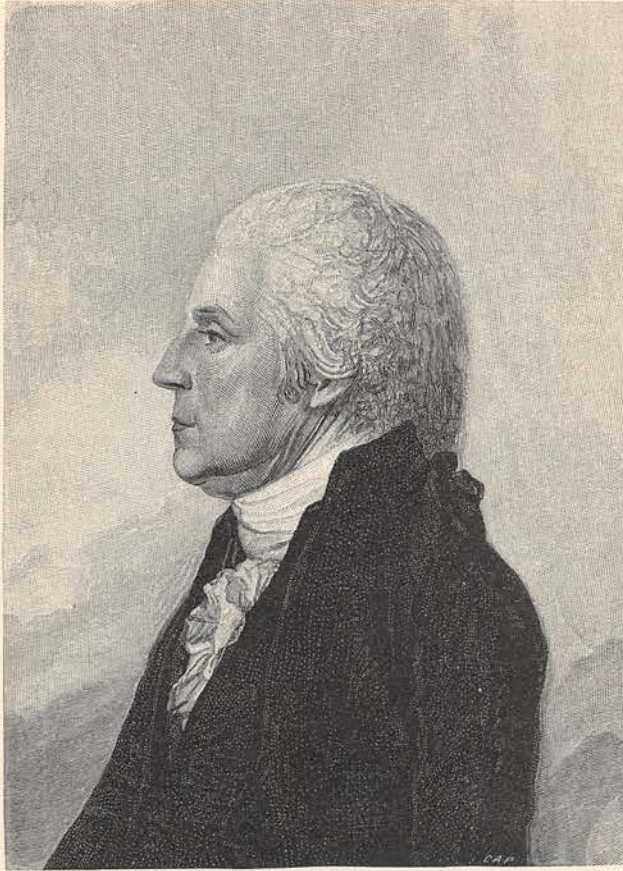


THE WASHINGTON PLAQUE BY CHAMPION. (FROM THE ORIGINAL IN POSSESSION OF MRS. E. W. KENNON.)

ject. The circumstantial evidence is possibly stronger.

The portrait of Martha Washington in Sparks's work was published in 1837. It is inscribed "From the original picture by Woolaston in the possession of G. W. P. Custis, Esq., Arlington House." At this time Lawrence Lewis, Washington's favorite nephew, the son of his sister Betty, was living at Arlington House with his wife, Eleanor Custis, the granddaughter of Martha Washington, by whom she had been reared. Is it to be believed that George Washington Parke Custis, Martha Washington's grandson, with whom he had lived from

his infancy to her death, would give Sparks a picture to publish as a portrait of his grandmother in his possession, when it was not? Or that Lawrence Lewis would allow his own mother's portrait to be engraved and published as a portrait of his aunt and his wife's grandmother? Or that he did not know his own mother's portrait? Or that Eleanor Custis Lewis would quietly stand by and allow her husband and brother to perpetrate such an ignoble fraud upon the nation? Such propositions are too absurd for serious consideration, yet they must be accepted, just as here stated, before Mr. Conway's iconoclasm can avail.



THE JAMES PEALE WATER-COLOR OF WASHINGTON.
(FROM THE ORIGINAL IN POSSESSION OF MR. CHARLES HENRY HART.)

When I visited Mrs. Kennon at her noble old mansion, "Tudor Place," Georgetown, D. C., I was irresistibly attracted by a deep oval frame in one corner of the drawing-room, and an inspection revealed the beautiful relief plaque in pure white porcelain which is shown on another page. I recognized it immediately as a companion to a similar plaque of Franklin, by Richard Champion, that had been sold, as once the property of Washington, in the Philadelphia sale of 1890 with the Lewis portraits. Another, that had belonged to Franklin himself, was exhibited by a descendant at the Washington Loan Collection, and a third is in the Edkins Museum at Bristol, England. This last Mr. Owen engraves in his "Two Centuries of Ceramic Art in Bristol," and says, "Champion's admiration of Franklin evidently impelled him to produce this elaborate work, which is the most important one that has been preserved to us." He then fixes 1778 as its date,— "the best period

of the Bristol works." But the Washington plaque discovered by the writer is a much more important and elaborate work than the Franklin, and, as it is heretofore unknown and undescribed, it is probably unique.

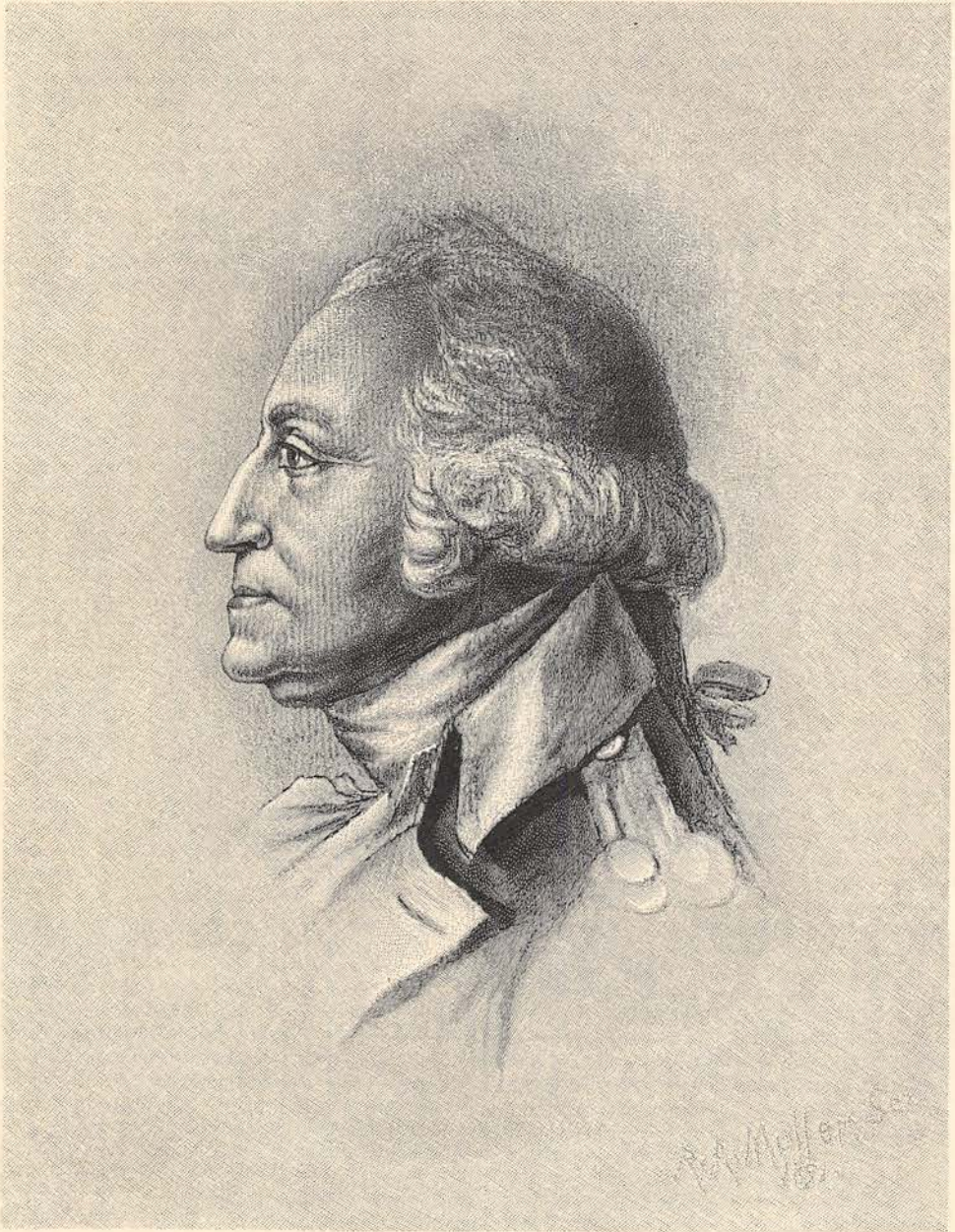
The portrait is evidently after Peale's picture of 1777. Above the medallion are the emblems of the revolted colonies, liberty cap and rattlesnake, crowned by a coronet with thirteen points, for the thirteen original States, each point capped with a star. Beneath the emblem is the shield of the Washington arms, and around it the flags of the Congress are festooned. When we remember that this was made in England by an Englishman during the heat of the war, his daring and friendliness must elicit our homage and our admiration.¹

These plaques have a history as interesting as their art. They were the product of the famous china-factory in Bristol, England, started by Richard Champion in the year of the pas-

¹ Mrs. Kennon writes to the editor concerning this plaque:

"All I can tell you about it is that it is a relic from Mount Vernon. It was brought from there by my

mother, after the death of my grandmother, Mrs. Washington, and later was given to me. I more than once asked her if she could tell who it represented, and she always said she could not."



THE ST. MEMIN PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON. (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH IN POSSESSION OF MR. CHARLES HENRY HART.)

sage of the Stamp Act. Champion was a firm friend of the colonies, and in the early days of the struggle with the mother country kept Robert Morris, who was his business correspondent in the middle colonies, fully and regularly advised of the movements and operations of the British Government. He doubtless made these plaques and presented them to Washington and Franklin as a mark of his esteem for their characters and of his deep interest in the

cause in which they were engaged; for the production of these elaborate and important pieces, eight and three quarter inches by seven and one eighth inches, could never have been undertaken for profit, the actual trade cost of the most simple ones being more than five pounds each. One of these minor flower-plaques is in the writer's cabinet. They are wonderful examples of the application of hard porcelain to works of great delicacy and beauty; for it will be un-

derstood that the entire design is in relief, the flowers being skilfully modeled with botanical accuracy.

Champion was one of the leaders in the movement caused by the political exigencies of the time, and was foremost in the strife in Bristol toward the close of 1769. He nominated Burke for Parliament at the famous election in November, 1774, which resulted in the return of Cruger and Burke, and the greatest work of his factory was the tea-service he made and presented to Mrs. Burke in commemoration of her husband's return as member for Bristol. The tea-pot of this service has been sold for £210, the milk-jug for £115, and a cup and saucer for £90, realizing the value of their weight in pure gold. The china-factory was not a financial success, and Champion abandoned it and left Bristol, November, 1781. The next spring Burke, upon being appointed paymaster-general by Lord Rockingham, named Champion as his deputy, and he held the office until the collapse of the ministry in 1784. Late in that year Champion sailed from England for South Carolina, where his brother-in-law, Caleb Lloyd, resided and had held the obnoxious office of stamp-distributer. He settled in Camden, became a planter, and was naturalized, and there he died October 7, 1791, the seventh anniversary of his sailing for America. The De Saussure family of South Carolina are his descendants, his only grandchild having married the only son of the eminent Chancellor De Saussure.

The remaining illustrations will be dismissed in a few words.

James Peale, a younger brother of Charles Willson Peale, was a very superior miniature-

painter, excelling his elder brother in this branch of the art. He painted Washington at least three times, and possibly four times, from life. The last sitting was in 1795, when Charles Willson, his young sons Raphael and Rembrandt, and his brother James all painted Washington at the same time. Three sittings were given, and the profile engraved for this article is the result of one of them. It is painted in water-color upon a small piece of paper, and only the face is finished; but for repose and placid, quiet dignity it is unequalled by any other portrait of Washington. The writer feels himself fortunate in the ownership of this charming drawing.

The last known original portrait of Washington also accompanies this article, and the outline of the profile must be true to life. It was made with the physionotrace at Philadelphia in November, 1798, by C. B. F. de St. Memin. The outline, the size of life, was produced upon pink drawing-paper and then finished in crayon. From this drawing a reduced profile of any desired size could be obtained by the use of the pantograph, and St. Memin's chief business was to reproduce profiles on copper, in a circle of two inches diameter, from which prints were made, and which were the *carte-de-visite* photographs of the end of the last century. The head of Washington he, however, reduced to a very much smaller size, and used the impressions for commemorative mourning-rings after Washington's death. The original drawing, excellently rendered in facsimile from a photograph, did belong to Mr. J. Carson Brevoort of Brooklyn, but since his death, a few years ago, no trace of it can be found.

Charles Henry Hart.

HEART OF HEARTS.

WILL you come to my heart of hearts? 'T is a path o'ergrown with rue,
Where rarely a footprint parts the mosses or dims the dew;
Yet there in the thorn tree cloven her nest hath a song-bird woven,
And deep in my heart of hearts the love-lights burn for you.

Would you wend from my heart of hearts? Shall I hold my guest my thrall?
Peace to the rose that starts wherever your footsteps fall!
But leaping in fitful flashes, the hearth-fire pants to ashes,
Shadow on bench and ingle, shadow on floor and wall.

All dark in my heart of hearts? Nay; we deemed the skies too far,
When we builded with rustic arts a roof for the storm to mar.
Only the wind at the latches, but in through thy broken thatches,
O shrine in my heart of hearts, gleams a glory-tinctured star.

Katharine Lee Bates.

fore they were withdrawn depreciated to less than one three hundredth of their face-value. Carlyle records that a hackney-coachman in Paris demanded six thousand livres, about fifteen hundred dollars, as fare for a short ride, in the last days of the *assignats*. In regard to the first issue, he says in the first volume of the "French Revolution":

Wherefore, on the 19th day of December, a paper-money of "*Assignats*," of Bonds secured, or *assigned*, on that Clerico-National Property, and unquestionably at least in payment of that,—is decreed: the first of a long series of like financial performances, which shall astonish mankind. So that now, while old rags last, there shall be no lack of circulating medium: whether of commodities to circulate thereon is another question. But, after

all, does not this assignat business speak volumes for modern science? Bankruptcy, we may say, was come, as the *end* of all Delusions needs must come: yet how gently, in softening diffusion, in mild succession, was it hereby made to fall;—like no all-destroying avalanche; like gentle showers of a powdery impalpable snow, shower after shower, till all was indeed buried, and yet little was destroyed that could not be replaced, be dispensed with! To such length has modern machinery reached. Bankruptcy we said was great; but indeed Money itself is a standing miracle.

The miracle of the *assignats* consisted in creating what appeared to be something out of nothing; but it returned in due season to nothing, leaving ruin and desolation behind it.

OPEN LETTERS.

The Disputed Picture in Sparks's "Washington."

IN THE CENTURY for February, 1892, Mr. Charles Henry Hart undertakes to "refute" what is stated in my volume, "George Washington and Mount Vernon," concerning the error of Sparks in publishing a portrait of Washington's sister as that of his wife. But Mr. Hart, in his comparative study, deals with the wrong picture! He contrasts the Sparks engraving with a picture from Clarke County shown in our Centennial Loan Exhibition in 1889. Although to me it is plain that the exhibited picture was meant for the same person as the Sparks picture, it is a wretched daub, and looks like some local artist's attempt to paint Betty Lewis in advanced age with the dress of her early portraits. However this may be, it is aside from the issue. The portrait to be compared with the supposed Martha Washington is the unquestionable Betty Lewis at Marmion, of which an engraving appeared in THE CENTURY for April.

A satisfactory comparison cannot, however, be made between the two engravings. The Sparks engraver has made the lady much younger than she is in the original, and has slightly rearranged her beads, so far as I can judge from a blue photograph of the original now before me. On the other hand, the Marmion lady appears older in black and white than in the original, which is represented in New York by a full-sized copy, made many years ago by a competent artist for the late Captain Coleman Williams, one of the Lewis family. Since seeing the picture in the April CENTURY, I have closely compared the pictures again, and believe the only important difference between the undisputed Betty Lewis and the supposed Martha Washington is in a slight rearrangement of hair over the forehead. In the originals the two appear to be of the same age, and the portraits were probably taken successively, Colonel Fielding Lewis ordering one picture of his bride for himself, another for her brother. In order to show that they were not replicas, the artist has altered the hair slightly, and some few details; the flower held in the right hand is changed, and the figure, standing in one case, is seated in the other. If Mr. Hart will call on me, he shall be shown the copy of the Marmion portrait beside the Sparks picture, and a photograph from the original represented by the latter. I do not doubt that he will

be convinced that, unless they be the same, no two unrelated ladies ever so miraculously resembled each other, or dressed so alike, even to the loops of the bow-knot at the breast, and ribbons floating out in the same way. I think, too, that Mr. Hart will admit that nothing less than a miracle could transform the lady of the Sparks picture, especially as seen in my photograph from the original, into the Mrs. Washington by Charles Willson Peale reproduced in his article in the February CENTURY.

It is not necessary for me to venture any theory as to the origin of the error in Sparks; but having some Virginia sentiment concerning the families connected by Mr. Hart with the matter, who are placed as I think in a false position, I must question the authenticity of his statement that G. W. P. Custis and Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence Lewis are responsible for the publication in Sparks. If indeed they believed the portrait to be that of Martha Washington, they may have got the notion from the book of Sparks, who might have got it from a negro housekeeper. None of them could remember Betty Lewis or Mrs. Washington at so early an age as that of the portrait, and they might easily have been misled. But were they misled? Mr. Custis does seem to allude to this portrait as that of his grandmother, but evidently had no definite knowledge about it. He says it was painted in 1757—the terrible year in which Martha Custis, after the death of her two children, saw her husband sinking into the grave. Is it to be supposed that then, or in any of those years of affliction, this bereaved mother and widow was painted in *décolleté* costume, and gayest colors, as shown in the original of the Sparks picture?

In 1855 Colonel Lewis Washington, who pointed out the error in Sparks, made a careful investigation of all the family pictures, and corresponded with Mr. Custis on the subject. In a letter to Colonel Lewis Washington (August 4, 1855), Mr. Custis speaks of the "majestic" Betty Lewis, and adds, "There is a good portrait of her." To what portrait did he refer? Certainly not to the wretched daub with which alone Mr. Hart has compared the Sparks picture. No sane man could describe that as good, or its subject as majestic. Mr. Custis could hardly mean Colonel Lewis Washington's own picture of Betty Lewis. The "good portrait" may have been that at Marmion, whose characteristics he might

not remember. Or, finally, Mr. Custis may have been convinced in 1855, when Colonel Lewis Washington called his attention to the matter, that the portrait at Arlington, which Sparks had engraved, was that of Betty Lewis.

Moncure D. Conway.

A Word More on the Distribution of Ability.

IN the abundant comment upon the article about "The Distribution of Ability in the United States" which appeared in the September CENTURY, much criticism was mingled. To reply to this criticism in detail would be needless, and would occupy too much space. But all of it, I think, can be met by a few general statements, and the more easily as most of it proceeds from a misapprehension of the original inquiry and of the system upon which it was conducted.

In the first place, I did not create the statistics; I merely collected them, and they are as free from error as it is possible to be in tallying and classifying over fifteen thousand names. I should have been glad to give figures which would have gratified every one's local and race sensibilities; and if I had been making up the lists as a work of the imagination solely to please myself, I should not have reached the conclusion that Connecticut among the States and the Huguenot French among the race stocks showed the highest percentage of ability. I gave the results exactly as I found them, and had no idea what they would be until all the names had been tallied, classified, and finally counted.

Another criticism has come from a failure to recognize the plainly stated system upon which the work was done. I adopted, for instance, a certain race classification. It is perfectly fair to criticize that classification as such, but it is absurd to say that I have misrepresented facts because the results of a different classification are not the same as mine. For example, I classified the Irish and the Scotch-Irish as two distinct race stocks, and I believe the distinction to be a sound one historically and scientifically. It is possible, of course, to take another view of this arrangement of races, and perhaps to defend it. But to add a large part of the Scotch-Irish to the Irish, as one of my critics has done, and then to accuse me of misrepresentation because his result based on one classification differs from mine based on another and entirely different one, is unfair and meaningless, and does not touch my conclusions. The Scotch-Irish from the north of Ireland, Protestant in religion and chiefly Scotch and English in blood and name, came to this country in large numbers in the eighteenth century, while the people of pure Irish stock came scarcely at all during the colonial period, and did not immigrate here largely until the present century was well advanced. There seems no good reason why a people who were not here except in very small numbers should perform the impossible feat of producing more ability than races which were here and which outnumbered them many times. In the table of persons born in the United States the number of pure Irish stock is small because there was very little of it. On the other hand, in the emigrant table, which represents ability after the Irish movement began, the Irish stand high. The Scotch-Irish and Huguenots show the reverse. They stand very high in the tables of persons born here, and almost disappear in the emigrant table. In

other words, the figures correspond, as they ought, with the facts of history and with the race movements.

The same principle holds true in regard to States. Communities cannot begin to produce native-born ability until they have been in existence as communities for at least the lifetime of one generation. For this reason the total amount of ability becomes less as we pass from the old thirteen States to those founded just after the Revolution, and thence through the different stages until the newest States are reached, where practically nothing is shown in the tables, simply because there has not been time for men and women to be born and to grow to maturity, and the active and able part of the population has of necessity come from outside. The criticism that birthplace should not be the test for the classification by communities seems hardly to require an answer, for a moment's reflection ought to convince any one that no other is practicable. Place of birth is no test of race, although it may be an indication, but it is a test for determining the community which produced a given man or woman. If we attempt to credit a person to the community in which he grew up or was educated, or in which he achieved his reputation, our only guide is discretion, and the classification could be disputed in every instance. The place of birth may sometimes be misleading as to the community which really produced a man or woman, but these errors are comparatively few; they balance, or tend to balance, one another, and the test itself is not open to dispute and is not a matter of personal discretion.

In addition to these general points, there is one specific objection which I wish to meet. Some of my critics said that it was not surprising that New England and New York showed such high figures, because "Appleton's Cyclopædia of National Biography" was a Northern and Eastern publication, and its editors were a New-Yorker and a New-Englander. It was intimated that if the "Cyclopædia" had been edited and published elsewhere, and by other persons, the result would have been different, and that the place of publication and the unconscious bias of the editors had given the States which showed the best results an undue advantage. This criticism was susceptible of a test which I have accordingly made. In regard to American ability the "Encyclopædia Britannica," whatever its merits or defects otherwise, is at least a disinterested witness, unswayed by either the State or race partialities of the United States. In the index of the "Encyclopædia Britannica" I find 317 names of Americans, who are not merely mentioned in lists, but of whom some account is given either under their own names or in connection with some general subject. Of these at least 250 would be placed without dispute among the 300 most distinguished Americans. Of the remaining 67 the right of some to be in the list would be disputed, while that of others would be rejected, by American judges. These last names, however, whether removed or left in, are so divided among races and States as to make no difference in the general result. These 317 names, therefore, selected by an entirely outside authority, I have classified and arranged just as I did those in the original article, and the results are given below. These tables explain themselves. It will be seen that they not only confirm the general trend and results of the Appleton tables, but accentuate the differences among the States shown by the latter, and fully sustain the conclusions of the original article.