THE GREAT SEAL OF THE UNITED STATES.

VOLUME I.

ITS
HISTORY AND HERALDRY.
THE SEAL OF HISTORY.
VOLUME I.

OUR INHERITANCE
IN
THE GREAT SEAL
OF
"MANASSEH,"
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

ITS
HISTORY AND HERALDRY;
AND ITS
SIGNIFICATION
UNTO
"THE GREAT PEOPLE"
THUS SEALED.

BY
CHARLES A. L. TOTTEN.

"Thou hast ordered all things in measure, in number, and weight."—Wisdom xi. 20.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.:
THE OUR RACE PUBLISHING COMPANY.
1897.
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CHARLES A. L. TOTTEN.
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To My Son
JAMES TOTTEN
AND TO ALL
"THE SONS OF THE REVOLUTION"

This Volume
Is Thoughtfully Dedicated
Trusting that they may be
Heartily Sealed
with

The Glowing Emblems
Which are their
Birthright and Inheritance
In Manasseh's Great People

M139362
"It is in and through symbols, that man consciously or unconsciously, lives, moves and has his being. Those ages, moreover, are accounted the noblest which can best recognize symbolical worth and prize it at the highest."

Carlyle.
Study No. 18

of

The Our Race Series.

The Seal of History.

TOTTEN.
"Every man of the Children of Israel shall pitch by his own standard, with the ensign of his father's house."
Num. ii. 2.

"On the west side shall be the Standard of the Camp of Ephraim, * * * And by him the Tribe of Manas- seh."
Num. ii. 18, 20.

"What nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh unto them, as the LORD our God is, in all that we call upon Him for."
Deut. iv. 7.
STUDY NUMBER EIGHTEEN.

THE SEAL OF HISTORY:
(MANASSEH'S)

Its History and Its Heraldry.

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He answered and said unto them, Because it is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given.

Matt. xiii. 11.
There are mysteries connected with the birth of this Republic. They link themselves to those which surround the very discovery of the continent upon which it stands; and they vanish even further back into the traditions of the people whom we have supplanted here. The same haze of mystery surrounds those legends of the old world which preserved at least the memory of the Lost Atlantis.

Rumor has ever made mention of America as the land of Republican ideas—a country set apart, at the very birth of nations, as the Land of Freedom. Long before even Columbus put his foot upon its sacred soil, it had been "spied out" by our Northern ancestors; perhaps the very ships of Dan, "the Pioneer of Israel," had grazed their keels upon its golden sands.

The fame thereof, however, worked its way but slowly back toward the Eastern World, and this heritage, reserved for "a great people" of the latter days, continued desolate. Rich in the exhaustless resources brought forth by the sun and moon, in the blessings of the everlasting hills, and of the deep, its broad plains clothed with verdure, the land enjoyed its Sabbaths, and grew fallow all along the ages. At
last the morning dawned, the Heir arrived, and in due time the Golden Age was born anew.

This sunrise has been sketched from many points of view, and its story told in many ways, but there is one summit, loftier than the rest, from which it has not yet been seen, one chapter in the record of the incidents that marked our nation's birth, which has not yet been set in perfect order.

It is from this standpoint that the picture is arrayed in its most mysterious proportions, and the object of this volume is to describe from thence the beauties of the scene.

Fort Adams, Newport, R. I.
November 27, 1882.
PREFACE TO REVISION.

Following the general principle of premonition whether as to things small or great, that "coming events cast their shadows before," the whole world in the generation that preceded our national birth was anticipating the establishment of Empire here, and the sealing of it down in perpetuity. Our land, that is, according to their notion, was to be the Seal of History and in fact it is, for there is no land west of us. We occupy as it were the Reverse of the globe. Its Obverse is the Old or Eastern Hemisphere; our own is the New World. Beyond our western shores Empire cannot pass but must then rise, as at a bulwark, and flood back until it overflows both faces of History. But even then the impression will be only that of the under face of God's universe, its terrestrial or Reverse side; for over us is the canopy of Heaven, the celestial side or Obverse of all things—unto which in the ages of the ages all earthly institutions are to grow until they reach the measure of a man, that is of an angel. The Great Seal of the United States of America is the Prophecy of this, and in those Millennial days Manasseh will indeed mean Peace.

New Haven, Conn.,
February 22, 1897.
"There was also a lot for the Tribe of Manasseh: for he was the first-born of Joseph; to wit, for Machir the first-born of Manasseh, the father of Gilead: because he was a man of war: therefore he had Gilead and Bashan."

Josh. xvii. 1.

"Out of the tribe of Manasseh in Bashan, thirteen cities."

I. Chron. vi. 62.

"The daughters of Manasseh had an inheritance among his sons."

Josh. xvii. 6.
The year 1882 was important in our annals as the Centennial anniversary of the adoption of our Great Seal. This fact was duly celebrated at the United States Mint in Philadelphia by the striking and issue of a Commemorative Medal, in which for the first time since its original adoption, the entire heraldry of this important instrument has been officially displayed. The seal, as originally adopted by the statute of June 20th, 1782, consisted of two faces, an Obverse or front, with which we have been historically familiar for the past century, and a Reverse or back, which never until upon the occasion mentioned had received any official recognition.

In former times it was customary to append seals to documents by means of a cord. They were usually round, and in shape similar to large coins or medals—thus having two faces and sets of devices. They were generally made by allowing the wax to run into a mold, the bottom of which was engraved to correspond to the desired Reverse, passing the ribbon, already attached to the document, through the heated wax, and, after running in more wax, closing down thereon an upper die, engraved for the front or Obverse of the seal. Upon the cooling of the wax, the dies were removed and a pendant seal, sometimes
weighing several ounces or even pounds, was left attached to the document.

The custom of attaching pendant seals to important papers has gradually fallen into disuse, save in the case of treaties. In the days of the Revolution this method of sealing was an almost universal custom for treaties and the like, but was just about nearing the end of the transition state, and pendant seals were rapidly becoming more or less obsolete. It is probable that this fact, and the far greater convenience afforded by stamping a seal directly upon and into the paper itself, together with the greater after security to this important affixture, have conspired to relegate pendant seals into their present very general disuse. This is at least so upon such important and legal documents as require frequent handling. Then, too, the employment of wax, in the sealing of the large class of legal papers, has very generally given place to that of paper disks, intended to be stuck onto the documents and pressed into them by means of a double stamp, or die and matrix. Indeed, there is a growing custom to-day, which promises soon to become universal, of doing away with even paper disks, or any other adhesive substance, and forcing the body of the document itself into the matrix with the die, in such a manner as to leave its impression permanently thereon. The act of sealing in this latter case is just as solemn and deliberate, and the result is an impression much more certain, clearer and more lasting. This method of sealing was legalized by Congress in 1854.
With the displaying of the Reverse face of this important part of our national regalia, its whole symbolism is at last set forth, and a propitious moment has arrived at which not only to relate its past history and original heraldry, but to try and lift the veil from deeper teachings hidden in its beautifully harmonized devices and proportions. It is in such a spirit that the present volume is sent out, trusting that the hearts of those, into whose hands it may find its way, will be led to seek the substance through the shadows traced.

Fort Barancas, Florida, December 27th, 1882.

INTRODUCTION TO REVISION.

"There are no accidents;" hence it obtains that the issue of this particular Study, so long delayed, falls better at this juncture of American affairs than had it gone out at the time when we proposed. As a matter of fact we had the same experience with this volume that we had with Study No. One. No publisher would accept it without the guaranteed sale of many copies, and we ourselves were unable to foot so large a contract against a small subscription list. While it waited, therefore, we collected illustrations and had them photo-engraved and electrotyped, and at length, in the course of our own independent effort to put truth before our neighbors, have arrived at a time
when we can add this testimony to the Patriotic Library of the Country without thanks to any other human imprint than our own.

It is a strange fact that this is the first exhaustive History of the Great Seal of the United States that has ever been issued, the few magazine articles and brochures thereon that have preceded it not supporting any preëmptory claims to being standard occupations of the Truth. But the need of such a volume is apparent, in that the Seal comprises the elementary Heraldry of our country.

The story of the Flag has long ago been thoroughly told by our friend Admiral Preble, and that this volume on the Seal, in which he took a personal interest in the days of its small beginnings, may be deemed worthy to find a place beside his own upon the National shelves, is our very natural desire.

But more than this, that the sentiments inspired by both the Seal and Flag may find responsive echoes in the hearts of those who live under them is the chief aim of both publications. The defense of them falls to the Navy and to the Army, and thus their History has naturally devolved upon those who were once active in those branches of the service. If now the Civil Departments of the Government will but consummate their own parts to the better realization of so lofty a body of symbology as remains for detailed recognition in the Seal itself the work of its Defenders and Historians will be well rewarded,

New Haven, Conn.
March 4, 1897.
HERALDIC TERMS EMPLOYED.

This brief vocabulary is introduced for ready reference. All standard Dictionaries and Encyclopedias give the heraldic terms, with definitions, and illustrations: dictionaries generally contain more or less complete lists of mottoes with their translations. Books on Heraldry will be found in most public libraries. It is a specific science and has its own rules of representation which sometimes make blazonry appear distorted; but Art must follow these rules exactly or incur criticism. As a matter of fact, however, and of congratulation, the Arms and crest of the United States of America, and the Reverse to its Great Seal are composed of such primary and simple emblems, all in harmony, that the rules of art and of heraldry may vie with each other in their representation thereof—none of its elements are distorted, and all of them are "proper," or as in Nature. In this respect and to the superlative degree we have perhaps, the most unique emblazonry among the nations: indeed, it is so true to nature in its conception, and susceptible of such direct reading, that some have found fault with it as though it were untrue to Heraldry itself; in which they greatly err in that it is the harmony thereof without room for any distortion.

Argent—silver, shown in engraving by a plain white surface. Arms—the armorial ensigns of a family or nation. Azure—blue, represented in engraving by horizontal lines. Barry—divided into bars. Base—bottom of the field of an emblazonry. Basepoint—the central point of the base. Bear—to wear as insignia. Bendy—the field divided into diagonal parts varying in tincture. Blazon—to display conspicuously.
CANTON—a part of the chief cut off on the left or right-hand corner, like the field of a flag.
CHARGED—bearing a charge or figure on the escutcheon.
CHEVRONS—bars or rafters on an escutcheon leaning against one another.
CHIEF—the upper part of the escutcheon.
COUNTER-FLORY—flowers, divided and separated by the whole width of the bearing.
CROUPÉ—cut off evenly.
CREST—the part of the achievement outside of and above the escutcheon.
DAMASKED—decorated with an ornamental pattern.
DEXTER—the right hand.
DISPLAYED—as with distended wings; a spread eagle.
ERLINE—adorned with ermine; fur.
ESCUTCHEON—the shield.
ESTOILE—Etoile, a star, five-pointed; old French Heraldic term.
EXERGUE—the place around and outside the figure on a coin or die, where the inscription is written.
FESS—the centre of the escutcheon.
FESS-POINT—centre of shield.
FIELD—the whole surface of the shield or continent.
FIMBRIATE—to ornament in ordinary with a narrow border of another tincture.
FLORY OR FLEURY—decorated with fleurs-de-lis.
GLORY—a shekinah, halo or circle of rays over the head.
GULES—red, represented in engraving by close vertical lines.
HERALDRY—pertaining to arms and blazonry.
ISSUE—to rise out of as Phoenix from fire.
INTERLACE—twist, in-weave or wreathe.
JOIN—to put in contact, as chevrons.
KEEP—a castle; to keep; to support.
KNOTTED—tied as a bundle.
LEGEND—the inscription placed around the field of a medal.
MOTTO—a phrase carried in a scroll alluding to the bearing.
MULLET—a figure in shape like the rowel of a spur, six-pointed and punctured; the filial distinction of a third son.
HERALDIC TERMS EMPLOYED.

Natant—swimming; as Volant, flying.
Nimbus—a glory, as in art.
Obverse—the "head" or front face of a seal, coin, or medal.
Or—gold or yellow, engraved by dots on a white ground.
Pale—a perpendicular stripe on the escutcheon.
Paleways, Palewise, or Paly—divided into equal parts or pieces by perpendicular lines.
Parti—cut vertically.
Pieces—originally independent, permanently united.
Proper—of natural color or colors.
Quarters—the smaller escutcheons within the larger one.
Reliant—a secondary supporter.
Reverse—the "tail" or back of a coin, seal, or medal.
Sable—black: represented in engraving by a network of vertical and horizontal lines at right angles to each other.
Saltier—in the shape of St. Andrew's cross.
Sanguinated—blood-stained, or blood-color.
Scutcheon—shield.
Seme—covered with small bearings.
Sinister—the left hand.
Supporters—the figures that appear to support the arms.
Tenants—supporters.
Tinctures—the metals and colors.
Tips in Base—tips lowered.
Tips in Chief—tips raised.
Tressure—a double border within the escutcheon, but not reaching the edge.
Upset—charged wrong, as sinister for dexter.
Vert—green, represented in engraving by diagonal lines.
Volant—Flying, as Aquila.
Wreath—a garland or chaplet.
X—a mark, a sign; sometimes erased.
Yclept—called; as by name Manasseh.
Zenith—overhead—the place of the crest.
"I work a work in your days, which ye shall in no wise believe, though a man declare it unto you."

Acts. xiii. 41.

"It is the glory of God to conceal a thing; but the honor of Kings to search out a matter."

Prov. xxv. 2.
THE GREAT SEAL

OF

The United States of America.

ITS

HISTORY AND HERALDRY.
"In one short view subjected to our eye
Gods, emperors, heroes, sages, beauties lie."
"Essay on Medals."—Pope.

"When seven and six shall make but one,
The Lion's might shall be undone."
"Prophecy 1000 years old."—(Lossing.)

"And thou shalt serve thy brother;
And it shall come to pass, when thou shalt have rule,
That thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck."
Gen. XXVII. 40.
"How vain are all hereditary honours, 
Those poor possessions from another's deeds, 
Unless our own just virtues form our title, 
And give a sanction to our fond assumptions."

Undoubtedly the universal sentiment of Patriotism leads all Peoples to love and revere above others, the symbols of their own country. But with every deference to this natural and native sentiment, and compared only upon the basis of intrinsic merit and symbolic beauty, there can be little hesitation in awarding to us the palm for the most beautiful Flag that floats, and for a Seal wonderful in origin and equally beautiful in design, in symmetry, and in sentiment.

Among national regalia there are none more important than the Flag and Seal—the one an emblem of living acts and constant aspirations, the other a guarantee of acts accomplished and of plighted faith. They embleemize the deeds of the national hand, and the resolutions of its heart. While then we may dispense with sceptres and with crowns, no nation can have a proper recognition without a Flag and Seal, nor understand them without recourse to History and Heraldry.
There are yet many important chapters in the history of this Seal, to be written as "the Great People," whose acts it ratifies, shall unfold itself, but a most interesting point has now been reached, in this the Seal's centennial year,* whereat to endeavor to relate the story of its origin and to unfold its exalted teachings to the generation into whose hands it has now come down, and is entrusted.

The history of this Seal is a most interesting one and bears evidence of the jealousy with which the great minds that were the fathers of the Republic bent themselves to the study of the very smallest details of our national birth. Committee after committee was appointed upon the subject of this Seal alone, and report after report, during the passage of nearly six years, was laid aside as still unsatisfactory:

At last in June, 1782, the rapidly approaching dawn of a peace that was to ensure the life of the young nation, hitherto only struggling from the womb, demanded of Congress a final action upon the "Coat of Arms" with which to clothe it. Upon the 13th of this month the whole matter was laid by Congress before its Secretary, Mr. Charles Thomson, and by him, eventually, and embodying all the good features of previous designs, together with some important new ideas from other sources, put into the form in which seven days after, on the 20th of June,

* This Study was begun in 1882 and finished in 1883. Its final revision into type is now begun in 1896, thirteen years later, which fact will account for some apparent anachronisms in the text, which latter we intend to alter as little as possible.
1782, it was finally reported back to, and immediately ratified by, Congress.

The care with which the reports of the several committees were scrutinized, and the promptness with which the crude and earlier ones were successively laid aside, shows, that while Heraldry may not have been the forte of these young republicans, they were still most ardent students of its inner spirit—that of loftiest symbolism; and were determined that their final action should embody only such a system of emblazonry as should be forever pregnant with all the more inspiring sentiments surrounding the birth of "The New Atlantis."

As with the history of the Flag, so with that of the Great Seal, we find that the ideas eventually adopted were the result of growth, development, and of a most judicious exercise of careful selection. The growth of the former was without, among the People, and amid the smoke of battle; that of the latter, looking towards more peaceful times, was within, among the Fathers, and in the quiet halls of national deliberation. In both cases the issue was happy in the extreme.

Among the very earliest acts of the infant Republic was that of appointing a committee to devise a suitable "Great Seal," by means of which to authenticate and lend sanction to its decrees. So important, indeed, appeared to be the immediate necessity of such an instrument to the founders of our nationality, that upon the very day of the Declaration of its Independence, July 4th, 1776, soon after the reading
THE SEAL OF HISTORY.

of the document, a committee of no less prominence than the following: Dr. Benjamin Franklin, Mr. John Adams, and Mr. Thomas Jefferson, was appointed to prepare a device for the Great Seal of the United States of America.*

After dinner, upon this eventful day, Congress returned to its labors, and at some time late in the afternoon, or in the evening, transacted this among other matters.

This item of business, next to the last to be reached on that day of crisis, was recorded in the "Journals of Congress," as follows:

Resolved, that Doctor Franklin, Mr. J. Adams and Mr. Jefferson be a committee to prepare a device for the Seal of the United States of America.

"The chairman of the committee to consider the subject of the Seal was Doctor Franklin, the oldest of the signers of the Declaration and then more than seventy years of age. John Adams, the next named, was somewhat over forty, 'looking like a short, thick Archbishop of Canterbury,' as he once described himself, and as represented by another 'in claret-colored coat, with a bald head,' bearing the burden of the chief advocacy of the Declaration in the prolonged debate. To the third in order, 'the tall young Jefferson,' whose drafting of the document scheduled a few hours before, for its unique place in history, gave him a novel distinction, was now assigned the corresponding task of combining his own ideas with those of other members of the committee in a

THE FLAG ADOPTED.

report for a device for a Seal" (Lander in Mag. of Amer. Hist., May–June, 1893).

It was not until somewhat of a year afterwards (June 14, 1777) that the American Congress "Resolved: That the flag of the thirteen United States, be thirteen stripes alternate red and white; that the union be thirteen stars, white, in a blue field, representing a new constellation.' Thus, full fledged, and without any debate or previous legislation our flag was flung, as a new constellation among the nations."

With the Seal, however, it was different. The importance of the Arms, the Crest, and Seal naturally and logically took precedence in the deliberations of these thoughtful men, whose wisdom, whether their own or tempered from above, conspicuously marked their every act. The year of Independence, MDCCLXXVI., now marked upon the Reverse of the Great Seal, may thus be taken as of double significance—in a certain sense the date belongs to the Seal itself, as in the higher one it is that of the Country.

The work of this first committee, consisting of Franklin, Adams, and Jefferson, commenced immediately. Soon after their appointment they called to

*Preble's "Hist of the Flag," 1882, page 259.（1852–82）.
About this same time (April 1777–March 16, 1778) the State of New York adopted its present Arms, and placed the Eagle with the Western aspect on its crest. This was four years earlier than the appearance of the eagle on the National Seal, and was the first use of the eagle by any of the States (vide page 32 "Correct Arms of the State of New York." by Henry A. Homes, LL.D., 1880).
their aid the assistance of a little French West Indian portrait painter named Du Simitiére,* a man skilful in designs and water colors.

In his article on the Great Seal in the *Magazine of American History*, June, '93, Mr. Lander says:

"In preparing their device for a seal, the committee received the aid of Eugéne Pierre du Simitiére, the West Indian Frenchman (or as Mr. Winsor says "Swiss"), who had executed the early profile of Washington, which was the first head used on American coin (1791) and several times subsequently copied on medals. In 1783 he published in London a quarto volume of thirteen portraits of American legislators, patriots and soldiers. He was esteemed as a painter, whose designs were ingenious, and whose drawings were well-executed. He cut profiles on black paper, and painted miniatures and other pictures in water-colors. Adams wrote to his wife that this curious man, Du Simitiére, had begun a collection of materials for a history of the Revolution, going back to the first advices of the Tea Ships: In his correspondence Mr. Adams says of Du Simitiére:

He cuts out of the newspapers every scrap of intelligence and every piece of speculation and pastes it upon clean paper, arranging them under the head of that State to which they belong and intends to bind them up into volumes. He has a list of every speculation and pamphlet concerning Independence and another of those concerning forms of government.

Mons. Du Simitiére, who was a decided genius, was introduced by Jefferson, was employed not

DU SIMITIÈRE’S DEVICE.

only to sketch the designs proposed by the committee, but was also asked to submit devices of his own. Among others, this artist proposed a shield whereon were displayed the armorial ensigns of the several nations from whence American population had been chiefly derived.

DU SIMITIÈRE’S DEVICE.

The six “quarterings” of this shield embody the arms of England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Germany and Holland. The shield was supported upon the dexter side by Liberty, with staff and cap, and upon the sinister side by a Patriot in buckskin, holding a tomahawk in his right hand and a rifle in his left. In the zenith over the shield, and occupying the place of the Crest, was an All-Seeing Eye,* and

*Its first appearance in Great Seal history.
below the shield the motto "Bello vel Pace." As a legend around the whole were the words, "The Great Seal of the United States of America."

It will be observed nevertheless that the art-idea was rather confused in Du Simitière's design, for while the motto was primarily warlike, the support to the shield was the reverse, for Liberty stands upon Bello, whereas War stands upon Pace,—perhaps, too, from yet another point of view there is design and fitness to be found even in this arrangement, for a subtle balance is thus struck and the true philosophy and end, and the ways and means thereto of both states put in double contrast.

It is in this design that we first meet with the All-Seeing Eye surrounded with rays which became a part of the Reverse of the Great Seal as finally adopted by Congress, and we may perhaps find in the motto itself, "By War or by Peace," the indirect suggestion of our eventual preference as a nation in our dealings with other nations among whom we were striving to associate ourselves. In those days war en-canopied our heavens and her genius sought the dexter recognition.

*We have this same sentiment preserved and embodied by implication or suggestion in the emblems now held in the talons of the American Eagle, but noticeably reversed. Instead of "By War or by Peace," it is an offering of the "Olive Branch" in the dexter talon and of a "Bundle of Arrows" as an alternative, in the other. Thus America declares primarily for Peace (the olive branch), while for a last resort she stands for war (a bundle of pointed arrows.)
The several members of the committee likewise submitted individual propositions.* For instance:

Benjamin Franklin proposed for the device Moses lifting his wand and dividing the Red Sea, and Pharaoh and his hosts overwhelmed with the waters. For a motto he advocated the words of Cromwell, "Rebellion to Tyrants is Obedience to God."

*All this is learned from one of Mr. Adams' letters to his wife (see "American Archives," Fifth Series, I. 944; also see Parton's "Life of Benjamin Franklin," Vol. II. pp. 131-132). It is unfortunate that no letter of Mr. Adams bearing upon the Prestwick controversy has yet been produced.

†This particular drawing is an ideal one prepared by Mr. Lossing from the description, rather than from any sketch on file in the State Department. It will be noticed that, like Du Simitière's, it has a distinct division into parts that serve for "Crest" and "Arms."
Mr. Thomas Jefferson was so struck with this motto that he adopted it as his own and had it inscribed upon his private seal (see Lossing's "Field Book of the Revolution" for the engraving of this seal from which the accompanying illustration is taken.)

The Seal itself was found among Mr. Jefferson's papers after his death, and came into the possession of Mr. Bancroft, the Historian, who loaned it to Lossing.

The motto, "Rebellion to Tyrants is Obedience to God," was used as the epitaph of John Bradshaw, chief of the Regicides.

The epitaph itself was posted upon the windows of New England inns during the war of the American Revolution ("History of Flag," Preble, 3d Ed., 1882).

Mr. Gaillard Hunt, in his Memoire of the Seal, prepared for and printed by the State Department in
1892 A.D., considers that "the legend, 'Rebellion to Tyrants is Obedience to God,' intended for the reverse of the Seal, is a singular illustration of an historical myth." He says: "Thomas Hollis, of England, born in London 1720, and one of the early patrons of Harvard College, in his memoirs states:"*

The following epitaph is often seen pasted up in the houses of North America. It throws some light upon the principles of the people, and may in some measure account for the asperity of the war carrying on against them. The original is engraved upon a cannon at the summit of a steep hill near Martha Bray [Bay], in Jamaica:

"Stranger

'Ere thou pass, contemplate this Cannon,
'Nor regardless be told
'That near its base lies departed the dust
'Of John Bradshaw,
'Who, nobly superior to selfish regards,
'Despising alike the pageantry of courtly splendour,
'The blast of calumny
'And the terrors of royal vengeance,
'Presided in the illustrious band of Heroes and Patriots,
'Who fairly and openly adjudged
'Charles Stuart,
'Tyrant of England,
'To a public and exemplary death;
'Thereby presenting to the amazed world,
'And transmitting down through applauding ages
'The most Glorious example
'Of unshaken virtue,
'Love of Freedom
'And impartial Justice
'Ever exhibited on the blood-stained theatre

*"Memoires of Thomas Hollis, Esq., F.R. and A.S.S.,"
THE SEAL OF HISTORY.

"Of human actions.
"Oh Reader
"Pass not on, till thou hast blessed his memory;
"And never, never forget
"That Rebellion to Tyrants
"Is Obedience to God."*

Mr. Hunt continues: "A copy of this supposititious epitaph in Jefferson's handwriting was given to his young friend, De Lyon, one of the Frenchmen who was with Lafayette in his tour of America in 1824. The manuscript was dated 1776, and stated that the inscription had been found three years earlier on the cannon at Martha Bay, Jamaica. A note, evidently by Mr. Jefferson himself, his biographer states, says:

From many circumstances there is reason to believe there does not exist any such inscription as the above, and that it was written by Dr. Franklin, in whose hands it was first seen. —Randall's "Life of Jefferson," Vol. III., p. 585.

"The mention made by Mr. Hollis in his memoire of having found the quotation at length pasted up in the windows of inns in New England in the early days of the Revolutionary struggle remains undisputed, although investigators of the story of the Jamaica Bay epitaph have declared it a fiction."

For instance, Mr. Hunt further remarks that:
"The whole story is transparently untrue. Brad-

*President Stiles of Yale, in his "Regicides," quotes this epitaph in 1794 and introduces the matter as follows: "It is problematical, and can never be ascertained whether the bodies of Bradshaw and Cromwell were actually taken up and dishonored at the Restoration. It is in secret tradition that Bradshaw was conveyed to Jamaica. This epitaph is descriptive of him, and full of spirit. In a public print of 1775 it is said:" here follows the epitaph as above, quoted independently in 1794.
shaw was first buried with a great deal of ceremony in Westminster Abbey. Upon the Restoration his corpse was taken from the coffin and hung, after which the trunk was thrown into a hole at the foot of the gallows and the head publicly displayed, as the custom was in those days. Some members of the court of which he was president are said to have gone to Jamaica, but early in this century the historian of that island stated, from his own knowledge, that the report of the epitaph was a fiction."*

All this is manifestly true as to Bradshaw's death at Westminster, October 31, 1659,† and the exhumation of his body, its exposure at Tyburn and beheading January 30, 1661, but it has nothing specific to do with his "dust," nor as to its final disposition at Jamaica, or elsewhere in this new world, whither Goffe and Whalley had certainly come and found refuge by July 27, 1660. The motto, "Rebellion to Tyrants is Obedience to God," is with little doubt an excerpt from the original epitaph of John Bradshaw, the chief of the Regicides, and is associated

*Edward's History of the British West Indies, Vol. I., p. 213 (5th Ed.). It is a question whether Martha bay may not refer to Jamaica bay, Long Island, N. Y., instead of the Jamaica of the West Indies. Some such cannon could easily have existed, as it was the custom of those days to engrave them with various similar legends. The motto alone is important, and may well have formed a part of the original epitaph of Bradshaw in Westminster Abbey, all trace of which was of course destroyed in 1661. For instance, if it did not contain this motto what was the epitaph? and how does it become associated with the regicides at all?

with the history of the other Regicides. For instance, it has for years been written over what is called the "Regicides' Cave," West Rock, New Haven, Conn.*

We are personally acquainted with several gentlemen in New Haven who testify to having seen a motto to this effect more than forty-five years ago; from thence down to date the evidence is complete.†

*Where it appeared, chiseled in the form "Opposition to tyrants is obedience to God." Goffe was Whalley's son-in-law, and Whalley was Cromwell's cousin.

†In "Historical, Poetical, and Religious American Scenes," by John W. Barber, written and copyrighted 1850, printed 1852, New Haven, Conn., this motto is referred to as inscribed on one of the rocks at the cave; and a diligent public search, as to the origin thereof, by ourselves, has traced at least one of its renewals to a Rev. Mr. Jones who lived "many years before" the youth of people who are now more than seventy years old. One witness, now forty-five, vouches for having scraped the moss out of the letters when a boy," and says his mother, now seventy, knew of it as a child in dispute as Regicidal in origin. It has probably been a repetend and will be to the ages. Nor is the sentiment a modern one; for instance: President Stiles to whom we owe the very best memoire upon this topic (356 pages) has not a little to say upon the justification of a necessitated Rebellion, as for instance this: "And though many tumults and cruel events may arise in the cause of a great revolution which would be unjustifiable, and which no friend to order, no judicious and upright civilian would justify, but republate in an ordinary and righteous course of government, yet the cause itself, and everything eventually subservient to it, is justifiable on the highest principles of public right. The cause is good, though it should be sometimes improperly carried on, and even though it should be unsuccessful, and defeated. I think this collation of the houses of Stuart and Bourbon in point to justify resistance to the Stuarts," page 336.
Perhaps the most reliable witness in the case is Mr. Horace Day, now an octogenarian, and one of those in our community who are best informed upon local antiquarian matters. He testifies to having seen the inscription referred to fully sixty years ago, and to having heard that it was cut by the Rev. Isaac Jones, an Episcopal clergyman of Bethany, perhaps a score of years earlier; that soon after there appeared in the same paper an article claiming that a man by the name of Hotchkiss of Hotchkissville (now Westville), claimed to have cut it; all of which adds to our conviction that the inscription had several coincident, or closely successive repetitions, and that it dates at least from the beginning of our century. The fact is, Stiles' "Regicides" would have been an all-sufficient determinant for its appearance thereabouts upon the Rock.

Barber in his "Antiquities of New Haven," the first edition of which appeared in 1831 (others in 1856, and 1870) gives much space to the Regicides and, under a view of the "Cave," the following note:

"On the perpendicular rock shown in the engraving was formerly very legibly engraved, 'Opposition to Tyrants is Obedience to God.'" Henry Howe in his "Outline History of New Haven" (O. A. Dorman Pub., 1884), says, "From time immemorial has been seen this line, though now nearly if not quite obliterated, 'Disobedience to Tyrants is Obedience to God.'" In a copy of Barber's "Antiquities" (edition of 1856) now in the New Haven Historical Library, a pencil note by its former owner, says as to this
motto, "rubbed out three years ago." Thus there appears to have been a succession of inscriptions and erasures, of which had we the unbroken history of all, it is entirely possible that they would go back to a similar expression put there in the eldest days.

THE OLD INSCRIPTION, PHOTOGRAPHED 1896.

The inscription is certainly there to-day, or a restoration thereof, which long antedates the erection of the tablet put there in October, 1896. In the large photograph from which our own "half-tone" illustration was reduced, the present inscription can be read quite plainly, and the place thereof can be seen, in the illustration itself, somewhat to the right of the new tablet on which the motto is repeated.

Referring to the justification of the Regicides, Stiles further remarks as "to the work which Oliver and the Judges atchieved: * * * And though every other rebellion is unjustifiable, yet such an exigence may be adjudged to necessitate and justify rebellion, for it's said 'rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God,'" and to this he submits this note: "See one of the most profound and learned productions of human nature, an anonymous treatise, De jure magistratum in subditos & officio subditurum erga Magistratus, published at London, 1576, in which the limits of obedience and some of the cases of justifiable resistance are stated."
vide "Judges" Library New Haven Young Men's Institute, N 37, p. 290).

One of our own ancestors, Richard Saltonstall, Jr., son of Sir Richard, and grandfather of Governor Saltonstall, was knowing to the secreting of the Regicides here in New England; and aided and abetted therein; "when he went to England in 1672 he presented them with £50 at his departure, and they received donations from several others, but doubtless very confidentially."

"Indeed, all New England were their friends, although they did not wish to be too knowing about them. They did not view them as traitors, but as unfortunate sufferers in the noble cause of civil liberty, prostrated by the Restoration, and again lost and overwhelmed in a return and irresistible inundation of tyranny. They no more considered themselves as protectors of rebels than England did in protecting the exiles from Germany at the Reformation, and the refugees from France at the revocation of the edict of Nantz."—Stiles, "The Regicides"—1794, pp. 111-112.

The history of the Regicides is indissolubly bound up with that of New England, and particularly with that of Connecticut and New Haven, where Goffe and Whalley arrived about March 7, 1661, and remained concealed in its vicinity for some three and a half years. In the meantime Dixwell, in disguise, came to New Haven from Hadley, about 1662, and lived there under an assumed name till his death in 1688, just before which he revealed his identity to his family. In 1664 Whalley and Goffe, to escape apprehension, removed to Hadley, Mass., where they died about 1678 and 1680 respectively. "The tradition at Hadley is that they were buried in the minister's cellar,
and it is generally supposed that their bodies were afterwards secretly conveyed to New Haven and placed near Dixwell's. The supposition is strongly confirmed by three stones yet remaining in the old burying ground at New Haven, in the rear of the Center church, which are marked E. W. for Whalley, M.*G. for Goffe, and J. D., Esq., for Dixwell. (Vide Barber's "Connecticut Historical Collections," pp. 151-158.

This is no late theory, but a well-preserved fact, no doubt more than legendary, that was of current recognition at least seventy-three years ago; for instance: in the account of La Fayette's visit to New Haven in 1824, published in the Connecticut Journal of August 21 that year, occurs the following sentence: "Returning (from Prof. Silliman's, where he had called upon Mrs. Trumbull) the students again met him, at the bottom of Hillhouse avenue, and entered Temple street, passing the graves of Whalley, Dixwell, and Goffe, he again entered the hotel."—Hist. and Antiquities of New Haven, p. 144.

Three streets in New Haven are still named in honor of these men, Whalley and Dixwell avenues, and Goffe street, the graves and headstones of the Regicides are now enclosed with an iron railing on the Green, in rear of Center church, and all the circumstances of care with which their last resting place was originally concealed were not only in full keeping with the necessities of the case, but lend credence to the fact that even Bradshaw's dust itself may have found final rest where least expected.

* An inverted W. Intentional. (Vide Stiles).
† This matter is exhaustively discussed in Stiles' "Regicides" (1794), a volume of no mean pretensions, and the source, since the loss of Governor Hutchinson's memoirs, of all that has been preserved thereon. It is no wonder then that here, in New Haven, founded on such facts and kept green by such authority, the Cave has been inscribed and reinscribed as often as erased, with the principle of justified rebellion, that is as old as Pharaoh and Rehoboam. The present motto on the Rock is actually dated 1803. It is undoubtedly the reiteration of a long sequence of variants, and dates at least from 1775 A.D., and from how long before we dare not surmise. It is beyond the memory of this living generation, as we ourselves can vouch from evidence in hand that West Rock has voiced the sentiment under consideration.
In this current year, 1896 A.D., of our revision of this manuscript, a bronze tablature has been erected there by the Society of Colonial Wars.
It reads as follows:

**JUDGES' CAVE.**


"OPPOSITION TO TYRANTS IS OBEDIENCE TO GOD."

1896.

TABLET ON JUDGES' CAVE, WEST ROCK. 1896.*

*This Tablet (accepted by the Park Commission, Oct. 14, 1896, Charles Dudley Warner, Orator), is a handsome bronze, 41 by 42 inches in size, made by Tiffany. It bears in relief at the top, the Shield of the Society of Colonial Wars of Connecticut, beneath which is the inscription as given above.

As a matter of fact the Revolution began in 1215 A.D. when the Magna Carta was first wrung from the Crown, and did not fully end until 1815 A.D. when the right of Search was finally curtailed. Thus it lasted a full cycle of the Saros. In the Magna Carta the Crown gave up the rights of "taxation without representation," and of "proceeding against any free man," "in any way," "unless by legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land." But owing to their disregard of this law, and the recurrent defiance of the kings, it had to be renewed no less than thirty-two times in England alone.—When English men came to this land they merely took the Magna Carta for granted and maintained their rights, à l'outrance.

The story is too long for more than an enumeration of the headings to its later chapters which are supposed to be familiar to all who speak the Anglo-Saxon tongue. The patience of Old England literally wore out under the Stuarts. Even on his way from Scotland to assume his crown James caused a person suspected of theft to be hung without judge or jury, exclaiming, "Do I make the laws? Do I make the Bishops? Then, by God's wounds, I make what likes me, laws and gospel." This spirit naturally led to the "opposition of the commons." Meanwhile his own opposition to the "Separatists" drove their nucleus as Pilgrims to America; so the strain increased. Next the "Star Chamber" decisions of Charles led to the "Petition of Rights," merely an earlier form of our own "Bill of Rights."

Resistance in those days was the necessary outcome of the struggle for existence itself. The principle of "Salus populi suprema lex," became a last resort. "Pride's Purge" led to the "Rump Parliament," that to the impeachment trial, and execution of Charles. "The Great Council" (Bradshaw President, and John Milton Secretary of Foreign Correspondence) was followed by "Barebones' Parliament," whose voluntary dissolution led to "Cromwell and the Protectorate." And then Israel again abode "for many days without a king."

When the Restoration came, with immunity to all but the Regicides, some few of them escaped as we have seen, and then for a century the stream of natural "Separatists" flowed towards America. When, therefore, the principles of Magna Carta were blindly denied to three million colonists three thousand miles away, the old story of justifiable resistance and revolt was an inevitable result, which it must be admitted is not without sufficient precedent as to authority. The fact is the entire Revolution, as it were a Saros long, was Manasseh's education and development; the events of 1776-83 to 1812-15 were but the final and sharp incidents thereof, which now are long enough ago to admit of the same calm review by all concerned that Anglo-Saxons ever gave to matters that are really settled.
But to return to the committee:

Adams proposed Gribelin's engraving of The Choice of Hercules—the Hero resting on a club; Virtue pointing to her rugged mountain on one hand and persuading him to ascend; and Sloth, glancing at her flowery paths of pleasure, wantonly reclining on the ground displaying both the charms of her eloquence and person to seduce him into vice. "But this is too complicated a group for a Seal or medal, and it is not original," Mr. Adams himself admits, under date of August 14th, 1776, in a letter to his wife.

This engraving is a rare one, and we reproduce it probably for the first time from the original works of the Earl of Shaftesbury.*

It appears as the frontispiece to Shaftesbury's Treatise VII., Vol. III., of his "Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, and Times," and is followed by a Brochure of some forty-five pages descriptive and critical, both of the genius of Gribelin and the genesis of the particular art in such a topic. In the words of Earl Shaftesbury it is strictly to be entitled "The Judgment of Hercules; who being young, and ritir'd to a solitary place, in order to deliberate on the Choice he was to make of the different ways of Life, was accosted (as our Historian relates) by the two goddesses Virtue, and Pleasure. 'Tis on the issue of the controversy between these Two, that the

*Thos. Cooper, 3d Earl, moralist and miscellaneous writer, 1671–1713 A.D. Copy of "Characteristics" in Yale University Library. Ed. of MDCCXIV.
A Notion of the Historical Draught or Tablature of the Judgment of Hercules, According to Prodicus, Lib. II. Xen. de Mem. Soc.
character of Hercules depends. So that we may naturally give this Piece and History, as well as the Title of The Education, as *The Choice* or Judgment of Hercules."

Shaftesbury's works were widely known in the Colonies, and the theme was well suggested. The Hercules or Samson would have been as significant an entablature as that proposed by Jefferson which we have now to consider.

To Thomas Jefferson is due the credit of having first proposed a double device; that is of suggesting a Seal with both Obverse and Reverse faces, and thus one which should be most naturally a pendant. His idea in this respect was always thereafter embodied in the work of future committees, and though the reverse finally adopted was not used, nor even cut for a century, and the entire Seal has never yet been employed in its true pendant form or even with its double devices showing—it is to this day legitimately possessed of both obverse and reverse faces.

**JEFFERSON'S OBVERSE DEVICE.**

Jefferson proposed for the Obverse device, "The Children of Israel in the Wilderness," led by a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night. Whose particular treatment of this subject Jefferson had in mind is not known, but the conception is fairly realized in Castelli's picture, which might have formed the basis for a fine medallic treatment.

**HENGIST AND HORSA.**

For the other or Reverse side Jefferson proposed "Hengist and Horsa, the Saxon chiefs from whom
ISRAEL IN THE WILDERNESS.

(Jefferson's Device.)
we claim the honor of being descended, and whose political principles and form of government we have assumed.* But here again we are in doubt as to what specific treatment of this topic Jefferson favored, or whether he selected any realization thereof in particular, but the Horse would certainly have been prominent in the regalia had this line of thought been followed out, and it would have been the horse of Odin, and that not without significant tracings back to Odin's Israelitish origin. (Rev. vi. 2; xix. 11.

"In 440–450 A.D. the last Roman legions embarked for home on the Thames. They were to ascend the Tiber as far as Rome, which was then besieged by the barbarians of the north; and the Roman eagles were thus finally carried away from Britain, where they had hovered for nearly five centuries, only to the ultimate advantage of the Britons. The evacuation of the Romans was followed by the invasion of the Anglo-Saxons and the Jutes or Jutlanders, under the

* The most careful search has failed to reveal any treatment of this topic that may have been in Jefferson's mind, other than his own ideal. The "Encyclopedia of Painters and Engravers," in so far as an end to end examination of its recorded topics goes, contains no reference to a "Hengist and Horsa," but Coleman's Magazine, volume 80, is quoted by Poole, as having at least an article thereon, whether illustrated or not we do not know. If any reader of this work knows of, or shall run across what may have been the desired illustration, antedating 1776, he will confer a favor on the author by reporting it, as by its omission, perhaps a gem has escaped our utmost ardor of collection. (No copies at Yale, or in New Haven).
command of Hengist, a Jutland prince.* These barbarians dispersed the Britons upon the south shore, but paid for their victory by the death of Horsa, the brother of Hengist, who was killed on the field of battle.† Horsa derived his name from Horseus, his native town in Jutland, whence he adopted for his ensign the war-horse of Odin, the god Mars of the north. Hengist erected a tomb to his brother on the field (Horsa’s Ham, or modern Horsham in Sussex) where he fell, and hoisted his brother’s ensign, the ambling horse of Odin, over Canterbury, of which he was the first king. Aneurin, a Cambrian bard, who was taken prisoner by Hengist, describes this prince in his odes—The Gododin—as wearing emblems, and a golden tocque or gorget, when he fought d cheval with Rubor, the Red Dragon, and Arthur, the King of the Britons, who held his court at Avalonia.”‡

The Horse was borne of old by Dan himself, whose seal the Lacedæmonians actually inherited, and used in demonstration of their kinship with Judah, while the white horse was the earliest standard of Cecropia, having come from Egypt by sea, probably in Dan’s earliest ships.§

* 449 A.D. Anglo-Saxon Chron. 446 A.D. Bede.
† 455 A.D., Anglo-Saxon Chron.
‡ The Regal Armorie. (Burnet.)
§ My friend and collaborator, Mr. F. U. Downing, of Columbus, Georgia, suggests here that the very word “S-hip” may contain the root of the Greek word ἵππος (hippos) a horse.”
In fact, the tradition of the white horse arriving in *Dania* or ancient Greece by sea was arranged into a sacred pedigree traced back to the one that Neptune or *Poseidon* created to endow Athens. It was given to Mars, the God of War (also one of Dan’s personifications), and so became the standard of Attica, being shown above the grasshopper, which was the aboriginal device of that country, but in time became a prominent badge of Greek nobility.

Others of the *thirteen* earliest colonies of Greece (Hellas and Peloponnesus) carried similar heraldic devices. For instance; the Thessalonians adored the immortal sorrel horse Xanthus, the Corinthians the winged Pegasus, while even Alexander the Great, King of Macedon (of Bucephalian fame), planted his standard near the image of Hercules, Alexander’s tutelary deity, and by some traced to a personification of Samson himself, who was also of the tribe of *Dan*.

But while the horse of Dan was not destined to honor in these parts, the eagle of Dan was, for Manasseh came not hither save in ships which are all within Dan’s special domain. The four leading divisions of Israel in the wilderness were Reuben, Ephraim, Judah, and *Dan*, and they are supposed to be designated by the component parts of the cherubim and seraphim—a man, an ox, a lion, and an *eagle*.*

In this connection, and as it were by what need not

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*The Talmudists gave to Dan a Serpent, or an Eagle. Of course the Horse and Serpent are Biblical. Gen. xliv. 16-18,
be claimed to be more than an indirect coincidence, the flag of Washington's Life Guard is particularly interesting in that it was charged with both the Horse and Eagle, the latter most significantly displayed.

This flag is still preserved in the museum of Alexandria, Va. It is of white silk, on which the device is neatly painted. One of the guard (why not Washington himself?) is holding a horse, and in the act of receiving a flag from the Genius of Liberty personified as a woman leaning upon the Union Shield, near which is an American Eagle. The motto of the corps 'Conquer or Die' is on a ribbon over the device. The Latin of this motto is "Aut Vincere aut mori," the equivalent of "Aut haec aut nullus,"* and implies a general association of the ideas that sprang from this particular standard into Seal History. (Vide page 57.)

"This Life Guard was a distinct corps of mounted men, attached to the person of Washington, but never spared in battle. It was organized in 1776, soon after the siege of Boston, while the American Army was encamped near the city of New York,"

* This or naught.
and thus long before the final adoption of the Great Seal.*

In fact while its very first committee was at work upon the rudiments of our heraldry, this Corps and its famous Flag sprang into existence and were the constant companions of Washington himself, from whose own Arms and Crest, there need be little doubt, we owe, at least remotely, the basis of our national flag itself, and consequently the remote or Archaic basis of our escutcheon.

WASHINGTON'S ARMS AND CREST.

It is foreign to our present purpose to discuss the origin of the Flag itself, i.e., of the probable source of its stars and bars. Personally we have little doubt that it sprang, remotely at least, from the hereditary Arms of George Washington, or rather, perhaps, that its official adoption was facilitated by the coincidence which, howsoever it arose, certainly exists between them; and which seems to have been perceived by Congress at the time. At any rate its recognition would have been a very natural honor to confer upon him who was destined to be, and is now known as the Father of his Country.

It is a matter of record that when Congress was ready to declare our independence it made preparations, likewise, to adopt a national standard formed

* "Care was taken to have all the States, from which the Continental army was supplied with troops, represented in this Corps." Hence its banner must soon have been well known everywhere.
WASHINGTON'S ARMS AND CREST.

WASHINGTON'S ARMORY.

Family Arms.
(Sulgrave Manor.)

Arms and Crest.
(Herald Office.)

Coach Emblazonry.

Book-Plate.

The probable origin of the stars and stripes.

out of the Archaic elements that in some variety were already more or less familiar to the people. Congress then sent for Washington himself, who came on to Philadelphia from New York, and, among other things, conferred with them upon the Flag. Thereupon in company with Colonel Ross and Mr. Robert Morris, he repaired to the house of Mrs. John Ross, who was an upholsterer, telling her that they were "a Committee of Congress," and that they wanted her to make a Flag from a rough draft, which at her suggestion was then and there, in her back-parlor, redrawn in pencil by Washington himself.

As to the actual motive of Congress, we have no records at all; very naturally the secret of its intent was never divulged, and whatever discussion occurred before or after must have been had in private—there were many things done in star chamber in those days that were too sacred for disclosure, and for fear of their misconception the very Secretary of Congress eventually destroyed all his notes. Nor have we a word from Washington himself intimating that he understood the compliment.

It is a matter of natural history that "the eagle lays two eggs in the first week of July," and it is another matter of fact that in addition to the Seal the Flag thus designed in June-July, 1776, was recognized by Congress and adopted in due time, June 14, 1777, without any further discussion, and "was the first star spangled banner that ever floated [officially] on the breeze," that the manufacture of Flags for the Government resided for many years thereafter with
Mrs. Ross and her family: and that the relation of this particular family to the manufacture of the flag sprang from this incident, is quite as intimate and honorable a contention as that of the Bartons as to the origin of the Seal.

Finally, even had Washington no personal interest or influence in the selection of the emblems on the Flag, the action of Congress in consulting him thereon, as the commander-in-chief of the Continental Army, was most natural, and it is safe to say that the less he and Congress had to do with it, as an intentional reference to himself, the more remarkable becomes the coincidence between it and the Washington Coat of Arms that has been known from the time of Columbus, and that now for 365 years has been chiseled on the old family manor-house at Sulgrave, Northamptonshire, England.

That Washington, who actually employed his Arms and Crest upon his Seal, on his Book-Plate, on his Watch-Seal, and upon his Presidential Coach (whence the five-pointed stars upon his coinage) failed to perceive that these same emblems were apotheosized into the very Flag of the land he had himself pioneered to victory and independence, is beyond the necessity of our admission. While the emblems themselves remain in evidence, they will command the astonished interest of all mankind, and their admiration that he who declined a crown is none the less thus honored in a regalia that springs from the ducal coronet upon his own royal arms; for we can actually trace the pedigree of George Washington back to David and beyond.
THE SEAL OF HISTORY.

It is a difficult thing to trace out the consecutive association of ideas involved in what we have now to note, but this flag of the Life Guard, which must have been familiar to all and particularly to Congress, is very suggestive of the Seal history and of its finally most prominent feature.

In the first place its central device is the flag upon the flag itself. Of course this emblazoned flag is the National flag; it is supported, as it were, by the same warrior and woman employed by Du Simitiére, and later by Barton in their own Seal devices, while the final reliants are the Horse* and

THE EAGLE.

It is to the latter in particular that we desire to call original notice, for it seems to have escaped attention that right here we find the very earliest exemplification of what eventually became our main heraldic device, must have been well known to Mr. John Adams, and may have formed a casually transmitted suggestion to Sir John Prestwick himself before

*The white horse on a red field was the armorial bearing of ancient Saxony or Westphalia, and has for centuries been borne by the illustrious House of Brunswick. In the reign of George I. these arms formed the fourth quarter of the British insignia.
A SIGNIFICANT EMBLEM.

the latter selected it and made it the prominent design for our armorial insignia.

It will be noticed that the national Shield, whether starred in chief or not, is vertically "palewayed," that it is borne by the Eagle on its own breast rather than heraldically related to the Woman who stands for the Genius of America. This little reliant is, upon analysis, a very obtrusive emblem; even Odin's horse turns its regards thereto, and by the mere association of ideas it may have worked itself (albeit for some years yet beneath the surface of the nation's recognition) into the place it now occupies.

At any rate, attendant upon Washington wherever he went during the following years of the Seal and National history, we have this Life Guard and its suggestive Flag, and there is quite as much relation between it and the National arms ultimately adopted as there is admitted to be between the flag of the country and the arms of Washington himself.

We note all this merely en passant, for hitherto no one has directly claimed any specific relation in the premises, nor do we, save such as gathered in an unseen way in those days, and in ours dawns on us only as an after thought of at least possibly determinant potence.

But to return to the Committee, and to their own suggestions. They were working more wisely than they knew, from whatsoever source suggestions came, and it may even be that the Flag of the Life Guard itself was the design of some of those on whose talents they themselves depended. At any rate the
manifest connection between the Arms of Washington, the Flag of the United States, the several proposed Seals and mottoes, and this Flag of the Life Guard is too apparent not to be noticed in this connection.

A general point of great interest in the work of this earliest committee upon the Great Seal is the unanimity with which they went to the Scriptures as the fountain source of the most glowing symbolism. The early struggles towards liberty of the Hebrew people with tyrannical Egypt—the land of bricks without straw—was most naturally suggestive of our own struggle with the mother country, then trying, like Pharaoh of old, to exact from us a tale of taxation without representation. As the passage of the Red Sea had been prepared for the escaped of Israel, so the broad Atlantic had been smoothed for the "Pilgrim Fathers." As Pharaoh, with hardened heart, followed, to the destruction of his armies and his chariots, the Israelites, as they fled through the sea into the wilderness beyond, so, too, the hardened ruler of the old country essayed to pursue across the ocean, and into the farther, wilder wilderness beyond, which was to be their "desolate heritage," this later people—set apart for great purposes—only to encounter equivalent destruction.*

The device proposed by Franklin viewed the drama of Liberty in its first act—the passage of the sea, and the destruction of the pursuer—while that
of Jefferson viewed the liberated people in the wilderness, their freedom fully assured, and themselves certain of Divine guidance in the possession of the Pillar and the Cloud. Adams' "Hercules" is but the Samson of the subsequent and Federated stage of Israel's development.

There came a later day in the history of Israel when, at the death of Solomon, the tribes across the Jordan, led by the sons of Joseph, sought redress for grievances. It was a repetition, within itself, of the old story of Taxation and Oppression. Obtaining no redress it led to the separation of Israel from Judah. It was then that was raised the celebrated cry, "To your tents, O Israel; now David, see to thine own house!" And so all Israel departed, as a people separated from Judah unto this day (II. Chron. x. 1-19), but with restored Scepter!

To those who are impressed with the mysteries of history we would recommend that they read chapters xi. and xii. of I. Kings, in connection with the record of the twenty-five years that preceded the Revolution in America.* That the parallelism was noticed at the time is manifest from contemporaneous writings. Vide Stiles' "Judges."

But history is only a repetition of the cycles with additions. Within itself the Anglo-Saxon race has had its dramas of equal import. The struggle that gave rise to the words attributed to Cromwell, "Rebellion to Tyrants is Obedience to God," was but one

of them, and but a forerunner to that of ours which secured not only liberty of conscience, but of man.

"General rebellions of a whole people never were encouraged, now or at any time. They are always provoked." (Burke, Letter to Sheriff of Bristol, April 3, 1777).

"When the British ministry brought the American papers before Parliament, Lord Chatham rose. 'The way,' he said, 'must be immediately opened for reconciliation. It will soon be too late. They say you have no right to tax them without their consent. They say truly. Representation and taxation must go together—they are inseparable. This wise people [Jeshurun] speak out. They do not hold the language of slaves. They do not ask you to repeal your laws as a favor; they claim it as a right. They tell you they will not submit to them; and I tell you, the acts must be repealed, and you must go through the work; you must declare you have no right to tax them—then they may trust on."

"But his plan for conciliatory measures was negatived by a large majority. Petitions from the merchants of London and other places in favor of America, were referred not to the regular committee but to the one called by the friends of the Colonies the Committee of Oblivion. [Dr. Franklin] and other colonial agents were refused a hearing before Parliament on the plea that they were appointed by an illegal assembly; and thus was put to silence the voice of three millions of people yet in the attitude of humble suppliants."
These things were facts, but the thing itself was overruled, as was the elder one (I. Kings xii. 24), and the separation came about even as it had been decreed of old (Gen. xlviii. 19, xlix. 22; Isa. xlix. 20), yea, came about unto the good of all concerned in that the fraternity that yet remaineth to be recognized, in the bonds of an International Confederation of Defensive Arbitration is, if God wills, to be stronger than the one Pitt sought to splice anew.* In the meantime, therefore, it was natural that our Israelitish nature, for we were chips of the same block as Ephraim, found deep foundation for our principles and practice in the common records of Our Race, and drew our heraldry therefrom.

Though neither of these ideas, Franklin's or Jefferson's, was embodied into the symbolism of the Great Seal, as eventually perfected, we shall find therein references no less potent to an all-ruling Providence and His leading of the States; and in the Great Pyramid, finally adopted for its central reverse symbol, find perhaps, only more deeply hidden, a reference both to Egypt and to Israel of old—the former the very land from whence this "Great People" sprang; the latter our undoubted ancestors.

At the request of Franklin and Adams, Jefferson

*Even now, January 12th, as this proof comes beneath our supervision, also comes the news of the signing of the Preliminary Treaty of Arbitration, a measure that promises to accomplish more for Universal Peace than man alone has ever yet attempted. It is a notable event with which to mark this last day of 1899 A. C. O. S.
now undertook to harmonize the best of the ideas proposed in the various devices before the committee, by combining them into one, and to draw up their report in a compact form. This he did. His colleagues warmly approved the result of Jefferson's labors and, adopting it as their report, presented it to Congress on the 20th of August, 1776.*

Jefferson's final design is a combination, with important original additions of those of Du Simitière and Franklin. Adopting for the Reverse the entire device as proposed by Franklin, he took for the Obverse Du Simitière's shield, surrounded the All-Seeing Eye, above, with a Radiant Triangle* and changed the supporters of the Shield to the Goddess of Liberty in a corselet of armor for the dexter, and to the Goddess of Justice for the sinister.

He likewise altered the motto to the now famous "E Pluribus Unum,"† left out the word "great" before "seal" in the legend, and added thereto, below the shield, in the exergue, the date of Independence, MDCCLXXVI.—its first appearance in Seal history. He also surrounded the Crest, Motto, and Shield with its Supporters, by an interior red border containing thirteen‡ white escutcheons, each charged, sable, with the initial letters of one of the thirteen original States and all linked together by a golden chain.

*"Reports of Committees Relating to Congress," Vol. XXIII., Dept. of State MS. archives, where will be found all the Committee Reports bearing on the Seal. †First appearance. ‡First intentional appearance of this number.
Thus to Thomas Jefferson our present Seal owes its dual, or Obverse and Reverse, character, the addition of the Triangle to the radiant All-Seeing Eye, the motto "E Pluribus Unum,"* the date "MDCCLXXVI.," and the first step towards the prominence afterwards given to the symbolic number "13"—a number more than all others especially sacred to the origines of this Manassite land.

It is not a little noticeable, in this connection, that Jefferson's motto, "E Pluribus Unum," also contains exactly thirteen letters,† as though it concealed a hidden numerical reference to the thirteen elements out of which (E Pluribus) that union (Unum) had been formed; Or one yet more subtle to the tribe Manasseh, the thirteenth, that has been separated from the Israelitish "baker's dozen" of tribes. The circular ‡ border, with its thirteen chained and charged escutcheons enclosing this motto, bears out and intensifies this mystic but direct reference to the States themselves, and

*"E" "from," pluribus "many," unum "ONE." Generally mistranslated "Many in one." Before the war (1861) this latter idea gained credence from an intensified sentiment of "States' rights," but it has been shown to the agreement of all that the Union may not be broken. From the Manassite standpoint the motto may indirectly stand for "One [taken out] of many," i.e., Manasseh in Independence of Israel, Manasseh being the thirteenth Tribe, of the Thirteen-tribed House of All Israel. (Vide Ye Compact, Our Race News Leaflet No. 65, Dec. 1896, pages 9-11, etc.)

†Apparently unintentional, certainly unnoticed even as a coincidence for about 100 years.

‡Emblem of Eternal Union.
the strict geographical sequence of the thirteen colonies from North to South, New Hampshire to Georgia, is to be noticed in this connection. For in the absence of any further or subsequent definition of precedence this geographical order obtains and enables us to assign the States to the Stripes upon the Flag and to the Paleways on the Arms. The position of Pennsylvania as seventh in the sequence, and her soubriquet of the "Keystone State" also establishes this order.

Jefferson's own description of this seal, as reported to Congress upon the 20th of August, 1776, is as follows:*  

*Reports of Committees Relating to Congress, Department of State archives, Vol. 23, wherein will be found all the committee reports relating to the Seal.
the United States of America, which arms should be as follows:

"The shield has six quarters, parti one, couphé two. The first Or, an enamelled Rose, gules and argent, for England; the Second argent, a Thistle proper, for Scotland; the third vert. a Harp Or, for Ireland; the fourth azure, a fleur-de-lis Or, for France; the fifth Or, the imperial Eagle, sable, for Germany; and the sixth Or, the Belgic crowned Lion, gules, for Holland,—pointing out the Countries from which these States have been peopled.

"The Shield within a border, gules, entwined of thirteen escutcheons argent, linked together by a chain Or, each charged with initial sable letters, as follows: 'rst, N. H.; 2d, M. B.;' 3d, R. I.; 4th, Conn.; 5th, N. Y.; 6th, N. J.; 7th, Penn.; 8th, D. C.; 9th, M.; 10th, V.; 11th, N. C.; 12th, S. C.; 13th, G., for each of the thirteen independent States of America.'

"Supporters. Dexter, the Goddess of Liberty,‡ in a corselet of Armour, in allusion to the present times [then state of war] holding in her right hand the Spear and Cap, and with her left supporting the Shield of the States; sinister, the Goddess Justice, bearing a sword in her right hand, and in her left a Balance.

"The Crest, the Eye of Providence, in a radiant Triangle, whose Glory extends over the shield and beyond the Figures.

"Motto, 'E Pluribus Unum.'

* Massachusetts Bay. + Delaware Colony.

‡ A note following the report adds: "The figure of Liberty standing on a Pedestal in a flowing Dress, turning on a column, on which are to be the emblems of Commerce, Agriculture and Arms.'

§ These supporters were subsequently adopted (March 16, 1778) by the State of New York.

‖ This is an artistic authority to appeal to in such illuminated emblazons of the glory on the arms and reverse of the seal as shall aim to compass more than the usually cramped heraldic idea admits. Most of the state department dies suffer the clouds to limit and hem in the rays. In the Diplomatic and Great Seal medals the difficulty is compassed much better.
The report of this committee, according to Admiral Preble, was ordered by Congress to be laid upon the table.† Wells, however, says that this report was entirely neglected, that it was not even placed upon the records of Congress. Lossing supports this statement also.§ But however disposed of for the time being, and by whatever means it eventually got out of the possession of Congress and came into its present place, the original paper, in Jefferson's own handwriting, is certainly now on file in the office of the Secretary of State at Washington.||

|| It was probably duly reported; Thomson neglected [Lossing] to record it, and when, in 1789, the office of Secretary of Congress was discontinued and the papers turned over to the new officer—the Secretary of State—in accordance with the law (Statute of Sept. 15, 1789, Sec. 7), it was duly transferred to the State Dept.
Mr. Lander, in the *Magazine of American History*, May, 1893, states as follows:

"An entry in the *Journals of Congress*, August 27th, 1776, shows the result of these efforts:

"The committee appointed to prepare a device for the Great Seal of the United States, brought in the same with the explanation thereof.

"Ordered to lie on the table."

This may be considered as final.

Three features of this design, and three suggestions, were preserved, and followed in the Seal eventually adopted—the All-Seeing Eye surrounded by a Triangle and Glory; the motto, "*E Pluribus Unum*;" the date, MDCCLXXVI.; and, as suggestions, there may be mentioned the *dual* character of the instrument, its *dual* crests, and the specific intent to enumerate the thirteen equal members of the nation.

The device of this committee, however, did not obtain favor, and few drawings appear to have been preserved. That given with the report proper as to the Reverse of the Seal is taken from Lossing's own realization, based on the description as given in the report itself; the others are on file.
"And unto Joseph, in the land of Egypt were born Manasseh and Ephraim, which Asenath the daughter of Poti-pherah, priest [or prince] of On bare unto him."

Gen. xlvi. 20.

"And now thy two sons Ephraim and Manasseh which were born unto thee in the land of Egypt before I came unto thee to Egypt, are mine; as Reuben and Simeon they shall be mine."

Gen. xlviii. 5.

"Now the genealogy is not to be reckoned after the birthright, for Reuben was the first-born, but his birthright was taken away and was given unto the sons of Joseph."

1 Chron. v. 1.
SECOND PERIOD.

"Our fathers united to form a new nation,
And symboled it well in our blazon of arms.
Their homes were thirteen, so they followed that number,
Seven white and six red in a series of bars;
And—painting love's vigilance foreign to slumber—
They chose a blue quarter with thirteen white stars."
—Chas. J. Lukens, 1850.

For nearly three years after this earliest committee had ceased its labors all official interest in the Great Seal of the Country seems to have slumbered. These were the dark days of the Republic—days in which it may perhaps have appeared to its founders doubtful whether, indeed, there would be any real occasion for the use of such an instrument.

From the silence of the records of Congress and the absence of any acceptance of their report, or refusal of it, it may perhaps be true that the committee was tacitly continued, or else considered itself to be so, though it ceased to work. At any rate Jefferson soon went to Virginia; Franklin was sent to Europe to help Silas Deane,* and Adams was deeply engaged upon the committee charged with the conduct of the war.† None of these great men, however, lost inter-

†Schuyler Hamilton's "History of the Flag;" Lossing's "Field Book of Revolution." Adams also went abroad in the Fall of 1779.
est in the subject. Adams, in particular, preserved this interest, and perhaps will be seen to have silently exerted it at the final selection of the approved device. But their united work ceased as a matter of necessity as well as fact, and so the subject rested.

"At length our first political agent to France, Silas Deane, referred to our neglect in adopting a National Seal in a letter to Congress, with the inquiry if it was not always proper to use a Seal? 'This' he observed 'is a very ancient custom in all public and even in private concerns of any consequence.'* The omission of the use of a Seal, when all the rights, powers and dignities of a nation have been assumed, has been since viewed as remarkable, considering that our forefathers were brought up under the shadow of the English law, which prescribed that no grant or charter was factum until it was sealed. English custom had taught also, that even the sign manual of the Sovereign must be authenticated by an impression from the privy seal. The importance of the seal, even in individual transactions, was signified by the prime expositor of social views:

"'Till thou cans't rail the seal from off my bond,
Thou but offend'st thy lungs to speak so loud."

*This communication of Mr. Deane is of more significance than at first appears. It shows that the matter was one of concern to him and to his associates abroad, two of whom, Mr. Adams and Mr. Franklin, had been members of the first committee and one of whom, Dr. Arthur Lee, was soon to appear, on his return from foreign parts, as an active agent in the final deliberations, and may perhaps have been the bearer of confidential advices thereon, re Prestwick, to Mr. Thomson.
"The original word *Sigillum*, now translated into seal, is the diminutive of *signum*, defined as 'a little image or figure' by which means records, statutes, etc., in all civilized countries, are authenticated. The seals of the Middle Ages were in gold, silver, lead and other substances. The bull, from which the sovereign of England derives the title of 'Defender of the Faith,' is authenticated by a golden seal. Lead was more common for the Papal Bull—so-called from the bulla, or seal, appended. After the coming of the Normans the Kings and chief men used waxen seals with 'a hair from the head or the beard in the wax as a token.'"

Upon the 25th* of March, 1779, Congress again took the matter up, and ordered that the report of this committee on the device of the Great Seal for the United States in Congress assembled be referred to a new committee of three.† Messrs. Lovell of Massachusetts, Scott of Virginia and Houstoun of Georgia ‡ were thereupon appointed, and after sit-

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‡ "They were not men of special prominence. Lovell [Appleton's Encyclopedia of American Biography] had been a teacher in the Latin School of Boston and the Master of another New England school, and Houstoun, the brother of Governor John Houstoun, was a lawyer with an English education" (Hunt).
ing a month and a half reported on the 10th of May, 1779.

The device proposed by this new committee was thus a considerable departure from that of the preceding one, both as to its general design and to its minor details, but the aggressive or war-idea is more noticeably uppermost in the make-up. This, no doubt, was the natural reflection of the actual situation at the time.

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REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE.

"The seal to be 4 inches in diameter. On one side the Arms of the United States, as follows: The Shield charged on the field with 13 diagonal stripes, alternate red and white.

"Supporters: Dexter, a Warrior, holding a Sword; Sinister, a figure representing Peace, bearing an Olive Branch.

"The Crest, a radiant constellation of 13 stars.

"The Motto, 'BELLO VEL PACE.'
"The Legend round the Achievement, 'SEAL OF THE UNITED STATES.'

"On the Reverse, The Figure of Liberty, seated in a chair, holding the staff and cap.

"The Motto, 'SEMPER'; underneath 'MDCCCLXXVI.'"

In doing away with the variously charged quarterings of the shield and substituting therefor the thirteen diagonal stripes of alternate red and white, it recognized the union of the original States, assimilated itself to the flag, then already adopted, and anticipated an idea that was, later on, and with still more heraldic beauty, to be embodied into the finally-accepted shield device.

Both of the supporters were changed by this committee, and in the hand of one of them, Peace, in Sinister, the "olive branch" appears for the first time in the history of the Seal. In this design we likewise meet for the first time in the history of the Seal with the radiant constellation of the thirteen stars, occupying the crest position above the shield. This was the same constellation that had already been flung to the breeze as the adopted "union" for the national flag.

The obverse motto, "Bello vel Pace," was a return to that originally proposed by Du Simitièrè. The legend surrounding this face was still further and noticeably reduced by the omission of the opening and the final words, "the Great" and "of America."

*"Always," "Forever," "To the Ages," "Eternal."

†All five-pointed in the Flag, and apparently five-pointed in this design.
respectively,* as well as of the date, "MDCC-LXXVI."† This, however, appears upon the Reverse, across its middle base point, where it is still found. The substitution of the seated figure of Liberty—Cassiopeia—for the central reverse emblem, in lieu of the design of Jefferson's committee, while it was perhaps a step toward simplicity, was hardly an advance in symbolism. This figure, however, successfully maintained its place as the proposed design for several of the succeeding years of Seal history, and is frequently met with during the past century upon our coinage.

On the 17th of May, 1779, seven days after its reception, Congress took the foregoing report into consideration, and after debate recommitted it.†

Just a year after its first report§ (May 10, 1779—May 10, 1780), it was reported back by the committee as follows:

* Shown on the drawing but omitted in the report.
† Replaced by a rosette in the exergue of the Obverse.
‡ Lossing, Harper's, July, 1856.
§ Mr. Gaillard Hunt seems to be mistaken as to his understanding of this sequence. He says: "The date in the MS. is May 10th, 1779, but this is doubtless a mistake for 1780, as the coincidence in the date of the two reports is only to be explained upon this theory. The 'original report' appears to be a copy." This can hardly be correct. In the first place there is no need of a "theory" to explain a fact; second, the coincidence of dates is not so remarkable as to suggest an error or a duplication of reports; and, finally, the one report cannot be a copy of the other, for the mottoes of the Reverse are different, as we shall see; the charging of the Shield different.
The second design of this committee was substantially like the former but differing therefrom as to size, the specific charging of the field of its shield with *azure*, and in the motto.

**THE THIRD DESIGN.**

The Seal to be 3 inches in diameter; on one side the arms of the United States, as follows: The Shield charged in the field *azure*, with 13 diagonal stripes, alternate rouge and argent.

*Supporters:* dexter, a warrior holding a sword; sinister, a figure representing Peace bearing the Olive Branch.

*The Crest:* a radiant constellation of 13 stars.

*The Motto:* 'BELLO VEL PACE.'

*The Legend round the achievement:* 'THE GREAT SEAL OF THE UNITED STATES.'

*On the Reverse:* The figure of Liberty seated in a chair holding the Staff and Cap.*

*The motto:* VIRTUTE, PERENNIS.†

*Underneath:* 'MDCCCLXXVI.'

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*Schuyler Hamilton's* "Hist. of Amer. Flag."

† By Virtue. Always.
The committee probably employed a duplicate drawing that had accompanied their first report, altering it to suit their second. This is rendered likely from the fact that in the original sketch, now preserved among the archives of the State Department at Washington, and generally believed to be the work of Du Simitière, the motto proposed in 1779 (semper) is erased, and instead of it the one of 1780, "Virtute. Perennis" (and which seems to have originally been preceded by the word "Libertas") supplied.

The following design is generally given by writers upon Seal history as the drawing which accompanied this second report:

*A Design Submitted in 1780.†*  

*Lossing, in Harper's, July, '56; Preble in "The Flag, etc."*  
† The scribbling on the left of this drawing appears to have been done later, probably by Secretary Thomson, in 1782, while he was developing his variation of the blazonry of the Shield from diagonal stripes to chevrons with broken joints. Compare with Thomson's design, page 86.
SUPPLEMENTARY DESIGN.

It does not, however, bear any evidence of such connection, nevertheless it was probably submitted in 1780, as its own date, MDCCCLXXX, indicates, but was undoubtedly the embodiment of a distinct and unadopted idea.* It is believed to have been turned in by the committee simply as among, and as a part of, their own papers, for preservation at the close of their work.† Its dexter supporter is entirely different from the one called for by the plain wording of their second report; there is no room left on the shield for charging it with a blue field; there is an urn, or other device, not called for, resting on the shield; the legend is different and the motto "Bello Vel Pace"—By War or by Peace, is developed by the addition of the word "paratu."‡ So on the reverse, the necessary motto "Virtute. Perennis" is

* Witness the Dagger in the hand of Liberty, and the very different motto, "Aut Haec aut Nullus," erased, with no other supplied. This latter motto is an alteration of the usual one "Aut Caesar, aut nihil," "Either Cæsar, or nothing," which would have suited the Tory party best, to the one "Either this one [referring to Liberty] or no one." These mottoes are of the same genus as "Aut Vincere Aut Mori," the English of which, "To Conquer or to Die," is so prominent upon the standard of the Life Guard. (See page 31).

† The sketches from which our illustrations are taken are the original ones preserved in the State Department at Washington. Both the regular design and the appended one, regarded here as subordinate, pertaining to the work of this committee are generally believed to have been made by Du Simitière.

‡ By preparation. It is difficult to translate any of these mottoes, as they are all crude variations. Being prepared for War or Peace is perhaps a fair free translation of this motto.
wanting, and the date is radically different and incongruous.

All of the above differences, between the regular report of 1780 and this drawing, tend to strengthen us in the conviction that they have no connection with each other, and that the drawing submitted in 1779 was altered (as we suggest) to suit the report of 1780. The only feature now worthy of note in regard to this subordinate or secondary design is that upon it we find the arrow first, and displayed as the distinctive weapon of the aboriginal American. Later on a bundle of these weapons was adopted to represent the war power of the Government.

The introduction of the new color azure into the Shield by this committee in their second report, forms for us its most noticeable feature. It is an important step in the development of the Seal idea. This color afterwards became that of the chief, afforded an additional emblem of the union of States to be preserved through Congress, and drew the Shield closer in its resemblance to the Flag.

This report also advocated "a miniature of the face [obverse?] of the Great Seal to be prepared of half the diameter, to be affixed as the Less Seal of the United States."*

But Congress still remained hard to please, and this second report was not accepted.† The growth of the art idea was slow, and its evolution is a very significant commentary upon the Earl of Shaftes-

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*This is a distinct recognition of the need of a "Privy Seal."
† Journals of Congress, 1780.
bury's treatise as to art in general, as set forth in his brochure upon the Judgment of Hercules.*

However, the work of this committee had not been in vain, for we owe to it the addition of several very important elements which were eventually preserved in the finished and adopted design for the Great Seal, to wit, the Crest of thirteen stars, the thirteen alternate stripes upon the Shield, and its Chief of Azure—all happily suggested, we may suppose, by the Flag itself, which had now become a familiar object in the Continental sky, and very naturally lent its colors and simple emblems to advance the work upon the Coat of Arms that was being so slowly furbished for the Nation.

* See page 24.
"It speaks for itself far more eloquently than I can speak for it! Behold it! Listen to it! Every star has a tongue. Every stripe is articulate. There is no language nor speech where their voices are not heard. There's magic in the form of it, in its eagle, in its motto, in its arrows, in its branch. It has an answer for every question. It has a solution for every doubt and every perplexity. It has a word of good cheer for every hour of gloom or despondency."

THIRD PERIOD.

"It speaks of earlier and later struggles. But before all and above all other associations and memories, * * * its voice is ever of union and liberty, of the constitution and the laws." "ROBERT C. WINTHROP. 3 Oct., 1861."

The matter was now again allowed to slumber officially for nearly two years. John Adams, in the meantime, was abroad in England, and though exercised upon weighty matters of a very different nature, there is good evidence to show that he, and other friends at home in Congress, still bore the matter of the Seal in mind.

Meanwhile Cornwallis had surrendered, and popular sentiment in England was becoming so outspoken in its favor to the Colonies, that the fall of the North Ministry was certain, and peace not far away. Thus the necessity of the Seal became apparent and its consummation urgent.

In April, 1782, Congress again returned to the subject and appointed a new committee to prepare a design for the Great Seal.* This committee con-

*Mr. Gaillard Hunt in his State Department brochure on The Seal of the United States, 1892, regards the appointment of this third committee as immediately after the report of the second one. "After debate the report was ordered to be re-committed to a new committee, composed of Middleton and Rutledge of South Carolina, and Boudinot of New Jersey." If so the committee was strangely inactive for two years.
sisted of Henry Middleton of South Carolina, Elias Boudinot of New Jersey, the President of Congress, and Edward Rutledge, also of South Carolina.

But little is known concerning the labors of this committee save that upon the 9th of May* following (1782) they reported substantially the same devices that the committee of 1779 and 1780 had already done.†

But the national legislature still continued dissatisfied, and (though without finally discharging the committee) referred this, their first report, to the Secretary of Congress, Mr. Charles Thomson. This latter gentleman seems to have taken a special interest in the matter under consideration and to have associated himself, whether officially or not, with them in all their subsequent labors.

Mr. Charles Thomson was the first Secretary of Congress, a position which he held creditably for nineteen years. As the repository and custodian for all of its reports, and as the recorder of its various proceedings he was perfectly familiar with the whole subject of Seal history, and eminently fitted for the trust thus finally reposed in him. It is probable that he had already devoted considerable personal study and attention to the matter. He seems also to have had some correspondence thereon with Mr. John Adams, then in England.

*The ninth and tenth of May were famous dates in these deliberations, 1779, 1780, 1782.

Mr. William Barton, a private gentleman of Philadelphia, now likewise appears upon the scene, both as an associate of the committee, and of the Secretary of Congress in matters connected with the Seal.* This gentleman appears to have submitted various designs to both of his associates. He was a fine scholar, skillful in heraldry, and an expert draughtsman; he was also probably called upon, as Du Simitiére had been before the earlier committees, to express each favored idea, whether original with himself or not, that came up as a proposition from any one.

A lively controversy has now been awakened as to the exact order and weight of subsequent events. As in all such matters there are rival claimants for the honor of having proposed the device soon after adopted.

It is a controversy more or less founded upon natural family pride and agitated chiefly between the

* "The name of Mr. Arthur Lee, who had lately returned from France and was now a member of Congress from Virginia, also appears as one of the members to whom the designs were submitted."—Hunt. See Barton's letter on this point, page 108.

Query: Can it be that Mr. Lee brought the Adams-Prestwick idea home with him across the ocean? Or may Franklin himself have had a hand in the matter? If the latter, as Jefferson is supposed to imply (p. 14), was the real author of the supposititious epitaph of Bradshaw, one almost might imagine, were it not for Barritt's testimony, that "Poor Richard" was acting in the role of Sir John Prestwick, or at least for him instead of Mr. Adams
Bartons and the Barritt-Lossing-Gibbon faction. But it has been magnified far beyond its due proportions, in that we can account for the seal as a whole without resort to Sir John Prestwick, whose happy idea after all covers but a part of the combination; the shield itself; for it is at least doubtful whether the placing of it on the eagle is really a part of his design.

With so many interested minds at work upon a subject, that had now for so long been before Congress, and with the finished labors of several committees to select from, it is natural that it should have taken, about this time, a very sudden turn towards consummation. The dawn, too, of certain peace, insuring independence, lent speed to these deliberations. Ideas were undoubtedly freely exchanged in the general intercourse of all the parties concerned, and very naturally became matters of common property. The matter had now become one of manifest and general interest, and in a month it was accomplished.

There must be some good ground for the connection of Sir John Prestwick's name with that of Mr. John Adams, and of both with the Obverse of the Seal as soon after adopted. His claims are supported by Mr. Lossing, upon the authority of Thomas Barritt, an antiquary of Manchester, Eng., in Vol. II. of his "Field Book of the American Revolution," where he makes the original claim as follows:
"In the manuscript letter before me, written in 1818 by Thomas Barritt, Esq, an eminent antiquarian of Manchester, England, addressed to his son in this country is the following statement, 'My friend, Sir John Prestwick, Bart., told me he was the person who suggested the idea of a coat of arms for the American states to an ambassador [John Adams] from thence, which they have seen fit to put on some of their moneys. It is this, he told me—party per pale of thirteen stripes, white and red, the chief of the escutcheon, blue,*signifying the protection of Heaven over the states.—He says it was soon after adopted, as the arms of the states, and to give it more prominence was placed on the breast of a displayed eagle.''' Lossing, Vol. II. 656, "Field Book of the Revolution." It will be noticed that this description is in Barritt's own words, but that he omits the stars from the chief which are a specific part of the claim always put forth for Prestwick. The antiquary was more apt to err in the details of a foreign armorial bearing than a native American like Mr. Adams, who might have had it direct, and transmitted it without confusion to those at home—if, as some question, he had it at all; but there appears to be sufficient testimony to the effect that some such communication was received, through some medium from some American agent abroad.

In an article on the Great Seal, printed in Har-

*"White and red the chief blue." This is the actual order on the arms, while on the flag it is "Red and white, the field blue."
per's Magazine of July, 1856, Mr. Lossing very positively advocates Prestwick's influence, and says to the effect that:

Lossing's explanation of Prestwick's design as furnished to John Adams, is that the blue chief, which in this design was spangled with stars, was meant to signify the protection of heaven over the States that were represented below by thirteen perpendicular and alternately red and white stripes. The reference here is evidently to Barritt's letter, which omits the stars in chief, and the modifying clause rests upon other testimony.

He also says Adams communicated it from England, to several of his friends in Congress, and that "Thomson, among others, liked it, but that the latter withheld it, because of its origin, until the last moment, hoping something as good would be made by his own countrymen."

"It consisted of an escutcheon having thirteen perpendicular stripes, white and red, with the chief blue, and spangled with thirteen stars, and to give it greater consequence he proposed to place it on the breast of an American Eagle displayed without supporters as emblematic of self-reliance."

Wells in his Illustrated National Handbook, 1856, in his article on "The Great Seal," says that: "After vainly striving to perfect a seal which should meet the approval of Congress, Mr. Thomson finally received from John Adams, then in London, an exceedingly simple and appropriate device suggested by Sir John Prestwick, a Baronet of the west of
England, who was a warm friend of America, and an accomplished antiquarian.

This endorsement of Wells is clearly based upon that of Lossing, and, if both depended solely upon the letter from Barritt, put in evidence by Mr. Lossing, would amount to but secondary authority in the premises; for besides the omission of the stars in Barritt’s letter, the latter implies that he gathered from Prestwick himself that the placing of the Shield upon “the breast of a displayed Eagle” was an afterthought that originated in America rather than with Sir John Prestwick.

Again Hon. A. Loudon Snowden, Superintendent of the U. S. Mint at Philadelphia, and writing on the subject of the Seal, from the Mint in June, 1882, says: “The present Obverse of our Great Seal was selected by Secretary Thomson, although he doubted the propriety of accepting it, as it was designed by an Englishman, Sir John Prestwick, and forwarded by John Adams to Secretary Thomson.”

Now in all this testimony, there is entirely too much smoke not to have originated in some fire, and it may be pertinently asked in this connection: If no part of the design of the present obverse is essentially as proposed by Sir John Prestwick, what then was the proposition of this English gentleman, and how does his name become at all so intimately associated with the subject?

While firmly convinced, in our own mind, of the validity of Prestwick’s indirect claims, and busily engaged upon the above defense, we propounded
this question to Admiral Preble, who in his "History of The Flag," as strongly urges Barton's claim. Writing in reply, from Cottage Farm, Brookline, Mass., November 30, 1882, the Admiral says as follows: "Your conundrum, 'What did Prestwick suggest?' I cannot answer at present. Perhaps my English correspondent will enable me to by and by. * * * Snowden [of the Mint] wrote me that his father,* a former director of the Mint,* was told by Boudinot,* who was one of the committee,* that Prestwick designed the seal. * * * I will enclose you part of a letter I received last week from Barritt's biographer on the subject, which please return when you have made a note of it. Whatever I receive from him I will communicate to you."

The Admiral then enclosed the following part of a valuable autograph letter from Mr. Thomas Gibbons, who was at that very time (1882) engaged upon general literary work in Manchester, England:

EXTRACT.

"Yes, I know that Thomas Barritt's granddaughter, Alice Barritt, of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., was married to Dr. Lossing. The Manchester antiquary was a most intimate friend of Sir John Prestwick, and I have a copy of his [Prestwick's] letter to Barritt referring to the design of U. S. Seal. I have other good evidence on the same subject;† but I yielded my conviction to your assertion that Barton's design was adopted, believing that you had been convinced beyond all doubt on the subject. Still I was never completely satisfied of Barton's

*This is better evidence than Barritt's own.
†A letter from Prestwick himself would of course be first-class evidence, and the next in value to the one from Mr. Adams as to the fact of the direct transmission to Mr. Thomson.
RE PRESTWICK

claim, and have a very good case for the old Lancashire baronet and antiquary. But I want to consult some old documents at Manchester—the Barritt MS.—and then I will present my remarks for your consideration.

"I also have recollection of a note, or letter (more likely a genealogical note), on the same subject, and a drawing of the suggested design, being among some papers belonging to the late Miss Ann Barritt of Broughton, near Manchester. That would be about 1867-8; the old lady died about 1870, aged over 'three score years and ten.' She had many of the antiquary's books and papers; some few she gave me, and I dare say the others have been preserved, unless they fell into other hands than I anticipate. The Barritts and my father's maternal ancestors married into the same family—the Lawransons—Alice (Lawranson) Barritt being mother of Dr. Lossing's father-in-law; that is, Dr. L.'s first wife.

"But I will obey your behest on the subject of the seal, and after reading my remarks you will best be able to judge. I should very much like an impression of the Seal [medal] and will shortly write to the Mint Director. * * *

"Yours very sincerely,

"(Signed) THOMAS GIBBONS."*

For the extreme courtesy of Admiral Preble in thus furnishing so valuable an unpublished link in the chain of an argument, thus far contrary to his own published opinions, I cannot too strongly express my indebtedness. In a later letter the Admiral says: "I hope to obtain from my friend in England something that will solve the mystery, and tell exactly how much or how little Sir John Prestwick had to do with designing our Seal. Mr. Thomas Gibbons has now in press a work, 'Old Time Marks: Papers of Thomas Barritt, Antiquary of

*The foregoing is a true extract copy of the original, kindly sent me for use by the late Admiral Geo. F. Preble, U. S. N.
Manchester,' and in it is a sketch of 'The Origin of the Armorial Bearings of America,' in which the Prestwick claim is expected to have some additional and decidedly strong proofs in its favor.'

We subsequently entered into personal correspondence with Mr. Gibbons himself and were duly satisfied that he had obtained valuable data upon which to strengthen the Prestwick claim.*

The "tradition" referred to by Admiral Preble, as conveyed to him by the present Director of the Mint, Col. A. Loudon Snowden, is worthy of the highest credence upon its individual merits. Mr. Snowden's predecessor was his own father, James Ross Snowden, who held the Directorship of the Mint from 1853 to 1858. The tradition came to him directly from Elias Boudinot himself. But it must be remembered that this latter gentleman was not only in a direct position to know the truth (as member of the Seal Committee itself, and the intimate friend of Secretary Thomson) but in a most natural position for conveying the tradition to the elder Snowden.

Elias Boudinot was himself the Director of the Philadelphia Mint from October, 1795, to July, 1805.

*We have been unable to secure a copy of "Old Time Marks." If ever completed the issue was limited, the first edition consisting of but fifty copies. Nor have we been able to obtain the present address of the author. But from correspondence with him in 1883 we gathered that the illustrations for his work were being made by Mr. Leon Barritt, an American artist whose address and evidence in the premises, is likewise still in demand.
THE BEST EVIDENCE.

This we regard as one of the most conclusive arguments in favor of the Prestwick claim. Neither Elias Boudinot nor the elder Snowden could have had any earthly reason for originating such a story. In their day the controversy had not yet been awakened, and the fact was merely conveyed from the one to the other and then to the present witness as a part of our National medallic history of official interest to them all as Directors of the Mint.

We cannot conceive how a tradition could have been handed down more directly than this, originate in a purer source, nor be worthy of higher credence. Moreover, why should any one be anxious to maintain the claims of a foreigner upon such a subject if they were entirely unfounded?

"In reference to this, as to many other subjects connected with the formation of our government, it is ever to be regretted that the private notes made by Charles Thomson, while Secretary of Congress in 1774 to 1789, and as 'the soul of that political body' in respect to whom it was common to say, that a statement was 'as true as if Charles Thomson's name was to it,' should have been destroyed by him sometime previous to his death, instead of being made a basis of the history of the Revolution" (Lander, "Amer. Mag. Hist.").

Let it not be understood for a moment, however, that we intend to detract from William Barton any of the credit due him for the subsequent additions to, and arrangement of, the general details of either the Obverse or Reverse faces of the Seal. The credit
of having had the main hand in the final heraldic arrangement of all these details, and of being the father to some of the more important elements of the combination, should undoubtedly be awarded to him. But the combination itself, as a whole, belongs to Secretary Thomson (whether via Prestwick and Adams or not) as we shall see.

But ere we proceed further into the examination of these rival claims, let us endeavor to trace out what was the possible order of events before the various parties who were now all, and that both jointly and severally, at work upon the subject.

In the first place Mr. John Adams, one of the members of the earliest Seal committee, though now in England, was undoubtedly acquainted with the general details of delay as to the adoption of the Great Seal; and of course would have been familiar with the Flag of the Washington Life Guard, from which it seems probable that the "Supporters" proposed by his own committee and the motto of the subordinate design of 1780 may have been taken, or with which at least they may have owed their origin to some common source.

The Eagle, as we have seen (page 36), was a very striking reliant upon that early standard, and in any delineation thereof, must have struck the mind of one imbued with interest in America, and now somewhat versed in her tutelary emblems. Whether Adams had any draught thereof or not, he had its mental impression with him, and in converse with Sir John Prestwick, so avowed a friend of the struggling
Colonies, would certainly have conveyed some special information as to the Colonial employment of the American Eagle in connection with the Shield, whose supporters and the charging thereof with appropriate details for a national Coat of Arms and Seal, were creating such a prolonged controversy.

In the second place the national Flag itself had now been a matter of law ever since June 14, 1777,* and thus the national colors were fixed, as well as a natural foundation for the charging of a Shield based upon the flag itself.

In the third place Mr. Lee had but lately come from abroad and may have been the direct bearer of the Adams-Prestwick idea to Secretary Thomson. In the fourth place the Flag of the Washington Life Guard was certainly in constant evidence at home, and had borne a significant suggestion of the National Shield emplaced directly upon the Eagle's Breast in the sight of all for years.

However, then, it all came about it seems certain that after a familiar exchange of ideas with Mr. Adams, Sir John Prestwick at last suggested the happy selection of the white-and-red-striped Shield as the all-sufficient armorial bearings for the country, and it is highly probable that the idea, whether known to Adams and Prestwick or not, had its earliest expression upon the Flag of The Washington Life Guard.

*When it was resolved "That the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; the union to be thirteen stars, white on a blue field, representing a new constellation, the stars to be arranged in a circle."
But whether Sir John Prestwick suggested the bespangling of its blue Chief, the whole to be placed directly upon the breast of the Eagle itself, is an open question.

And finally, even had a minute description of this very Flag formed any part of the original information conveyed by Mr. Adams to the Baronet, the mere selection by the latter of the last and least of all its bearings for the first and foremost feature in the national blazonry itself would still have entitled him to a fair credit in the premises, even as it is said to have been accorded to him by Mr. Adams, Mr. Boudinot and Secretary Thomson.

At any rate there is testimony enough to show that Mr. Adams accepted some such suggestion as coming from Sir John Prestwick and took short opportunity to convey the same to Mr. Thomson.

But to avoid the prejudice which it was naturally expected would arise against the Prestwick device, Mr. Thomson’s first step seems to have been to defer entirely to Mr. Barton. The latter now submitted several designs, some of which were particularly elaborate. One of these, from which the Reverse of the Great Seal was finally taken in a modified form, deserves particular attention, as it was probably the chronological predecessor of Mr. Thomson’s own proposition.

But in the first place let us examine one of Mr. Barton’s most elaborate devices. It was unaccompanied by any drawing, and is thus described by Barton himself:
BARTON'S DEVICE.

BARTON'S

"Device for an Armorial Achievement for the Great Seal of the United States of America, in Congress assembled: agreeable to the Rules of Heraldry—proposed by William Barton, M. A.

"Arms.

"Barry of thirteen pieces, Argent and Gules; on a Canton Azure, as many Stars disposed in a Circle, of the first; a Pale, Or, surmounted of another, of the third; charged in Chief with an Eye surrounded with a Glory proper; and in the Fess-point, an Eagle* displayed on the Summit of a Doric Column, which rests on the base of the escutcheon, both as the Stars.

"Crest.

"On a helmet of Burnished Gold damasked, grated with six Bars, and surmounted by a Cap of Dignity, Gules, turned up Ermine, a Cock armed with gaffs proper.

"Supporters.

"On the dexter side: the Genius of America (represented by a Maiden with loose Auburn Tresses, having on her head a radiated Crown of Gold, encircled with a sky-blue fillet, span-gled with silver stars; and clothed in a long, loose, white garment, bordered with green. From her right shoulder to her left side a scarf, semé of Stars, the Tinctures thereof the same as in the Canton; and round the Waist a purple Girdle, fringed Or; embroidered Argent, with the word 'Virtue,') resting her interior Hand on the Escutcheon, and holding in the other the proper 'Standard of the United States,' having a Dove argent perched on the top of it.

"On the sinister side, a Man in complete Armour, his sword-belt Azure, fringed with Gold; the Helmet encircled with a wreath of Laurel, and crested with one white and two blue Plumes; supporting with his dexter Hand the Escutcheon, and holding in the interior a Lance, with the point sanguinated; and upon it a banner displayed. Vert—in the Fess-point; an

*See note, page 76.
Harp, Or, stringed with Silver, between a star in Chief, two Fleurs-de-lis in Fess and a pair of Swords in Saltier, in Basses, all Argent. The Tenants of the Escutcheon stand on a Scroll on which is the following motto:

"Deo Favente,"*

which alludes to the Eye in the Arms, meant for the Eye of Providence.

"Over the crest, on a scroll, this motto:

"Virtus Sola Invicta,"†

which requires no comment.

**REMARKS.**

"The thirteen pieces barways, which fill up the field of the Arms, may represent the several States; and the same Number of Stars, upon a blue Canton disposed in a Circle, represent a new Constellation, which alludes to the new Empire formed in the World by the Confederation of those States. Their Disposition in a circle denotes the perpetuity of its continuance, the Ring being the Symbol of Eternity. The Eagle displayed is the symbol of Supreme Power & Authority, and signifies the Congress; the Pillar upon which it rests is used as the hieroglyphic of Fortitude and Constancy; and its being of the Doric order (which is the best proportioned and most agreeable to nature), & composed of several members or parts, all taken together, forming a beautiful composition of Strength, Congruity & Usefulness, it may with great propriety signify a well-planned Government. The Eagle being placed on the summit of the Column is emblematical of the Sovereignty of the Government of the United States;‡ and, as further expressive of that Idea, those two charges Or, are born on a Pale which extends across the thirteen pieces into which the Escutcheon is divided. The signification of the Eye has been already explained. The Helmet is such as appertains to Sovereignty, and the Cap is

* God favoring. With God's assistance.
† Virtue alone invincible.
‡ Here the eagle certainly, and first, enters into Seal History, as written, and aside from all tradition.
BARTON'S DEVICE.

used as the Token of Freedom & Excellency. It was formerly worn by Dukes; 'because,' says Guillien, 'they had a more worthy government than other subjects.' The Cock is distinguished for two most excellent Qualities necessary in a free country, viz: Vigilance & Fortitude.

"The genius of the American Confederated Republic is denoted by the blue Scarf & Fillet, glittering with Stars, and by the flag of Congress which she displays. Her dress is white, edged with Green, emblematical of Innocence and Youth. Her purple girdle and radiated Crown indicate her sovereignty:—the word 'Virtue' on the former, is to show that that should be her principal ornament, and the radiated Crown, that no Earthly Crown shall rule her. The Dove on the top of the American standard denotes the mildness and lenity of her Government.

"The Knight in Armour, with his bloody Lance, represents the military Genius of the American Empire, armed in Defence of its just Rights. His blue Belt and blue feathers indicate his Country, & the White Plume is in Compliment to our gallant Ally. The Wreath of Laurel round his helmet is expressive of his success.

"The Green Field of the Banner denotes Youth and Vigor; the Harp [with thirteen strings]* is emblematical of the several States acting in Harmony and Concert; the Star in Chief has reference to America, as principal in the contest; the two Fleurs-de-lis are borne as a grateful Testimonial of the support given to her by France; and the two Swords crossing each other signify the State of War. This Tenant and his Flag relate totally to America, at the time of her revolution."

"William Barton."

*The pen is run through the words, with thirteen strings, in the original. The Constellation Lyra is evidently referred to.

†Note by Barton: "In the Arms of Scotland as marshalled in the Royal Achievement, the double treasure which surrounds the Lion is borne flory and counter flory (with Fleurs-de-lis), which is in consequence of a treaty that was entered into between Charlemagne, their emperor, and King of France, and Achaius, King of Scotland, to denote that the French Lillies should guard and defend the Scottish Lion."
It will be noticed that the description as thus given by Barton contains very little that was eventually employed, the Eagle, however, appearing for the first time. Nor does it harmonize with the following drawing which is generally referred to as belonging to it.*

This drawing undoubtedly belongs to the description of another design, differing in many of its minor details, but in general embodying the same idea and using nearly the same class of emblems. In fact, such an alternate heraldic scheme, agreeable to the drawing itself, was also submitted by Barton, and is correctly referred to this drawing by Mr. Gaillard Hunt, the details of the Canton being more accurately shown by him than in former reproductions.

*So referred to by Lossing, Wells and Preble.
BARTON'S ALTERNATE DEVICE

It is as follows, embodying the general principles of the first as to its Obverse face, and otherwise bringing into the concept a very important new feature: To wit, the basis of the Reverse shown in the Canton and alluded to in the description,—and as we believe, the basis of the Obverse itself, now first perceived by or suggested to Secretary Thomson; but all of this in due time.

OFFICIAL TRACING REDUCED TO ONE QUARTER.

BARTON'S ALTERNATE

"Device for an Armorial Achievement & Reverse of a Great Seal for the United States of North America; proposed by William Barton, Esq., A.M.

"Blazoned according to the laws of Heraldry.

"Arms.

"Barry of thirteen pieces, Argent & Gules on a pale Or, a Pillar of the Doric Order, Vert, reaching from the Base of the Escutcheon to the Honor point, and from the summitt thereof
a Phœnix in Flames with wings expanded, proper; the whole within a Border Azure, charged with as many stars as pieces barways, of the first.

"Crest.

"On a Helmet of Burnished Gold, damasked, grated with Six Bars, a Cap of Liberty, Vert; with an Eagle displayed Argent thereon holding in his dexter Talon a Sword, Or, having a wreath of Laurel suspended from the point; and in the Sinister, the Ensign of the United States, proper.

"Supporters.

"On the dexter side the Genius of the American Confederated Republic, represented by a Maiden with flowing Auburn Tresses; clad in a long, loose, white Garment, bordered with Green; having a sky-blue scarf, charged with stars as in the Arms, reaching across her waist from her right Shoulder to her left Side; and, on her Head, a radiated crown of Gold, encircled with an Azure Fillet spangled with Silver Stars; round her Waist a purple Girdle, embroidered with the word, 'Virtus,' in Silver:—a Dove, proper, perched on her dexter Hand.

"On the Sinister Side an American Warrior, clad in an uniform Coat, of blue faced with Buff, and in his hat a Cockade of black and white Ribbons; in his left hand a Baton Azure semé of Stars Argent.

"Motto over the Crest—'In Vindicam Libertatis.'*

"Motto under the Arms—'Virtus Sola Invicta.' †

"Reverse of the Seal.

"A Pyramid of thirteen Strata (or steps), Or; in the Zenith an Eye, surrounded with a Glory proper.

"In a Scroll above—or in the margin—'Deo Favente.' ‡

"The Exergue—'Perennis.' §

To which Mr. Barton adds the following as "remarks."

* In the vindication of Liberty.
† Virtue alone is invincible.
‡ God Favoring; a motto like Deo Volenti, God willing.
§ Eternal (perennial, age lasting, etc.)
"The Imperial Eagle of Germany (which is Sable and with two Heads) is represented with a sword in one Talon, and a scepter in the other.

"The Phœnix is emblematical of the expiring Liberty of Britain revived by her descendants in America.

"The Dove (perched on the right hand of the Genius of America) is Emblematical of Innocence and Virtue.

"The Sword (held by the Eagle) is the Symbol of Courage, Authority and Power. The Flag or Ensign denotes the United States of America, of the sovereignty of which the Eagle is expressive.

"The Pillar is the Hieroglyphic of Constancy and Fortitude, and is likewise emblematical of Beauty, Strength & Order.

"The Pyramid signifies Strength and Duration."

Here, with the exception of the very similar mottoes finally accepted, and the national date, we at last have the Reverse of the Seal in very fair conception; and before closing the discussion of this particular proposition as an entirety there is another feature which deserves most honorable mention.

It is the noticeable departure from the original idea of giving the war power too much prominence. Barton, in this design, like Du Simitiére puts a peaceful emblem for the dexter supporter and the war emblem is given the left, or secondary place. This is an important change, one in direct accord with our national sentiment, and one not to be lost sight of, as we grow in might—among the nations. It at once took away the aggressive element and put Peace to the front; and, although all Supporters were at last
discarded, the conception was beautifully preserved by Mr. Thomson's subsequent assignment of the Olive Branch to the dexter talon of the Eagle, and of the Bundle of Arrows to the sinister one.

Nothing is clearer than that Barton's mind and pencil were most prolific in designs, and that mere scraps of his Seal labors have come down to us. Nor in view of the universal experience of committees engaged upon such work, can we doubt that numerous other designs (with those reported by former committees, and with, perhaps, by far a still greater number coming in, as suggestions from interested outsiders, the whole of which have now been absolutely lost), poured in during these closing days of the Seal's development. Among such we believe to have been the now missing, but famous, Adams-Prestwick letter to Secretary Thomson, and which need not have gone officially beyond his own cognizance, nor have embodied more than a suggestion how to charge the American shield, and perhaps how to display it.

The reception of such a letter could not have failed to interest the Secretary. Coming from whatever source, it certainly conveyed a most beautiful sentiment:—one not only pervaded by internal harmony but offering a most opportune avenue of escape from the confusion that must have seemed to be growing only worse confounded.

But there are manifest reasons why Secretary Thomson should have had serious doubts as to the propriety of entertaining it. Prestwick, although,
perhaps, a friend of America, was a titled Englishman. Congress had already shown itself most hard to please and extremely jealous of the whole subject. There can be but little doubt that it would have again declined to act had its members generally known that a titled Englishman—though a Liberal—was even remotely connected with the proposed solution.

Thomson's own feelings must also have strongly urged him towards any suggestion that offered an exit from the long quandary surrounding the adoption of the Seal. It was certainly high time to select the companion to the Flag, that now for five years had been recognized by statute, and by victory upon the land and sea. It was the Flag after all that suggested the Shield, as we now bear it, and whether Prestwick had a hand in it or not, the hand of Providence was there, and Mr. Thomson was the immediate agent selected to realize its designs.

Mr. Thomson took a somewhat roundabout way to compass Prestwick's general "theme" and to improve it with details culled from all of the earlier Reports; while with similar improvements, mere variations and additions, he also accepted the general plan of Barton's Reverse for the Seal proper, for which, of course, it was unnecessary to submit a special drawing.

The fact is if we cut off and save only the top third of Barton's last design (page 78), we have the following "text" left—to wit: the bulk of his proposed Crest and his Canton; and we believe that this was
the immediate nucleus about which Mr. Thomson's mind now harmonized all the elements of his own solution of the problem.

BARTON'S CREST AND CANTON.*

An off-hand and distant glance at the double picture will afford at least a faint suggestion of the Obverse and Reverse of the Seal as finally adopted. There is no dispute that this Canton was the actual foundation of the Reverse of the Seal,—but the latter is a vast improvement on its text. There need be as little dispute that the Eagle, well occupied as to its talons, with the scroll above was the natural foundation of the Obverse of the Seal with equal improvement on the text.

For instance the passing of the scroll into the beak of the eagle was a most natural thought, and the filling up of the blank space thus left with the constellation of thirteen stars surrounded by a glory breaking through the clouds, its collateral one. Next the emplacement of the so-called Prestwick-Adams Shield† upon the Eagle's breast found occasion for realization, save that the stars already used became superfluous and were left off the chief. But all this made the Flag in the sinister talon also superfluous,

* Outlines only shown.
† If not, then of the Thomson Shield.
and thus by the subtle art of mental association, and subject to the conditions and elections that had gone before, which gave Peace the place of promise, and made war by sore experience a sinister alternative, the sword and wreath turned into an olive-branch, and by a happy thought was balanced by a bundle of arrows.

In reality Mr. Thomson was the very man for the situation, and his constructive faculty must have been as highly developed as his perception of simplicity and fitness was artistic and exalted. Take Barton's Canton for instance and see how easily it shaped itself beneath a master's hand. The eye surrounded by the Glory lacked only the Triangle to make the idea involved complete. The favor of Providence being admitted, a better motto, as in the case of that upon the Obverse face, was so happily selected as to serve for a bond between the cap-stone itself and the Pyramid of thirteen elements below— for God had certainly prospered our undertaking. The placing of the date of that effort on the foundation of the Pyramid was equally in architectural keeping with all the facts involved.

The vision of America was indeed a promise of the Golden Age itself—so Virgil's fourth Eclogue flashed into mind, and lo! the final motto rounds the entire context and asserts the final Dawn of the New Ages desired of old!

The very highest degree of the genius of order and harmony, combined with artistic appreciation, was exercised with extreme simplicity in all this reduc-
tion, and that it was ready at need is not surprising to such as recognize that we are indeed a people—"sub clypeo."*

Therefore the very next device for consideration in the sequence is that of the Secretary of Congress, Mr. Charles Thomson. It marks the first phase of the completion of the full idea, was accompanied by a sketch of the Obverse face only, came now in chronological order, and was as follows:

SECRETARY THOMSON’S†

"Device for an Armorial Achievement and Reverse of a Great Seal for the United States in Congress Assembled:

* Under the shield of Providence.
† It is endorsed "Secretary Thomson’s device," is given for the first time in Hunt’s Seal Memoire, an official publication of the Department of State, and is now an important piece of documentary evidence in the Prestwick-Barton controversy—in fact, is sufficiently unique to supplant both contestants and maintain its own ground as having furnished the key to the solution.
MR. THOMSON'S DEVICE.

"Arms.

"On a field Chevrons composed of seven pieces on one side & six on the other, joined together at the top in such wise that each of the six bears against or is supported by & supports two of the opposite side, the pieces of the chevrons on each side alternate Red and White. The Shield borne on the breast of an American Eagle, on the Wing and rising proper. In the dexter talon of the Eagle an Olive Branch & in the Sinister a Bundle of Arrows.* Over the head of the Eagle a Constellation of Stars surrounded with bright Rays and at a little distance Clouds.

"In the bill of the Eagle a Scroll with the words: 'E Pluribus Unum.' †

Reverse.

"A Pyramid unfinished.

"In the zenith an Eye in a Triangle surrounded with a Glory, proper.

"Over the Eye these words: "Annuit Coéptis. ‡

"On the base of the Pyramid the numerical letters

"MDCCCLXXVI. §

"And underneath these words: "Novus Ordo Seclorum.‖

"N. B.—The Head and tail of the American bald Eagle are white, the body and wings of a lead or dove colour."

COMMENTS.

This was a decided and very important step towards the realization of simplicity with increased dignity, and embodied the conception of a high degree of Heraldic art.¶ It concealed the Prestwick

*Here Peace at last obtains the dexter, right hand or primary place, while warretires to the secondary one.
† One, taken, made or framed out of many.
‡ He has prospered our beginnings.
§ 1776.
‖ A new order of the ages.
¶ Though with but small acquaintance with its language and science.
theme by differentiating it, but left an opportunity open for an original improvement, as if by Barton himself back to it, as it were, and this without any notion that he was in reality adopting what Thomson himself may have had as the private text for his own original conception. This is not claiming that Adams may have conveyed to Thomson anything more than a description of the Prestwick idea without drawings.

Thomson's device was not Prestwick's, but may have been based on it. It raised the stars from the chief to the crest place, as in the earlier reports, and further varied from Prestwick's by emblazoning the Escutcheon with Chevrons instead of upright Bars; it also occupied the talons with significant heraldic gifts, and invited study merely for such further improvement as Barton was not slow to make.

Before, however, we proceed further in the story, it will be well to point out the generic peculiarities of the Thomson device. While the conception itself, as a whole, was a new departure and embodied important Heraldic ideas, the details were all crudely realized, and it was in these premises in particular that Barton's skill in the science and art of Heraldry and Drawing wrought so much improvement as to win Thomson's own recognition.

In the first place it will be seen at a glance that Thomson's Eagle is not what we now call a "Spread Eagle." Its wings have the tips "lowered to base," instead of "raised to chief," while the talons are "raised to fess" instead of "dropped to base." This is what gives the Thomson design its awkward
appearance even as a picture; it leaves the lower part of the design too empty, while the upper and lower part of Barton's improvement is so well occupied that its intent has been practically followed ever since.

But the specific mention of the "American Eagle," by Mr. Thomson, and later his definition of the variety intended as the "bald-headed Eagle," is of original authority in these premises. The aspect of the eagle shown on Mr. Thomson's device is to the dexter side as on the New York crest, and the crest of Mr. Barton's design—that is Westward with Empire, and this is now the confirmed aspect in all American Heraldry.

The thirteen stars and arrows are easily counted in the original drawing, and several olives can be made out in the olive branch, as well as the intent to follow the "opposite" arrangement of its leaves, as required by the botanical facts.

It was now Barton's turn to work up so happy a text, to vitalize the details and subject them all to heraldic law. By whatsoever means, therefore, the new idea was conveyed to him, or by whomsoever it was so conveyed, nothing is more noticeable than the latter's sudden and entire abandonment of complex designs.

This in our opinion accounts for another device of Barton's, which whether first submitted to Thomson or not, seems now to have come officially before the committee (Middleton, Boudinot and Rutledge), still in independent session upon the Great Seal.
It embodied the now-to-be-designated Barton-Thomson-Prestwick improvement of the Obverse. It added a circumferential legend to its face, and varied the details so as to bring more character into the design as a whole and in the direction already noticed. Its final draft, made some days later, is endorsed "Mr. Barton's improvement on the Secretary's device," and describes one that is almost identical with that finally accepted, to wit:

BARTON'S FINAL OBVERSE.

"Device for an Armorial Achievement for the United States of North America, blazoned agreeably to the Laws of Heraldry—proposed by Wm. Barton, A. M.:

"Arms."

"Paleways of thirteen pieces, Argent and Gules; a Chief Azure; The Escutcheon placed on the breast of an American (the bald-headed) Eagle, displayed, proper, holding in his Beak a Scroll inscribed with this motto, viz: 'E PLURIBUS UNUM.'"
BARTON'S FINAL OBVERSE.

"And in his dexter Talon a Palm or an Olive Branch, in the other a bundle of 13 Arrows; all proper.

"For the Crest.

"Over the Head of the Eagle, which appears above the Escutcheon, a Glory, Or; breaking through a Cloud, proper, and surrounding thirteen Stars forming a Constellation Argent, on an Azure Field.

"In the Exergue of the Great Seal,—

"JUL. IV., MDCCLXXVI.

"In the margin of the same,—

"SIGIL. MAG. REPUB. CONFAED. AMERIC.*

Remarks.

"The Escutcheon is composed of the Chief and Pale, the two most honorable ordinaries; the latter represent the several States, all joined in one solid, compact Entire, supporting a Chief, which unites the whole, and represents Congress. The Motto alludes to this Union; the Colours or Tinctures of the Pales are those used in the Flag of the United States—White signifies Purity and Innocence; Red, Hardiness, Valor. The Chief denotes Congress—Blue is the Ground of the American uniform and this Colour signifies Vigilance, Perseverance, and Justice.

"The meaning of the Crest is obvious, as is likewise that of the Olive Branch and Arrows.

"The Escutcheon being placed on the Breast of the Eagle is a very antient mode of bearing, and is truly imperial. The Eagle displayed is an Heraldic figure; and being borne in the manner here described supplies the place of supporters and Crest. The American States need no supporters but their own Virtue, and the Preservation of their Union through Congress. The Pales in the Arms are kept closely united by the Chief, which last likewise depends on that Union and strength resulting from it for its own support. The Inference is plain.

"W. B."

"June 19th, 1782."

*Great Seal of the confederated republic of America. [Reipub. Confæd.]
The original paper embodying this, Mr. Barton’s final design for the Seal,* must have been put before the committee itself on or before June 13th, for at that time the matter left their hands for its final residence in those of Mr. Thomson. The above date, therefore, merely indicates that the paper thus itemized was not the original but a subsequent copy thereof upon June 19th, i.e., the day before the report was made and the Seal itself was finally adopted. Of course it may have been submitted directly to Mr. Thomson, and in answer to a natural and friendly request in the premises. It will be noticed that there is no Reverse referred to in this proposal. It probably was a mere straightening out into heraldic terms of Mr. Thomson’s idea, as to the Obverse, but vastly improving the shield, while the Reverse was not discussed at all, because satisfactory; and, with the change of but two words by Mr. Thomson himself before his final report, was left as he originally wrote it.

The chief merit of this device lies in the judgment at last displayed in harmoniously arranging a well-selected few of the best symbols that had already passed before those concerned with this interesting evolution of Heraldic art in its application to the History of the Seal. The whole development is marked by a closely-connected growth that is very remarkable for its conservative preservation of all that was of genuine Heraldic significance to the Nation at large, and for its steady progress towards

* Obverse only.
extreme simplicity and boldness. No matter from what source he himself derived his own inspiration, the turning point of the whole history is of course punctuated by Mr. Thomson's own device. He it was who adopted the Eagle for the one prominent emblem in the Arms, and made it represent America without the support of any minor genii. It was indeed a happy conception, and the key to the solution sought. The subsequent steps were rapid ones, a mere sequence of generous efforts to improve, by alternation, on each other's ideas, between Thomson and Barton, all duly accepted by the former without reserving any of the credit to himself, although so much of it was manifestly his alone.

It is believed that the total departure of this final device from the complexity shown in the early reports, and as introduced almost to confusion in Barton's own earlier designs, bears plain evidence of some decided outside control, that is in addition to the powerful suggestion derived from Thomson's own device and authoritative position as the final Referee appointed by Congress to hasten the issue.

That some such control would emanate from Secretary Thomson's known influence, gradually exercised, and from his anxiety to please a long-suffering Congress is more than probable, and our view of the matter is that Thomson's specific proposition, whether based upon Prestwick's or not, was in the nature of a last resort to bring order out of chaos, by changing the entire point of view at the decisive moment. There is nothing to show that Barton had anything
whatever to do with so radical a departure from his own line of thought, or that he originated the present Seal in its new and radical design. He merely came in afterwards to realize and improve the details of the matter, and among them worked to manifest advantage and with much credit to himself, so that even Mr. Thomson yields the palm entirely to him.

How all this was actually brought about is now very difficult to surmise. It was in all probability consummated indirectly, and may have been initiated somewhat in the following way, suggested so as to harmonize collateral testimony:

Elias Boudinot was shown the Prestwick design by Mr. Thomson at the residence of the latter one evening in June, 1782, while there in company with Dr. Arthur Lee.* They both liked it, and disliked Barton's more elaborate Heraldry, also shown them at the same time. They did, however, approve of Barton's small "Canton" as the Reverse of the Seal.

Nothing would have been more natural under such circumstances than that Boudinot, a member of the Committee and knowing Thomson's hesitancy over the English device, should have suggested to Mr. Thomson the advisability of making his own modification of the Prestwick idea and submitting it to the committee officially. Boudinot could then have casually suggested to Barton the favor it obtained, and have asked for such further heraldic improvement as befitted the matter. Indeed he may have suggested the main feature of Prestwick's design as

*See Lossing, Harper's Magazine, 1856, etc.
to upright pales instead of the Chevrons of Thomson, or the Bars of Barton's own Escutcheon, or the diagonal stripes, shown in the escutcheon of Du Simitière and of the two early committees; all this without mentioning its origin beyond Thomson, or else left him to work out as of himself the whole combination and its final details.

And here let it be noted also that we have Mr. Barton's own testimony, in matter of fact, as to an official visit actually paid to him "in June 1782," by "Charles Thomson, Esq., then Secretary, with the Hon. Arthur Lee, and Elias Boudinot, Members of Congress" in respect to this very seal (yet to be cited, page 108).

Although no details of the general conversation which must have occurred at that time are given by him, the mere presence of Dr. Lee (perhaps both the active promoter and the conveyor of some suggestions from abroad, of Adams, Deane, or Franklin origin) and of Mr. Elias Boudinot (a member of the actual committee, later a director of the mint, and thus the natural transmitter of the facts to the elder Snowden, also director of the mint; whence by his son, Mr. A. Loudon Snowden, and Admiral Preble, it comes to us) furnishes strong circumstantial evidence of a very natural and direct line of transmission from Mr. Adams and Mr. Thomson to Mr. Barton, and for the further transmission of the tradition as to Sir John Prestwick's influence, however remote and incidental, to us, without reference to Mr. Barton, and without disparagement to his parallel claims as the active Herald employed in the premises,
However, Mr. Barton now had a fruitful field wherein to work without further suggestions from any one, and was under due pressure to work fast, if still determined on success. The bars, or stripes, had been tried in every way but the right one, and as usual in such cases this seems to have dawned upon him at the last moment. The rest of his "improvement upon the Secretary's device" was merely the correction of detail based upon a good heraldic education.

Viewed then from this or some collateral standpoint, and as a whole, this last proposition is certainly Barton's handiwork, and is acquiesced in by all concerned; but viewed in its particulars it as certainly is not so, for it is a concert in realizing whose harmony many were equally instrumental. The Constellation was inherited from the designs of 1779 and 1780; the Motto from Jefferson's design; the Eagle and Shield from the Adams-Prestwick-Thomson source; the Stripes and blue field from the designs of 1779 and 1780 varied by all concerned; the Olive branch from the same, as likewise the arrows, raised by Thomson to a Bundle. The central device of the Reverse is of course Barton's, the mottoes and date Thomson's. In fact, the Reverse is as much Barton's improved by Thomson as the Obverse is Thomson's improved by Barton, while the whole in its dual aspect is Barton's finally improved by Thomson and at once adopted by Congress.

As to the remote origin and employment of the
separated emblems, beyond their advent into the Seal History itself, we are not at present concerned; the elements were all well known to our ancestors. For instance, the bundle of arrows may have been adopted from an early Philadelphian flag design, or even from the Continental money. "De Benvouloir, the discreet emissary of Vergennes, who arrived in Philadelphia in the latter part of 1775, just after Congress had ordered the thirteen ships of war, reports to the French Minister, 'They have given up the English Flag and have taken for their devices a rattlesnake with 13 rattles, and a mailed Arm holding 13 arrows'" (vide "Preble's Flag," page 212).

THE FLAG OF THE HESSIANS.

Even our enemies bore gifts to us in the way of heraldic suggestions that may have had due authority
in our emblazonry. Thus the Flags of the hated Hessians, one of which was taken by Washington at Trenton on December 25, 1777, afforded a striking source of suggestions to the patriots. It is of white damask silk, and upon one of its sides is a Displayed Eagle, bearing in its dexter talon an Olive Branch, and a scroll or baton in its sinister talon. The motto is "Pro Principe et Patria."* The reverse side bears the monogram, E. C. F. S. A., 1775, M. Z. B., the whole being surmounted by a British crown.

Hence on the principle of "Honor to whom honor is due," the sweeping claims that are sometimes advanced for Mr. William Barton as the real designer of the entire Seal must be signally curtailed, for the discovery and recent publication of Thomson's own device, in the State Department Brochure of 1892, causes the chief honor to gravitate towards the Secretary himself, and this in spite of his modest resignation thereof over his own signature to Mr. Barton for his final heraldic furbishment of the whole matter.

Subject, then, to the Adams-Prestwick influence, the central unsupported Eagle was Thomson's; the raising of the motto to its beak was his; the introduction of the cloud into the crest, the shield upon the Eagle's breast, the occupation of its talons with the emblems of Peace and War—all of these were his, and finally the vast improvement of the Reverse belongs to him; while to Barton fall the mere improvement of the details of the Eagle, of the Escutche-
eon, and the Pyramid on the Reverse. The honors are at least "easy," for Barton holds the center of both faces, and improves all the details of the Obverse face, while Thomson circumscribes both of the central devices with a galaxy of emblems and improves all the details of the Reverse face.

However, and finally, it is to be noticed that as an armorial achievement consists of two parts in particular, the Arms and Crest, and that as the only essential part of the Arms, as such, is the Shield or Escutcheon, the charging of the latter is in effect the primary end in view of Heraldry; the matter of supporters, of motto, and of other embellishments being of secondary consideration and often omitted altogether. From this point of view, therefore, and because of the continued confusion of unsatisfactory suggestions as to the proper elements wherewith to charge the National Shield, down to Mr. Thomson's entrance into the field, it will be plain that his idea, wheresoever obtained, started the solution of the problem as such, and that Mr. Barton's final proposition as to the de facto charging of the Escutcheon was that solution itself.

Reduced to its lowest terms, so to speak, the Arms of the United States are shown upon its shield, to wit, "Paleways of thirteen pieces argent and gules, a chief azure," nor have we contemporaneously written evidence that this proposition extended beyond William Barton.

In the sense then that this Shield is the essential heraldic idea it will be seen that Barritt's testimony
as to Sir John Prestwick's suggestion is direct, to the point, and all-sufficient in the premises. This letter (page 65) contains no allusion to the stars upon the chief that are subsequently brought into the contention by Mr. Lossing;* from whence we are not informed. But the omission of supporters, and the happy idea of causing the escutcheon to be borne self-reliantly upon the Eagle cannot be traced beyond Mr. Thomson, and seems not at all to have been advocated by the Baronet so far as Barritt's testimony goes; rather is this recognized as an Americanism, and an afterthought, as are the occupation of the Eagle with a gift, the Olive-Branch, a means of defense, the Bundle of Arrows, and the motto; so too, the Crest.

Now so far as Mr. Thomson's device is critically concerned it does not embody this particular escutcheon, but a different one with chevrons. It is to Barton then that we owe the Shield in question, as well as the adjustment; at least of all the minor heraldic details involved upon the achievement.

Without invalidating, therefore, any of the testimony as to Sir John Prestwick's proposal, and its transmission to some ambassador in England (Mr. Adams without doubt) and leaving the matter of its conveyance to Mr. Thomson, who certainly did not employ it, out of the immediate summary, the residual fact obtains that Mr. William Barton made the first direct proposition so to charge the main device

*Compare Field Book of Rev.," Vol. II., p. 656, with article on Seal, Harper's Magazine, 1856.
that we can at this time trace without hiatus from any source to the adopting power. Were this matter one of invention involving patent rights, there can be no question, then, but that an Examiner in Chief would accord the Shield, and so the "Arms" to him, as of at least original and collateral conception, nor see cause to open the question as to a previous, and not as yet plainly related discovery abroad whose lines lead without break to the committee.

We have elsewhere stated our theoretical belief as to how this suggestion may have come from abroad and been forced upon Barton, via Adams, Thomson and Boudinot, because of so much testimony that some such intercourse had taken place; but it is to be admitted that the case is not proved by what is deemed to be first-class and direct evidence, so that until the latter, in the form of new evidence, is produced, the collateral originality of Mr. Barton, although born at the very last moment will perforce appeal with great strength to a large part of the Jury.

But to return to the actual sequence of events. On receipt of the Thomson and Barton designs Messrs. Middleton, Boudinot and Rutledge reported to Congress the second time; this was on June 13th, 1782. Their report was a modification of Mr. Barton's last design, and with it their own labors ceased, for their report was immediately referred by Congress to its Secretary, Mr. Thomson, to whom was also referred, "to take order," all the several reports of the former committees upon devices for the Great Seal. All this would imply that Thomson's active
interest and now decisive impress on the Seal was well known to Congress, and relied upon to complete the idea so happily at last conceived.

Nor could they have placed their reliance upon one more careful, or better informed in any of the premises relating to our early history. Charles Thomson has never received the credit due him. But who has? or who perhaps has had the full measure of his discredit? Who, indeed, among men is even compeer enough to be another's judge? It is good that the final balance of all human work is to be struck by Him who knew each detail of the grand result ere any of its particulars were accepted as elements in the Seal of History.
FOURTH PERIOD.

"A ray of bright glory now beams from afar."
—From the Massachusetts Spy, 1777.

"It is a whole national history. It is the Constitution. It is the government. It is the free people that stand in the government on the Constitution."

During the succeeding week Mr. Thomson had the sole and final control of the whole matter. With all the data collected upon the subject spread before him, long familiar with its whole history, and in close proximity to those most interested in its perfect realization, he could work to an advantage not fully enjoyed by former laborers. That he again consulted, perhaps almost remained in conference with Barton, during this interval, is probable from still existing correspondence between them. That Barton was the acknowledged author of the design finally accepted by Congress at Thomson's instance is also clear from the letter of the latter written to him four days after the adoption by Congress of the favored design. This letter is still preserved in the Barton family, * and reads as follows:

'SIR: I am much obliged for the perusal of the 'Elements of Heraldry, which I now return. I have just dipt

* Now in the possession of Jas. D. Miller, U.S.N. See Preble's "Flag" and Nicholson's Encyclopedia under "Heraldry."
into it so far as to be satisfied that it may afford a fund of entertainment, and may be applied by a State to useful purposes, I am much obliged for your very valuable present of 'Fortescue de Laudibus Legum Anglia.' and shall be happy to have it in my power to make a suitable return.

"I enclose you a copy of the device by which you have displayed your skill in heraldic science, and which meets with general approbation.

"I am, Sir,
"Your obedient humble servant,
"(Signed) Charles Thomson."

"June 24, 1782."

The foregoing epistle is no more and no less than just such a letter of transmittal as would have been written to Mr. Barton by Mr. Thomson had the latter merely employed the former to emblazon and define, in heraldic language, an achievement already decided on.

Thus we designed the seal that embellishes the covers of this Series of Studies, but sent our rude sketches to a brother army officer, who redrew them for us en regle from our own copy. In the same way Mr. Jefferson designed the Diplomatic Medal (page 155), but Dupré executed it. The poster and frontispiece to Study Number Sixteen of this Series was similarly evolved. We furnished copy for everything upon it, and the general plan for the drawing or combination. The artist, whom we employed, put life and action into our conception, so the work belongs, in a sense, to both.*

*In our own literary work we have had frequent occasion to call to our assistance a skilled artist who has realized our conceptions by elaborating our drawings and explanations.
QUICK WORK.

But it is considerably more than a mere realization of his own ideas that Mr. Thomson must be held as now recognizing to be due to Mr. Barton under the circumstances, for Mr. Barton's last design (page 90) is quite as much of an original improvement upon Mr. Thomson's (page 89) as the latter was an advance upon Mr. Barton's more elaborate one (page 78).

The latter had evidently furnished a final working drawing for the seal itself, either just before or on the passage of the law. In fact, the date, June 19th, on the copy of Mr. Barton's last proposition, indicates as much. The proofs for the rude brass die could easily have been finished in four days, and a copy thereof, perhaps an impression of the seal itself could have been sent to Mr. Barton with this letter by June 24th.

Mr. Barton evidently held the same relation to the last Seal Committee that Du Simitiére had occupied to the first one—that of a skillful herald invited in, "called on," or at least welcomed and relied on for advice and assistance.

He brought to the task no little originality, but at first too much of the elaborate. It was Mr. Thomson who cut the gordian knot with the sword of simplicity, when he proposed his own happy combination, and Barton put the obverse face upon so more accurate and improved an heraldic basis, as to merit exactly what Mr. Thomson wrote and meant.

The resultant work was thus both his and ours—and yet the letters of transmittal with the completed work would imply to those ignorant of the circumstances that it was wholly his.
This is made manifest by examining in comparison the final three steps that led up to the adopted design. Mr. William Barton's elaborate device contained two elements, to wit:

**PART OF CREST.**

**THE CANTON.**

Which suggested the following to Mr. Thomson for the entire Seal:

**OBVERSE.**

**REVERSE.**

Mr. William Barton then accepted the improved Reverse and improved the new Obverse, as follows:

**OBVERSE.**

**REVERSE.**

Thereupon, the Reverse not being in dispute, Mr. Thomson accepted the improved Obverse but omitted its legend, all as shown below, and all the details for future discussion notwithstanding.
In the foregoing graphic demonstration of development, the sequence of improvement is too manifest to admit of any further successful controversy. Hence, barring out all minor rights to the lesser details, such as Jefferson's to the motto, Prestwick's to the shield, whether on the eagle's breast or not, and the Archaic origin of all the details yet to be discussed, we must accord to Mr. William Barton the final credit for the Obverse, and to Mr. Charles Thomson that for the Reverse of the Seal.

A memorandum in the autograph of William Barton himself, which passed into the possession of his son, Dr. W. P. C. Barton, U. S. N., and on his death in 1856, into the hands of his brother, J. Rhea Barton, M.D., and is now believed to be in the possession of his son, Francis Barton, is as follows:*  

*See Preble's "Flag," page 693.
In June, 1782, when Congress was about to form an armorial device for a Great Seal for the United States, Charles Thomson, Esq., then Secretary, with the Hon. Arthur Lee and Elias Boudinot, member of Congress, called on me and consulted me on the occasion. The great seal, for which I furnished these gentlemen with devices (as certified by Charles Thomson, Esq.), was adopted by Congress on the 20th of June, 1782. Mr. Thomson informed me, four days after, that they met with general approbation.

"(Signed) W. Barton."*

At length, after devoting a week to his labors, the Secretary of the United States in Congress assembled reported on the 20th of June, 1782, the following device for

THE FUNDAMENTAL LAW.

[Extract from the Journals of Congress.†]

"Thursday, June 20, 1782. * * * On the report of the Secretary, to whom were referred the several reports on the device for a Great Seal, to take order:

"The device for an armorial achievement and reverse of the Great Seal for the United States in Congress assembled, is as follows:

ARMS.

"Paleways of thirteen Pieces Argent and Gules; a Chief Azure; the Escutcheon on the breast of the American Eagle

*The entire good faith of both of these letters cannot be questioned. They cannot be made to cover less than the circumstances warrant, and these we have already endeavored to analyze fairly.

THE GREAT SEAL OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
displayed proper, holding in his dexter talon an Olive Branch, and in his sinister a Bundle of thirteen Arrows, all proper, and in his beak a Scroll inscribed with this Motto, "e pluribus unum.'

"FOR THE CREST.

"Over the head of the Eagle which appears above the Escutcheon, a Glory, Or; breaking through a Cloud, proper, and surrounding thirteen stars, forming a Constellation, argent, and on an Azure field.

"REVERSE.

"A Pyramid unfinished. In the zenith an Eye in a Triangle, surrounded with a Glory, proper; over the Eye these words,

"Annuit Cœptis.'

"On the base of the Pyramid the numerical letters,

"Mdcclxxvi.

"And underneath, the following Motto,

"Novus Ordo Seclorum.'"

With the foregoing device Congress was at last satisfied. It met with approbation both in and out of the halls of legislation, and upon the very day of its presentation it was formally adopted.

The following is a copy of Mr. Barton's explanation of his Device for the United States Arms and Seal referred to in the letter of Charles Thomson as adopted:

It may be taken as setting forth all the prominent features of his own conception and their import, and is thus valuable for reference in the demonstration that he wrought far wiser than he knew; for as we
shall show, he told not a tithe of the significance involved.

"REMARKS AND EXPLANATIONS OF THE DEVICE.

"The escutcheon is composed of chief and pale, the two most honorable ordinaries. The thirteen pieces paly represent the several States of the Union all joined in one solid, compact entire, supporting a chief which unites the whole, and represents Congress. The motto alludes to this union. The pales in the Arms are kept closely united by the chief, and depend on that union and the strength resulting from it for its support, to denote the confederation of the United States and the preservation of their union through Congress.

"The colors of the pales are those used in the flag of the United States of America. White signifies purity and innocence; red, hardiness and valor; and blue, the color of the chief, signifies vigilance, perseverance and justice. The olive branch and arrow denote the power of peace and war, which is exclusively vested in Congress.

"The crest or constellation denotes a new State taking its place and rank among other sovereign powers.

"The escutcheon is borne on the breast of an American eagle, without any other supporter, to denote that the United States of America ought to rely on their own virtue.

"The pyramid on the reverse signifies strength and duration. The eye over it, with the motto, 'Annuit Ceptis' (Prosper our Endeavors), alludes to the many signal interpositions of Providence in favor of the American cause.

"The date underneath is that of the Declaration of Independence, and the words under it signify the beginning of the new American Era, which commences from that date."*

*I take this from Admiral Preble's "Flags," page 700, who there states concerning it: "Medical Director J. D. Miller, U. S. N., under the date Oct. 14, 1875, certifies the foregoing to be an exact copy of the original certificate and letter (when in the possession of the late Dr. William P. C. Barton, U. S. N.), which was followed by a description of the arms as prepared by William Barton and adopted June 20, 1782."
The Great Seal thus at last given to our country, after six years of laborious heraldic and symbolic study, is uniquely beautiful, and as a Nation we may be truly thankful that these labors were so prolonged as to result thus happily.

The Obverse of this Seal is essentially the same as the last one which Barton submitted to Boudinot's committee, adding the Reverse, and omitting the palm branch, the legend, and the date from the Obverse. The date of Independence, however, reappears, leaving out "Jul. IV.," upon the Reverse face. These changes are undoubtedly Thomsonian.

It now remains to consider this Reverse. It is similar in general design to that which Barton proposed to place upon the canton in his earlier and more elaborate device. So its upper motto—perhaps Thomson's own Latin(?)—"Annuit Cæptis" (He has prospered our undertakings), is similar in general significance to the one upon Barton's original canton—"Deo Favente" (with God's favor). So, too, the motto at the base of the Reverse—"Novus Ordo Seclorum" (a new order, or series, of ages), refers like the word "Perennis" (everlasting) on this canton, to the character and duration of "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

The whole face without change is taken from Secretary Thomson's proposition (page 87), and is therefore his without dispute.

*This is not the place to discuss the Archaic origin of the various mottoes and elements, so we reserve these matters for later consideration.
While Mr. Hunt himself does not endorse the conclusion, he states that "the words 'Annuit Cæptis Novus Ordo Secolorum' have commonly been taken as one motto, meaning 'the new order of ages is favorable to our undertakings,'" but it is not known upon what he bases his statement; certainly the wording of the law itself does not warrant the idea, nor is this interpretation met with in any of the descriptions with which we are familiar. There is as clear a distinction between the two mottoes, as there is between them and the Date which separates them in the Statute of adoption, the wording of the statute: "the words 'Annuit Cæptis,'" and "the motto 'Novus ordo secol-rum,'" is a specific and sufficient distinction.

The thirteen steps of the Pyramid plainly shown in Barton's original drawing of the canton refer to the original colonies. Their national existence in a new order of ages, and under the stable emblem of a massive pyramid is still further alluded to in the motto above, "Annuit Cæptis"—itself consisting of thirteen* letters pregnant with meaning, "He has prospered our undertakings;" He referring to Providence under the symbol of an All-Seeing Eye in a radiant Triangle, descending upon the Pyramid as a chief corner or cap-stone, to shape it to perfection, and our referring to the several (13) elements of the structure

* The numerical phase and arithmography of the motto seem to have entirely escaped the designer's attention, and to have been quite as wholly unknown to any of that early generation. The time arrived not until ours for the overruling of Providence to be revealed.
itself. The date at the base of the structure is that of its foundation—it marks the dawn of the endless Cycle of Atlantis, at which the Golden Age recommences in the whole earth.

Did Thomson or Barton mean or see all this that follows so beautifully from the symmetry of their design, or was their work the labor of those who wrought far wiser than they knew? Barton's own autographic explanation of the design would seem to imply that he was wholly in the dark as to the inner spirit of harmony that pervades both faces of this Seal, particularly that of the Reverse, and that the finger of Inspiration itself wrought unseen beside both his and Thomson's as this wonderful combination was evolved.

SUMMARY.

But before pursuing our studies deeper into these mysteries let us recapitulate, and endeavor to point out explicitly to whom our examination has led us to believe is due the credit for each of the various elements thus brought together on the Seal.

Primarily we do not hesitate to ascribe unto the higher, although hidden, hand of Providence, the overruling influence that determined the final realization of this wonderful emblazonry. Throughout its history man has proposed, but God disposed, nor even yet disclosed in full the measure of its correspondence. It is a prophecy from general to particular, and so a growth; its arithmography and significance, its harmony and its evolution, all have the savor of inspiration itself—according to degree.
It is not the first time that the Supreme Ruler of the Universe has stooped to put a symbol on the arms of nations he has marked out for his favor. Time and again the Scriptures refer to the Unicorn of Israel, the Lion of Judah, the Bull of Ephraim, and the Olive Branch of Joseph, Manasseh's, that ran over the Wall. To each one of the tribes of Israel a standard was divinely given, and repeatedly renewed with still more glowing emphasis (Gen. xlix., Deut. xxxiii., Num. i. 52: ii. 10, 18, 25; x. 14; etc.). Is it probable, then, that this, the last, nor yet the least among the progeny of nations, selected such a Seal, such Arms and Crest, and such a Flag as ours without exciting the interest and the blessing of that Divine Being whom they took into all their counsels, whom they agreed had prospered their beginnings and of whom it is still to be asserted "In God we trust"?

To Messrs. Thomson and Barton belong the major honors of the device as finally adopted, while to Thomas Jefferson is due the credit of its dual character, i.e., the possession of both Obverse and Reverse faces. This doubles its significance and opens a door for further progress in its future realization. The derivation of the elements themselves may be analyzed as follows:

I. THE OBVERSE FACE.

Crest. (i) "The radiant constellation of thirteen Stars" comes from the committee of 1779, Messrs. Lovell, Scott and Houstoun.
(2) The individualizing of the rays as "a Glory" is Barton’s improvement over all predecessors.

(3) The specification "a Cloud" through which the effulgence breaks is also due to Barton, but "clouds" are shown without being referred to by the committees of 1779–82, and are first mentioned by Mr. Thomson.

Supporter. (4) The Self-reliant Eagle, "American, bald-headed," rising,* was suggested by Thomson; its first use in the Seal history (both as "Phoenix," and "displayed") and its final heraldic detail (as spread, "displayed at all points," and poised, therefore at Rest†) being due to Mr. Barton.

Arms. (5) To Mr. Thomson we owe the placing of the Shield upon the Eagle’s breast, but the introduction of the national colors into the escutcheon (first "red and white," and finally the addition of "blue") is due to the committee of 1779 and 1780, and was retained by that of 1782 for "field" and "stripes." But to Mr. Barton we owe their final definition as "paleways of thirteen Pieces, argent and gules, a Chief azure."

(6) We owe the motto "E Pluribus Unum" to Thomas Jefferson, recovered by Mr. Thom-

* Nasr althair, the flying Eagle Aquila.
son who placed the scroll bearing it in the Eagle's beak.

(7) We have the Olive Branch from the committee of 1779–(80), its emplacement in the Eagle's dexter talon from Mr. Thomson.

(8) To the committee of 1782 (Messrs. Middleton, Boudinot and Rutledge) is due the earliest use of the arrow in seal history, but the Bundle of thirteen was put in the Eagle's sinister talons by Mr. Thomson.

II. THE REVERSE FACE.

Ascription. (9) To Charles Thomson we owe the words "Annuit Cœptis."

Capstone. (10) From Du Simitière we have the "radiant All-seeing Eye," first enclosed in "a radiant Triangle" by Jefferson, the latter dropped by Barton, but the Chief Corner-Stone of the Pyramid, "an Eye, in a Triangle, surrounded with a Glory," being finally put into shape and position by Mr. Thomson.

Structure. (11) To Mr. Barton we owe the "Pyramid of thirteen steps;" its designation as "unfinished" to Mr. Thomson.

Inscription. (12) From Thomas Jefferson we have the date of Independence "MDCCLXXVI," retained by the committees of 1779 and 1782, and finally placed by Mr. Thomson as the sole inscription on our National structure.
Motto. (13) And finally to Charles Thomson we owe the selection, and alteration of the Motto, "Novus Ordo Seclorum."

The foregoing summary deals simply with the origin or first appearance of these elementary devices in the history of the Seal. We shall, perhaps, see that nearly all of them were already well known throughout the country in the Revolutionary period, and were in every-day use as symbols among the people long before the adoption of the Seal itself, and in our itemized discussion of the signification of the emblems adopted (volume II.) will see that these elementary insignia were of the very eldest day—even inherited from "the gray dawn of History" itself.
FIFTH PERIOD.

Let it recall to them the strange, eventful history of its rise and progress. Let it rehearse to them the wondrous tale of its trials, and its triumphs, in peace as well as in war."—Robert C. Winthrop, Oct. 3, 1861.

THE LEGAL HISTORY OF THE GREAT SEAL SINCE 1782.

It now remains to consider the subsequent and legal history of this instrument. The statute of June 20th, 1782, adopting the foregoing Great Seal stood as law throughout the existence of the original Confederacy, or until March 4th, 1789. In the meanwhile only the Obverse face, embodying an attempted realization of the Arms and Crest of the nation, was duly cut and deposited for seal purposes. Its custody then resided in the hands of the Secretary of the United States in Congress Assembled.

Why the Reverse also of this august instrument was not then cut and used for its own obvious purpose (sealing) and why it has been unused down to the present time for Seal purposes has been considered a deep mystery, and it certainly is one.

The State Department does "not know upon what document this Great Seal was first impressed," nor does it possess any information going to show "by whom the first die was engraved." "It is to be pre-
sumed that the exchange, or ratification copies of the early treaties” (those with the mother country at the close of the Revolution) “bore an impression of the Seal of the United States; they are, however, among the Archives of Great Britain.”*

For instance, Mr. Gaillard Hunt, in his State Department paper on “the Great Seal of the United States,” 1892, states that the Great Seal was cut in brass soon after it had been decided upon, and it is to be found on a commission dated September 16, 1782,† granting full power and authority to General

*I have the above information directly from the State Department at Washington under date of November 25, 1882, and also that “the die of the Seal supposed to be the first employed for making impressions on paper is in the possession of this department.” This confirms in our mind the idea, that as a pendant Seal (metal or wax) was not then deemed advisable, we here have one of the natural reasons for not cutting the reverse at that time.

And it should be distinctly understood that the right and duty to consummate the whole law has not thereby lapsed. The temporary use of a part for the whole in special cases can never establish so preëmptorily a right as to invalidate the employment of the whole, as originally intended, when occasion shall again arise to use a pendant seal.

But it is inaccurate to say that “no die for making due pendant impressions has heretofore been used,” for the die for the Great Treaty Seals was used for pendants only, but those who employed it, failed to take any advantage of the opportunity it afforded them to realize the reverse of the seal. Should such a use become hereafter advisable, or should any other good use be offered for the Reverse of the Seal in government transactions, it now (since 1882) stands revealed and ready for it.

† I. e., not quite three months after the passage of this act of June 20th.
Washington to arrange with the British for exchange of prisoners of war.* The commission is signed by John Hanson, President of Congress, and countersigned by Charles Thomson, Secretary, the Seal being impressed upon the parchment over a white wafer fastened by red wax on the upper left-hand corner, instead of the lower left-hand corner," as subsequently became the custom.

"This Seal continued in use for fifty-nine years (1782-1841) * * * and being contemporaneous with its adoption, was in all probability cut in Philadelphia, and, it may be presumed, under the immediate supervision of the authors of the device."†

The most important use, however, to which it was first put was that of sealing the Ratification Treaty with the mother country.

FROM CONFEDERATION TO CONSTITUTION

When the form of the National Government was changed, and the adopted Constitution went into effect, among the earliest acts of Congress, at its first session, was the ratification of the Great Seal

* Department of State MS., Washington papers.
† "By whom this Seal was cut it is impossible to say. In the accounts of the Continental Congress, now in the custody of the Register of the Treasury, no entry appears giving any clue, nor is there any information on the subject in the Department of State." The Reverse of the Seal was not cut then, nor has it ever been cut since by the State Department. But an antique drawing of this Reverse, perhaps an original, is in its possession, and often figures in descriptions of the Seal as then adopted (vide Lossing, Wells, et al.).
as then already established by statute of June 20, 1782, and used ("for impressions on paper").

Thus under the constitutional form of government the Reverse side of the Great Seal continued uncut, unused, and almost forgotten, officially, in its strange concealment, down to the middle of the year 1882.

This constitutional ratification took place by the Act of September 15, 1789, Section 3 of which defines the Seal; Section 4 its use, custody, and sanctity, and Section 7, its transfer from the former "Secretary of the United States in Congress Assembled," with all papers, etc., concerning it, into the hands of the "Secretary of State," then created.

Between the time of this transfer and 1854 the unauthorized use of the Great Seal die by direct impressions upon paper, without wax or wafer, arose. This was in clear violation of unwritten law, which is best stated as follows:

"To constitute a valid seal, at the common law, there must be a tenacious substance adhering to the paper, or parchment, and an impression made upon it. An impression made in the material of the paper itself is insufficient. The old common law definition of a seal is that given by Lord Coke, "Sigillum est cera impressa." But it has long been held that instead of wax a wafer or other tenacious substance, on which an impression is or may be made, is a good seal."

The Act of March 2, 1799, which repeals a part (Sec. 2) of that of September 15, 1789, in no way

*Note therefore that its authority as a dual instrument for impressions on wax remains intact whenever any Secretary shall see fit to so employ it, and we shall cite instances of this exceptional employment in due time.

† A Seal is an impression on wax.
affects the seal clauses of the latter, which remain in force down to the codification and revision of the statutes made within our own decade (1872–1882).

In this interim but one law was passed (and that, merely as an extension) affecting this subject in any way whatsoever. This, the Act of May 31, 1854, and now the sixth Section of our Revised Statutes,* was enacted to correct the technical error above referred to, and reads as follows:

"In all cases where a seal is necessary by law to any commission, process, or other instrument, provided for by the laws of Congress, it shall be lawful to affix the proper seal by making an impression therewith directly on the paper to which such seal is necessary; which shall be as valid as if made on wax or other adhesive substance.

It will thus be seen that Congress has been forced to pass law after law in order to condone the irregularities of the State Department in its conception of and use of the Great Seal of our country.

At present, including the section just quoted, our organic seal law is as follows:

"Section 1793.† The seal heretofore used by the United States in Congress Assembled, shall be, and hereby is declared to be, the Seal of the United States."

The reference of this section is to the Act of September 15, 1789 (Sec. 3 thereof), which it repeats with some unessential changes in phraseology made authoritatively by the Committee of Revision.

The statutes further provide as follows:

"Section 1794. The Secretary of State shall make out

* Sec. 6, R. S.; 2d Ed. 1878.
and record, and shall affix the same to all civil commissions for officers of the United States to be appointed by the President, by and with the consent of the Senate, or by the President alone. But the seal shall not be affixed to any commission before the same has been signed by the President of the United States nor to any other instrument without the special warrant of the President therefor."

"The Secretary of State, therefore, is the custodian of the Seal, but has no power to affix it to any paper that does not bear the President's signature.

"In 1803 Chief Justice Marshall, in delivering an opinion of the Supreme Court, used the following language relative to the Seal. It may be considered applicable to all instruments to which the seal is affixed, except that the President's signature is considered a warrant in itself for affixing it to commissions and exequaturis. All other legal instruments require a separate warrant, signed by the President, authorizing the seal to be used:

"'The signature [of the President] is a warrant for affixing the Great Seal to the commission, and the Great Seal is only to be affixed to an instrument which is complete. It attests, by an act supposed to be of public notoriety, the verity of the presidential signature.

"'It is never to be affixed till the commission is signed, because the signature which gives force to the commission, is conclusive evidence that the appointment is made.

"'The commission being signed, the subsequent duty of the Secretary of State is prescribed by law, and not to be guided by the will of the President. He is to affix the Seal of the United States to the commission, and is to record it (1. U. S. Reports 374).'

The reference of this Section is to the same Act

* R. S., 2d Ed., 1878.
NECESSARY EXTENSIONS.

(Sept. 15, 1789, Sec. 4 thereof), and its phraseology is, in a similar way, unessentially altered to suit the requirements of the Revision.

Such is the organic law of to-day with reference to our Great Seal. It is obtained directly from the law of September 15, 1789, which recognized the Seal of the Confederacy as such, and as then used (for special purposes*) and which Seal looks still further back—to the Statute of June 20, 1782, for its legal origin, its entire symbology (Obverse and Reverse), and its true heraldic blazonry as used for all purposes and on all other substances, as for instance wax or metal.

As the duties of the Government have expanded the impracticability of having the Seal of the United States attached by the Department of State to the commissions of officers who are under some subordinate department, has been recognized by Congress. By the act of March 18, 1874, the commissions of post-masters were directed to be made out under the seal of the Post-Office Department; under that of March 3, 1875, those of the Interior Department were to be sealed by the department itself, and by act of August 8, 1888, all judicial officers, marshals and United States attorneys were ordered to be appointed under seal of the Department of Justice. This sealing of the commissions of its own officers with its own

* i.e., "Impressions on paper." None up to that time had been attempted on wax. But subsequently, and this without any special law therefor (i.e., under the color of the original statute of June 20th, 1782, and thus demonstrating its continued and collateral authority) pendant Great Seals on wax were actually used, and may still be used (Treaty Seal, p. 168).
specific seal appears to have been followed by the War Department from the earliest times, and no doubt acted as an example and precedent for the laws just cited; but all this, however natural and necessary, has tended to delay the familiarity of the general public with the instrument under consideration, and has worked against that realization of its details which certainly would long ago have been brought about by an educated criticism in the premises, and some means must still be devised for accomplishing the end in view.

"At the present time the Seal of the United States is affixed to the commissions of all Cabinet officers and diplomatic and consular officers who are nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate; all ceremonious communications from the President to the heads of foreign governments, all treaties, conventions, and formal agreements of the President with foreign powers; all pardons or commutations of sentence by the President to offenders who have been convicted before the Courts of the United States; all proclamations by the President; all exequatur to foreign consular officers in the United States who are appointed by the heads of the governments which they represent; to warrants by the President to receive persons surrendered by foreign governments under extradition treaties; and to all miscellaneous commissions of civil officers appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, whose appointments are not especially directed by law to be signed under a different seal."
The Seal Among the People.

It now remains for us to determine in how far the requirements of these organic laws have as yet been honored and carried out, and in how far they are still tacitly recognized as binding upon us—no matter what may have been effected in the interim by those officially charged with the actual realization of the heraldry contemplated by these laws themselves.

The matter is a very involved one, for while the generic law is explicit its realization was delegated to agents that were not required to report back with the accomplishment of their task to the appointing power before the custody of the resulting instrument was given a permanent residence. Thus, in spite of the time, care and anxiety originally bestowed upon the matter, Congress is to this moment without any official cognizance of the way in which its mandate has been carried out. As a result its very latest enactment in the premises (Act of July 7, 1884) deals with the matter from its own standpoint, which is that of the original statute; i. e., just as if all of its provisions had always been carried out. Hence, in this last Act Congress merely enacts further thereon, as a whole, and in furtherance thereof, while the agents charged with the task at the beginning, and entrusted with it all along our history—down, even,
to their interpretation of this very last statute—have taken an entirely different view of the matter, and have completely and deliberately ignored one-half of the statutory provisions, and this particularly in the last case, to wit: their interpretation of the Statutes of July 7th, 1884.

In the meantime those among the people at large who have had any occasion to post themselves upon the law itself have, without exception, interpreted it from the Congressional standpoint; while such as have gone deeper into the history of its realization have, with as little exception, taken direct issue with the State Department in its own interpretation and partial realization thereof.

Now it is contended that in these premises there was no implied latitude, and no matter what the exigencies that militated against the practical use of a double seal may have appeared, or been known to be, that there was no virtual authority, as such, resident in the agent itself, to fall short of preparing the whole instrument exactly as directed.

There has been entirely too much of this independence of interpretation, which is little short of a deliberate "assumption of authority," in the State Department, from the very beginning of our government, and it is high time that it was spoken of plainly, so as to determine its foundation if supported by any color of right, or to correct the evil, for it is nothing else, if our position is correct. In the meantime let us continue:

The result has been that the Acts of Congress as
to the Great Seal of the United States have never been carried out. Even under Secretary Thomson, whatever may have been the reason, the primary statute was but half realized, and (as if by color of the original lapse, and by virtue of the several subsequent *quasi* recognitions of the Seal in use at the time instead of that supposed to be in statutory use) the failure to correct the error has continued down past even this last statute (July 7, 1884), wherein the tenor of the fundamental law is again clearly recognized, and the color of authority for the intermediate failures, or at least of their perpetuation, entirely taken away. We cannot be too explicit as to this point, for, to say the most, the color of authority has only to a certain extent been yielded by custom to the seal as cut and in use, to wit, to the Obverse face alone, whereas this latest Act expressly contemplated the cutting of both faces as a sort of tardy recognition of the primary law. Previous, however, to the consideration of this Act, and in order to establish our contention in due order, let us now review the popular history of the Seal down to these days; for the whole of it as a realization never having been accomplished by the State Department for use, and as an heraldic standard, we must go out into the by-ways and hedges and among the people themselves to obtain the drift of their conception.

**THE EARLIEST BLAZONRY.**

But first, and as an instance going to show the rapidity with which information and realization as to
the newly adopted Heraldry of the country was disseminated and put into effect among the people, we excerpt the following interesting notice from Barber's "Antiquities of New Haven," (3d Ed., p. 140) it having been quoted by him from the "Connecticut Journal" of its own date, to wit:

"New Haven, May 1st, 1783.—Thursday last* was observed as a day of festivity and rejoicing in this town, on receipt of indubitable testimony of the most important, grand, and ever memorable event—the total cessation of hostilities between Great Britain and these United States, and the full acknowledgement of their sovereignty and independence. Accordingly the day, with the rising sun, was ushered in by the discharge of thirteen cannon, paraded on the Green for that purpose, under elegant silk colors, with the Coat of Arms of United States most ingeniously represented thereon,† which was generously contributed upon the occasion by the ladies of the town. * * *

Thus it will be seen that within a year of its adoption, delayed as if to consummate the end for which its studied emblems had been evolved, the National heraldry was already well known and put in joyful evidence, and that the honor of first tincturing it with its proper colors probably belongs to the Ladies of New Haven.

THE COLUMBIAN MAGAZINE (1786) ON THE SEAL.

The earliest public notice of the Great Seal, with which we are familiar, occurs in the Columbian Magazine for September, 1786. It is merely a brief re-

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* Thursday, April 24, 1783.
† It is to be presumed that each side of the Seal was represented in this embroidery, i.e., upon the opposite sides of the banner the fate of which is unfortunately unknown.
ARMS OF THE UNITED STATES AND OBVERSE OF GREAT SEAL.

(Columbian Magazine.)
capitulation of the law itself with some few com-
ments by the editor in the form of notes and sug-
gestions as to its blazonry. The article is important,
however, in that it is accompanied by a very care-
fully-made full-page engraving of the Obverse face of
the Seal, signed "Jas. Trenchard Sculp." This
illustration faces page 33 of the magazine, a well-
preserved copy of which still forms a part of "Washington's Library," now deposited at the Boston
Athenæum.

Agreeably to the promise made in a foot-note of
this number of the magazine, a full-page engraving
of the Reverse of the Seal appeared in the succeeding
number (October, 1786) as its frontispiece, and may
be seen in the same library.

Those engravings are important links in the Seal
history of our country. Appearing less than five
years after the passage of the law of June 20, 1782,
and during the period of "Confederation," they
establish by their concurrent testimony, that, though
the Secretary of Congress was at that moment only
employing the Obverse for Seal purposes, nevertheless
both faces of the instrument were required by
law, and so far as the editor or any other law render-
ing and abiding citizen of the country knew, were
duly so employed. The most noticeable point upon
this engraving of the Obverse face is its arrangement
of the Crest. The constellation of thirteen five-
pointed stars is scattered, in true stellar distribution,
over the whole field surrounding the eagle's head,
and is not confined to the limits of a circle or a six-
REVERSE OF THE GREAT SEAL.

(Columbian Magazine.)
pointed star, as in the faulty conception of the artist who prepared the original Seal die for Secretary Thomson.

Another feature of interest in this engraving is that, by its interpretation of the law, the Glory is represented as "breaking through" the Cloud which surrounds this Constellation. The artist has, however, fallen into the most natural error of misconceiving the "Olive Branch," in that its sixteen leaves (and no fruit or flowers!) fail to balance the Bundle of thirteen arrows held over against them and which are indubitably of equal import.

The artist's conception of the Reverse of the Seal has been faithfully reproduced by the mint in its Centennial Great Seal Medal of 1882, the Reverse of which latter is an exact copy of the engraving in the Columbian Magazine. In his conception of this Reverse the artist (Mr. Trenchard) has, however, made an error in the proportions of the Pyramid, and in the arrangement of its foundation. Instead of copying as his model the oldest, the greatest, and the most mysterious of all the Pyramids, their type in fact, and displaying it as it stands in Egypt (raised high above the desert sands and pushed boldly forward almost to the very edge of its sure and rocky cliff foundation), his representation is merely that of an ordinary pyramidal structure of no particular type, nor yet a very stable one because of its too acute construction. In Mr. Trenchard's conception the Pyramid has for its foundation a simple narrow slab or tablet.
Of course there is no objection to the use of thirteen pieces out of which to construct the Pyramid itself; they are clearly shown in Continental Money, on Barton's Canton, tacitly accepted by Mr. Thomson, nationally appropriate, and the idea has always been preserved in subsequent representations of the Seal. The idea, too, is in close touch with the actual architecture of the Great Pyramid of Gizeh, whose 221 original courses, and a capstone, have a manifest factor of thirteen, to wit: $17 \times 13 = 221$, the other factor, 17, being of equal import as we shall see, and actually hidden on the Reverse of the Seal. We are merely criticizing here the proportions of Mr. Trenchard's structure, and its foundation. "An unfinished Pyramid" means one in its Mastaba or terraced condition: other things being equal, and the law being silent, Heraldry demands that the representation shall be "proper:" hence it must follow for a model the type of all pyramids and the standard of stability itself, which is the $\pi$-ratio shown at Gizeh of which more anon.

The errors, however, which we have noticed were most naturally adopted in these earlier conceptions of the emblems on our Seal, and it has taken fully one hundred years to bring out all the beauties hidden in these grand devices. But such, however, is the essential nature of a symbol—that it develops the full harmony of its structure, and its import, only after long and careful study. In this sense an emblem is a prophecy, the potence of which wins credence only with the flight of time.
THE ARMS AND CREST IN ST. PAUL'S CHAPEL, N. Y.*

Immediately after the inauguration of George Washington, their first constitutional president, Congress adjourned, and in a body proceeded to St. Paul's chapel, where it engaged in divine service. Upon reorganizing it ordered that a duly blazoned, and framed painting of the Arms and Crest of the United States should be prepared, and suspended over the President's pew in St. Paul's. This painting hangs to-day in its appropriate place, an object of interest to all who visit that historic chapel. Though its tinctures are considerably faded, it is still in very good general condition, and of immense value as a link in the history of our national heraldry. It speaks with the highest authority upon some of the disputed points now receiving consideration in circles interested in such matters, and its voice is worthy of being heard in the controversy.

It is the first and only blazon of the kind ever ordered by Congress. The resolution by which it was ordered is proof that Congress considered the Arms, Crest and Seal as legally inherited from the Confederation, although they did not formally re-adopt them until several months of their first Constitutional session had elapsed. This resolution, therefore, spans, by its tacit recognition of the Arms and Crest, the seemingly legal hiatus between the coming

*Our artist was not a "herald," his cross-hatching lines on the Chief should be horizontal, and the gule paleways vertical. The work is otherwise correct.
in of the Constitutional form of government and the formal recognition of the _entire_ heraldry of the Confederation, upon September 15, 1789. At this latter time Congress ratified the Seal, as such, and thus, as clearly as it could have done, made its Reverse, as well as the already recognized Obverse, part and parcel of our national Inheritance.

One of the most interesting features of this celebrated blazon, is the fact that its artist* conceived aright the natural arrangement of the Crest or constellation. The stars in this blazonry, which by the way are correctly _five-pointed_, are arranged _irregularly_ over the field, and not circumscribed or confined in a circle. But while the stars are not arranged upon the circumference of a circle, and thus all direct idea of limitation is avoided, the artist of this celebrated blazonry has appropriately introduced all that is significant of the circle in so disposing the whole constellation as to cause the clouds which surround the group to roll back and break away in a marked circular form. Thus the emblem of eternity—the circle—finds a natural and appropriate place upon the blazonry, but does not in any way limit the group. Its very arrangement implies the future growth of the new constellation, as rolling further back the

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*Name unknown, but perhaps Mr. Trenchard himself. Comparison with the earlier Obverse of the _Columbian Magazine_ shows that the shield and bundle of arrows are very similar, also the scroll and motto as well as the relation of the glory to the clouds, so that it is fair to presume that the St. Paul blazonry was at least based upon that of the _Columbian Magazine_ by whosoever wrought.
clouds shall let in other stars until a form results whose stellar distribution we cannot even dimly yet discern. The marked avoidance, too, of their arrangement in the form of a six-pointed constellation of six-pointed stars is also noticeable.

It has been contended that "any arrangement of the national constellation that gives an idea of completeness, or bodes a limit to the possibility of national expansion, is manifestly not only a violation of nature's arrangement of the stars above, but an unwarranted misinterpretation of the intention of our forefathers." But this is not strictly so. There are, in fact, two points of view from which to contemplate this topic—the strictly Heraldic one, and that of Art or nature itself. From the Heraldic standpoint the definite six-pointed constellation of thirteen stars is not without specific authority.* It is the only form of the constellation that has ever been employed upon the regular dies cut for the government, and the Crest alone, thus cut, formed the Seal of the President of the United States so long as the Confederation lasted. Meanwhile the same Constellation in the flag was represented as a circle of stars. But as the number of stars upon the flag has increased various other forms of regularity have been successively required. Upon the other hand the Art-idea is the scattered one, and is generally followed in all free conceptions of the theme. Indeed, it was in this irregular display that the Constellation first

*In so far as error and persistent misconception can lend a quasi authority to a custom.
appeared in Seal history (see designs of 1779 and 1780, pages 52, 55), and it was perpetuated by Mr. Thomson in his own design (page 86), which certainly formed the basis of the law as finally adopted.*

Upon the other hand the legal specification of the group of stars as "a constellation," warrants some degree of regularity in the "heraldic" arrangement — the Dipper is a noticeably regular group, so is Orion, the Pleiades, the Southern Cross, et cetera. But why now a six-pointed constellation of five-pointed stars? This is a clear lapse from the developed standpoint. In the first realization of the Seal, as cut upon the original die, the stars were conceived as six-pointed and the constellation was very naturally made six-pointed to match. But the lapse was soon discovered from comparison with the stars upon the Flag, so while they were changed to the five-pointed order in the Websterian die, the six-pointed form of the constellation was unfortunately retained and still mars the realization of our Crest. It should be manifest that the very same deference paid to an heraldic art-idea, which resulted in grouping thirteen six-pointed stars into a larger six-pointed constellation, would have

*It may be that we owe the anomaly of a six-pointed constellation of six-pointed stars engraved upon the first die to the ignorance of the original engraver, and not at all to Mr. Thomson. Our early medals were sent abroad to be executed by artists without regard to expense. The common brass die for the Great Seal probably cost less than twenty-five dollars, and may have been "tooled out at one sitting." Similar work is done to-day at about this rate.
VARIOUS CRITICISMS.

grouped them, as five-pointed elements, into a corresponding five-pointed constellation; all of which could easily have been realized in any one of several ways, some of which are particularly noticeable, and in keeping with the Arms themselves, while others, deliberately avoiding any direct relation between the shape of the star and the resulting constellation, may be utilized to suggest the related features of the national heraldry. As we hope to discuss this matter elsewhere and at length we refrain from opening it further here.

While containing numerous leaves, the olive branch upon this device, so far as it can now be deciphered, seems to have borne thirteen ripe olives, and thus to have recognized the true art-idea of balance to the thirteen arrows upon the opposite side.

In the "Genealogical and Biographical Record" of July, 1872, under the head of "Heraldry: St. Paul's Chapel in New York," this blazonry is thus referred to:

"On the north and south walls of St. Paul's Chapel, New York, opposite each other, and half way down the nave, hang the Arms of the United States, and the State of New York. These are supposed to mark the places which were occupied by the large square pews set apart for the President of the United States and the State of New York. At 'some dreary day of modernizing and mis-called improvement' these canopied pews were destroyed, and the paintings consigned to unmerited obscurity. A few years ago they were restored, as nearly as could be determined, to their original positions.

"The Arms of the United States on the north side are believed to mark the place of the President's pew, in which General Washington was accustomed to sit. The painting is
THE SEAL OF HISTORY.

evidently the work of a skilful painter, working from the device of an experienced herald. The blazon is as follows.

"Argent, six palets gules, a chief azure, borne on the breast of the American Eagle displayed, in his dexter talon an olive branch, in his sinister, a bundle of thirteen arrows, points upward, all proper, the last feathered or; his head surrounded with a circular sky, azure, charged with thirteen mullets, 5, 4, 3, 1, argent, environed with clouds, proper, and beyond rays, or; in his beak a scroll, with the words 'E Pluribus Unum.'"

It will be noticed that the writer of this article in the "Genealogical Record" does not follow the statute of June 20th, 1782, in his description. Thus he says the arms are "Argent, six palets gules." This would imply that the original States numbered but six, who chose an argent escutcheon and placed thereon six pallets to represent the several members of the Union! The legal phraseology is alone correct, to wit; "Arms; Paleways of thirteen pieces, argent and gules," and implies, what the other does not, thirteen equal members each placed directly on the escutcheon. His use of the term "mullet" instead of star is also very objectionable, as the former was merely a filial distinction in heraldry, is six-pointed instead of five, does not signify a star (estoile) but the rowel of a spur (!) and was only employed upon the escutcheons of third sons! It is only with the modern writers' description, however, that we are here finding fault, since the blazonry itself is generally excellent, and is one of our highest authorities upon the proper mode of displaying the arms and crest of the nation in art. With reference, however, to the pal-
lets the artist himself has also manifestly erred, as the width of the red stripes upon the shield is nearly double that of the white ones, thus heraldically charging it with six pallets instead of thirteen equal palletways.

The chain shown pendant to the shield is also an unwarranted embellishment. Little attempt seems to have been made to strike a general balance between the Bundle of Arrows and the Olive Branch, save in the now somewhat doubtfully to be made out equality (13) of olives and arrows.

Our illustration is a photo-electrotype made from a direct photograph of the painting itself and is supposed to be the first copy of this interesting historical painting ever made.

The painting itself is duly colored according to the artist's own ideas of its correct heraldry, and these colors having now from age and neglect become very dim, particularly around the details of the Olive Branch, others of the olives than those indicated here have dropped out in the several steps of the process of obtaining the plate. To any one, however, who will take the trouble to examine the painting itself in St. Paul's chapel, its original possession of thirteen olives will be manifest. Even at this stage of its existence ten of them can be distinctly made out with corresponding places for the other three.* These latter seem to have blended now into the canvas already

*These ten can even be made out upon our own illustration with a powerful magnifying glass, to wit; five or six in the upper tuft and one or two in each of the other growths.
separating from age into so many little cracks that the details of the very leaves themselves can be made out only with difficulty.

It is well, however, ere we pass on to other subjects, to call specific attention here to the way the artist has grasped the legal phraseology of the statute respecting the rays which surround the constellation. The statute reads: “For the crest over the head of the Eagle, which appears above the escutcheon, a Glory breaking through a cloud, proper, and surrounding thirteen stars, forming a constellation argent and on an azure field.” From the peculiar wording of the above, it is manifest not only that the rays may be shown as breaking through—i.e., extending out of and beyond the cloud, but that the Glory is by no means the least important element of the Crest. The wording may almost imply that it is the Eagle himself whose head sheds the Glory round about and sunlight up the very stars themselves. Nor is this idea an undue stretch of our imagination when we remember the higher symbolism of the Eagle—an emblem often used for the Almighty, particularly too with reference to his leading or bearing of the thirteen tribes of Israel out of the land of bondage and breaking the “pillar of the cloud” with the light and brightness of his Glory to the discomfiture of Egypt.

THE WASHINGTON MEDAL.

Until his death General Parker, the celebrated Indian member of General Grant’s staff, possessed the Washington medal by inheritance, it having been
THE WASHINGTON MEDAL.
THE SEAL OF HISTORY.

conferred by Washington in 1792, upon Red Jacket, the famous Seneca orator. It was made at the mint by Dr. Rittenhouse, who was director between 1792 and 1795.

The reverse to this Washington Medal of 1792 affords another valuable link in the History of the Seal which we must not overlook. This reverse is a very large realization of the "Arms" and "Crest" of the United States. Its stars are irregularly arranged but lapse in being six-(!) pointed.

The Glory and clouds are conceived as above in the Columbian Magazine, the former breaking through the clouds. The arrangement of the pallets is "paleways," i.e., 13 alternate white and red stripes and all of equal width, which is of course statutory. The whole workmanship, however, is very rude, and its engraver or designer is unknown. The olive branch does not balance the arrows, there being fifteen leaves upon it and no fruit. It is, however, noticeable here that this was just after the admission of Kentucky, the fifteenth State, and to this fact, perhaps, may be ascribed the growth and significance of the olive branch—just as the pyramid, or rather triangle of fifteen stars represented on "the Kentucky penny" (1791) is culminated by one marked "K."

Soon after these days the Flag itself contained fifteen stripes and fifteen stars. Kentucky was proposed for admission in 1791, admitted in 1792; the change in the Flag was authorized in 1794, and made upon July 4, 1795, the constellation upon its field being a five-pointed group of five-pointed stars, thus
admitting the point contended for as to the proper form of the constellation, but by no means necessitating the alteration of the other elements of the blazonry as may have been intentional in respect to the fifteen-leaved olive-branch upon the Washington Medal.

At its first presentation such a conception of the branch appears to be correct, but upon an examination (even if this be indeed the origin of the varying number of leaves upon this and other representations of the branch), it is manifestly erroneous. Like the stars, the paleways and the arrows, the olive branch is merely a symbol of the whole nation. The original number (13) is made expressively to stand for it at every stage of its development.* In fact each emblem has expanded and in the mind we read today forty-five for thirteen, more than three times the number of the little band of colonies that formed their imperishable Union in 1776.

It is, however, as clearly impossible as well as unstatutory, to add an arrow, a star, and a pallet for each new State, as it is to put a new stripe every year or so upon our flag. Long ago the number thirteen only was recognized as preeminently the national one by force of these circumstances, and it is manifestly irregular to make any exception in favor of the olive branch.

On the other hand the Seal does not, and should not, change; its emblems should never vary. It has a

*Fullness being expressed by 13, which is the old Anglo Saxon "Baker's dozen," and the booksellers' measure.
legal import. As a mere matter of record and authority its faces should be fixed. With the Flag it is an entirely different thing; its constellation grows continually, yet the beauty of its conception is such that we hardly notice when new stars are born upon its folds.

There is an essential difference between the Flag and Seal in this particular. Though given to us by the same ancestors, the Flag was intended to expand with our national growth, while the Arms and Crest, and Reverse to the Seal were not. The emblems that compose the latter imply that indefinite expansion was the faith of those who designed it, but in no stage of our history has it ever been proposed to add an arrow, or a star, a pallet or an olive to its blazonry. On the other hand, this idea of addition has always existed as to the Flag. Its stars and stripes increased in number with little question until 1818, when they had attained to fifteen each. This was upon the Flag alone, however—never upon the Seal. It then became apparent that the limit had been reached, and returning forever to the original national number for the stripes, a star alone has since been added for each State admitted to the Union.*

Hence even in this growing and expanding emblem

*Thus the constellation continually varies its form by growth, and an argument is suggested against the curtailing of even the original thirteen into any specific figure, as for instance a six-pointed or even a five-pointed star. Albeit the objection to the latter as an heraldic device upon the Seal-die itself does not obtain, as the use in this case is within armorial rules.
we retain a link that binds us to the past, while in the Arms and Crest, and Reverse combined—the Seal in fact—as an heirloom, and a legal instrument, a change has never for a moment been suffered to be made. Thirteen is, so to speak, the number of our national surname—of our family name. We have added to it thirty-two initials, as successively new States have come into the Union upon the anniversaries of our Independence. To these we can still add at will as many more, but we cannot take from them a letter or a number!

To change a single numerical feature of our original national Heraldry would be like altering the spelling of an ancestors' name, and whatever liberties men have hitherto taken with their own names they have never yet attempted such a feat! In the meantime a return to the original intent whenever it shall appear to have been departed from is in keeping with "due order," and whereinsoever the original Statute is silent as to details the laws of Heraldry step in and demand the realization to be "proper"—a principle that covers and decides tincture as well as numerical details.

**EARLY USE IN DECORATIVE ART.**

[Mr. R. S. Barker of Newport, R. I., has, among other valuable curios, a very interesting saucer blazoned with the Arms and Crest of the United States. It is the last of a set brought home from China by Capt. William Scott, an old East India sea captain of the days when New York used to be
called "a place near Newport!" There are but two other pieces of this set, once a very handsome and expensive one, left and their whereabouts are not known. Capt. Scott lived at the head of Scott’s Wharf, Newport, R. I. The saucer was given to Mr. Barker by a friend whose mother occupied the house some forty-five years ago. She had purchased it at a sale of effects when she took the house. The set was made to order for Capt. Scott and from the character of the Blazonry bears evidence of having been finished about the year 1800. The Eagle and Shield have baked out chocolate color, the stripes red and white; stars (thirteen) in crest are irregularly arranged; rays break through the cloud; wings lowered as to tips; aspect of head to dexter, arrows and branch appear to be balanced, but age and original difficulty of such a representation is of course an apology for its minor inaccuracies; one of its most noticeable lapses is the entire absence of the motto.]

NATIONAL EMBLEMS IN MEDALLIC HISTORY.

The first national medal upon which any of the insignia of the United States appear was awarded to Brigadier General Anthony Wayne to commemorate the Battle of Stony Point. The resolution was passed Monday, July 26th, 1779, but the medal was not composed before January 3d, 1789, and thus, seven years after the adoption of the seal. At the request of Mr. Jefferson the dies were prepared under
the supervision of the French Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres. The shield in this medal is an oval showing the thirteen red and white paleways and part of the blue chief.

The same shield is shown in full on the Major John Stewart medal conferred for the same engagement and made at the same time. Upon the Wayne medal, America, personified as an Indian Queen standing, and having at her feet a bow, an alligator, and the American shield, presents to General Wayne a laurel and a mural crown. This was made by Getteaux.

This oval shield again appears on the General Daniel Morgan medal, made by Dupré. On the latter medal the Flag appears as seven white and six red stripes, with the arms and crest of the nation in its field. Of course it was made subsequently to the adoption of both Seal and Flag. *

On the General Nathaniel Green medal, by Dupré, the obverse shows a group of shields with the thirteen stars (six-pointed) displayed around the exergue, various standards and an olive branch.

On the "Libera Soror" medal struck by the Netherlands in commemoration of their recognition of this country, and voted April 19th, 1782, the oval shield is irregularly studded with thirteen five-pointed stars, like bosses, thereupon. The motto is "Sub Galliae Auspicis" under the auspices of France.

*So was the diploma of the Society of the Cincinnati, which bears for its ensign, a flag similarly charged with the arms upon its field, which is white.
The shield is again shown oval, but with the stars regularly arranged across its entire surface in the subsequent medal struck by the Netherlands to commemorate the Treaty of Amity and Friendship, October 8th, 1782–83. Of course the workmanship on these medals was all realized after the adoption of the seal.

**USE OF THE OBVERSE UPON THE DIPLOMATIC MEDAL.**

The obverse* of the Diplomatic Medal consists of so well an executed realization of the Obverse of the Great Seal, that it would have served the State Department as an excellent model for use in the premises, it having been far superior to anything that was put into practical use as a National Seal for more than one hundred years after its adoption (1782–1885 A.D.). It was in fact a vast improvement upon the earliest official Seal, which latter was evidently used as a text by Dupré, one of the best engravers of France.

The crest is a six-pointed constellation of thirteen five-pointed Stars, the Glory that surrounds it being interpreted as "breaking through the clouds," and so falling down about the Eagle itself.† The general

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* Mr. Lander, in his article on the Great Seal, "American Mag. Hist." (p. 485), makes a strange lapse with reference to this face of the Diplomatic Medal by reproducing and calling it the Great Seal of "1784."

† This medal was made under Mr. Jefferson's advice and his conception of the glory is not only on record (vide p. 115) but was followed by Dupré, by Trenchard in the *Columbian Magazine*, by the artist of the St. Paul's Emblazonry, and by Barber in the Great Seal Medal.
spirit of the Eagle is much better conceived than in the text and the American type (Bald-headed) is well portrayed. The form and emplacement of the motto is the same as in the early Seal, and the shape of the Shield is similar though the proportions are improved. The olive branch is also an improvement though the number of leaves, forty-two in the original, lacks the factor of thirteen which a strict conception of art and the symbolism involved demands, albeit $6 \times 7 = 42$ suggests the fact that $6 + 7 = 13$.

The legend on the medal, and the rosette of leaves at the base of the exergue are admissible in medallic treatment. Upon the reverse we find the date of Independence which is that of the seal's own inception, the rest of the obverse being occupied with a conception of international commerce, portrayed as Mercury the god of Diplomacy in conference with the genius of America shown as an Indian chief—the head of the latter being familiar in our early copper coinage. The present dies were made in 1876 by C. Barber, the originals by Dupré having mysteriously disappeared.

It is proper to invite notice here to the apparently intentional artistic grasp of details displayed in the technique of the escutcheon. The engraver has conceived the chief as of thirteen horizontal, or azure hatchet-lines, while the vertical lines, gules, are 26 or $2 \times 13$: in other words the shield is composed of $2 \times 13$ or 26 vertical lines, and 13 horizontal ones. This is a close appreciation of the theme; it is non-obtrusive, in that few would notice it unless the enumera-
tion was invited, but we note the fact here because it is in harmony with art in general, and particularly with the numerical skeleton of the topic under direct study. Later on we hope to expatiate at some length upon this text, for it is in and out of the numerics of the particulars that the harmony of the general conception gains its true significance (compare cut, page 64).

Writing from the Mint in 1882 Supt. A. L. Snowden remarks as follows concerning the Obverse of the Great Seal:

"The same device was adopted by the Secretary of State for the obverse of the Diplomatic medal, the dies for which were prepared by the great French engraver, Dupré, at the suggestion of Mr. Jefferson, who also, whilst confessing 'little confidence in our own ideas in an art not familiar here,' indicated a device for the reverse of the medal, which was substantially adopted by Dupré." *

Referring to this medal the Boston Journal of Numismatics for October, 1883, says:

"It is a singular fact that the Mint authorities had no knowledge whatever of the existence of this piece, or that any such dies had ever been struck, as Dr. Linderman admits in one of his letters† to Prof. Marcou.‡ In fact, the recollection of it had passed almost entirely from the memory of collectors until Dr. Morris found in the 'Writings of Thomas Jeffer-

* Phil. Transcript, June 24, 1882.
‡ But as the matter was entirely a State Department affair the Mint Department is of course exonerated of any neglect in this matter.—Author.
son, * an allusion to the proposed medal, and sent copies of the correspondence between Jefferson and Wm. Short for the pages of this magazine. By a curious coincidence a letter to the editors had been received a few days before from Dr. Linderman, inquiring about this medal (which was then supposed to be commemorative of American Independence) which was then in type when Dr. Morris' paper came to hand."

The medal described in Jefferson's letter, so happily unearthed by Dr. Morris just at that time, agreed exactly with that referred to by Dr. Linderman and Professor Marcou, the latter of whom had exhibited impressions in lead from the original dies at the meeting of the Boston Numismatic Society (of which he is a member) held December 8, 1872, and thus the authenticity of this very rare piece was fully established. †

Neither Professor Marcou, Mr. Appleton (who also owned original proofs of the dies), nor Mr. Fisher, who once owned an original in bronze, had previously known with certainty the reason for cutting the dies, nor the exact connection of this medal with our Government issues, while the director of the Mint at

* Boston, 1830, Vol. III., pp. 56 and 58.
† See Journal, Vol. III., p. 62; and IX., p. 80.
‡ "This whole correspondence—Dr. Linderman's inquiry of the editors of the Journal of Numismatics; their own comments; Dr. Morris's copies of Jefferson's letters, as well as Prof. Marcou's interesting narrative of his discovery of the proof in Paris—are printed in full in the ninth volume" (Jour. of Num., pp. 62 and 78).
that time seems to have been somewhat incredulous as to its bearing any relation whatever to our national affairs.*

Returning to Mr. Snowden upon this remarkable medal we continue as follows:

"The history of the Diplomatic Medal dies, and medals struck therefrom, is interesting. The first two dies prepared by Dupré broke in hardening or testing. From the third dies two medals in gold were struck, and presented, with chains attached, to the Marquis de la Luzerne, formerly French Minister to the United States, and to his successor, Count de Monstier, in 1792, two years after they were ordered. Six medals, in bronze, with the dies, were delivered by Dupré to William Short, Esq., Charge d' Affaires of the United States at Paris. †

* "The only known original in existence was sold in Woodward's third semi-annual sale Oct., 1863, lot 2962, and bought by the late C. S. Bushnell, and recently disposed of in his collection, lot 313. This medal should certainly be secured for the Mint Cabinet. It was purchased in Europe, probably in Holland, by Mr. John King; about July, 1863. Dr. Woodward bought it for $100; Bushnell for the same amount, and it brought in the Bushnell sale $50. The Fisher piece has never come to light" (Journal, Oct., '82).

† In his letter of July 26th, 1790, to William Short, Chargé d' Affaires in Paris, relative to the Diplomatic medal, Mr. Jefferson said: "As I presume the die will be finished by the time you receive this, I am to desire you will have a medal of gold struck for the Marquis de la Luzerne, and have put to it a chain of 365 links, each link containing gold to the value of $2.50." This chain cost 2,555 livres, equal to 7 times 365. The total cost of the matter was 14,570 l.—Lubat.
"The subsequent history of these dies and medals is shrouded in some doubt. The dies are certainly lost, and no definite information can now be obtained of the existence of a single medal.

"When Professor Jules Marcou was in Paris in 1867 the son of the great engraver Dupré exhibited to him a copy of this medal in bronze; subsequently M. Jacques or E. Getteaux, son of the distinguished engraver, exhibited to him two copies in bronze. Neither of these gentlemen would name a price on these rare works of art. The valuable collection of Getteaux was destroyed by fire during the reign of the Commune, and since the death of Dupré's son, in 1870, no information can be obtained of the bronze medal which was in his possession. It is said the dies were shipped to this country from France and lost in transit.

"One of the medals struck therefrom was supposed to be in the possession of the late Mr. J. Francis Fisher of this city, who communicated a full description of the same to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1837, but on the occasion of his death, in 1872, diligent search among his effects failed to discover it.

"We are indebted to the indefatigable exertions of Professor Jules Marcou for an impression in lead, which he obtained in Paris, and from which we were enabled, at this mint, to reproduce in 1876 perfect fac-similes of the original dies. I have pleasure in enclosing a bronze impression taken from these dies which exhibits the exquisite character of the design
and workmanship of the original."* (Extract from Snowden's letter to Sec. of Treas. relative to Great Seal medal, see page 176).

NATIONAL EMBLEMS IN MEDALLIC HISTORY.
CONTINUED.

Nothing further of direct interest to the Seal history, that is, as to the use of its emblems, occurs in the official medallic history of the country, save a few casual representations of the Flag on the ships of the naval medals, until we reach the one awarded to General Jacob Brown in 1814, where the Eagle appears prominently on the Obverse. But on the General William H. Harrison Medal of 1818, for the Battle of the Thames (October 5, 1813), there appears the oval Shield with thirteen five-pointed Stars in chief, the paleways, thirteen, being argent and gules.

On the General Winfield Scott Medal, 1848, thirty five-pointed Stars appear in the exergue of the Obverse, and the Flag holds the fess point of the Reverse.

The Flag displayed in full, stripes thirteen, red and white, with twenty-four five-pointed Stars shown upon the field, but indicative of five rows of five each,

* An original lead proof of the obverse of the French dies was procured in 1883 by the writer in New York, quite accidentally, of Scott and Co., neither they nor we at the time knowing its value. But this medal too is now lost through the exigencies of numerous army moves made while it was in the hands of parties for examination. It was temporarily forgotten, and, when again sought for, was reported "lost," on the plea that its value was not known.
and one of four, or twenty-nine in all, then the number of the States, appears upon the President Fillmore Medal of 1850, on the Pierce Medal of 1853, and on that of Buchanan in 1857.

The rare Army and Navy Medals of Honor exhibit a combination of many of the national Seal's insignia, the Shield being the central object on the bar, the ribbon being the Shield in square flag form suspending a fully displayed Eagle, the medal itself being in the form of a large inverted five-pointed Star, upon which the American Shield is again shown.

The central design on the medal is surrounded by an exergue filled with five-pointed Stars.

The well known badge of the "Grand Army of the Republic" is based upon these official medals, the ribbon being the flag itself, with thirteen stars in the field, and the five pointed star being employed for the badge proper.

The Shield is shown on the Obverse of General Grant's Donelson Medal, with thirteen five-pointed Stars upon the exergue of each face—groups of three at top and sides, and a group of four at the bottom.

The Flag appears on the Andrew Johnson Medal of 1865; the Eagle and Shield on the San Francisco
Medal of 1866; the Shield and a unique five-pointed Constellation of thirty-one five-pointed Stars on the Obverse of the Cyrus Field Medal of 1867, and the five-pointed Stars on the Obverse exergue of the Peace Medal awarded to General Grant in 1871.

Upon the Centennial Medal of 1876 the Crest in the crown-form of thirteen five-pointed Stars appears on the Obverse, and "the Prestwick Shield," so to speak, that is, the one with the thirteen Stars on the chief, appears upon the Obverse, also the Eagle. Finally the Eagle appears on the Altar that occupies the center of the Obverse of the Life Saving Medal of 1874. For a full description of all these medals, with elaborate illustrations, vide Lubat's Celebrated "Medallic History of the United States."

THE GREAT TREATY SEAL.

One of the most interesting periods of Great Seal history is that extending over the fifteen or eighteen years closed by the last year of Mr. Lincoln's presidency. Around about the time of our first treaty with Japan the die employed by the State Department became so injured as to be practically useless for such important purposes as the sanctioning of Treaties; it was therefore resolved to prepare new dies. The work was accordingly placed in the hands of Mr. Samuel Lewis, a well-known jeweler of Washington city.

This skillful workman prepared at his own expense a large steel die under the supervision of the State Department. It weighs "almost exactly twenty pounds,"
is three inches thick and about six or eight inches in diameter. Upon its upper surface is a deep and very beautifully-cut impression of the Arms and Crest of the United States, four and one-half inches in diameter.

This die was employed by Mr. Lewis for the double purpose of casting large waxen seals some five-eighths of an inch thick, and for use in stamping the metallic boxes in which the Seal, when finished and attached to Treaties, was preserved from injury. The die was the property of Mr. Lewis, and, when we discovered it, it was still in the possession of his sons, who now carry on their father's business at No. 1215 Pennsylvania avenue.

The State Department was in the habit of procuring of Mr. Lewis a certain quantity of metallic boxes and waxen seals at a time. These seals cost some six dollars each and the boxes (generally made of silver) one hundred and twenty dollars each. Upon reaching the State Department they were carefully preserved until needed, and on the accomplishment of a Treaty, or other very important State paper, demanding their affixture, a heavy blue and silver cord was passed through the document and into the silver box. This box was then half filled with melted wax, and while this latter was still warm the already-prepared waxen seal, furnished by Mr. Lewis, was pressed down upon it so as to bring its stamped surface level with the top of the metallic box. The cover of this box, possessing the same identical impression, was then closed down, and the whole
combination, weighing one or two pounds, became
the Seal of the document. In spite of the opportu-

nity to realize the entire law, this Seal had no Re-
verse, but it was a pendant, and to that extent
made an original record in the premises. This Seal
was then still further enclosed in a velvet jewel case
and the Treaty itself, with Seal attached, finally
packed in a suitable mahogany box, in which con-
dition it was considered to be ready for official
delivery.

In the famous Japanese Treaty resulting from
Commodore Perry's mission, a golden box was used
to enclose the waxen Seal; and Mr. Lewis' son in-
formed the writer that this was the only golden box
ever procured. Its cost, together with that of the
Seal, its velvet case and the large mahogany treaty
case, so near as could be remembered, was in the
neighborhood of $2,500!*

The workmanship of this die is very beautiful, and
its Olive Branch, though having sixty, (nearly sixty-
five=5 x 13?) leaves, contains exactly thirteen Olives,†
 thus partially satisfying the art-idea of balance to the
bundle of thirteen Arrows upon the sinister side.
Its constellation, however, is a lapse, being six-pointed
and of six-pointed stars!

An exemplification of the use of such a seal may
be seen in the Historical Rooms at New Haven, Con-

* Admiral Preble, who was present with Perry in Japan,
and who had often seen this Treaty with its various expensive
boxes, informed the writer that their cost must certainly have
been in the neighborhood of the sum named by Mr. Lewis.

† With perhaps the rudiments of another, or a flower.
necticut. It consists of a Decree in Chancery, issued in the time of William the Fourth, on fifteen sheets of parchment, each $24 \times 28$ inches square, bound together at one edge, and secured by silken cords (red and blue) ending in the Great Seal of England, 6" in diameter, about 1" thick, impressed on both sides, and held in a metal box.

The employment of this special Treaty Seal fell into disuse during the war, and ceased entirely about the close of Mr. Lincoln's administration, and the memory of the existence of the die gradually faded away with the cessation of purchases, the death of Mr. Lewis, Sr., and the exigencies of several changes of administration, so that of the existence of the die itself and the method of employing it, the State Department had lost all conscious trace in January, 1883.

At that time the State Department was in possession of but one very much injured waxen impression thereof, preserved in a cheap brass case, and to the writer, who was then visiting Washington in the interest of Great Seal History, could give little or no information concerning its origin, history or use. From conversation with some of the older employees of the Department, however, the writer was fortunate enough to trace the matter to Mr. Lewis's establishment, where after some trouble these valuable national relics were at last unearthed. They were covered with the dust of many years, and well nigh forgotten even by the owners.

The State Department was at once informed of the discovery, and as the Lewises were anxious to have
it in proper custody, it was urged that the Treaty-
die and the impressions thereof still remaining in the
hands of Samuel Lewis’s sons should be procured by
the government at as early a date as practicable;
that they were not only valuable as most interesting
relics, but that under the Revised Statutes (par. 1794)
the State Department is the only proper, as it is the
only really responsible custodian of all that pertains
to the National Seal; that it was certainly improper
that dies and impressions of such an important and
sacred nature should remain any longer in the pos-
session of even so reliable private parties as their
present owners; that having been for so long a period
officially employed by the government in lending
sanction to an important branch of the supreme law
of the land, it was not only essential from a legal
point of view, but from the traditional, historic and
sentimental standpoint, and for safety and protection
that they should be taken into the charge of the State
Department.*

We understand that these dies were subsequently
presented by the Lewises to the State Department,
together with a dozen waxen impressions, one of which
was thereupon presented to the writer (August 14,
1885) by the Assistant Secretary of State and trans-
mittted to him through the Chief Clerk of the Depart-
ment (Sevellon A. Brown, Esq.).

* For correspondence relative to this die, which was subse-
quent to and in addition to the original report in person made
in January, 1883, vide State Department files of Letters Re-
ceived and Sent circa January 17th and February 16th, 1883.
While we fully appreciate and understand the courtesy of the State Department in tendering to us this valued memorial of the part we ourselves had taken in resurrecting this treaty-die from oblivion, and are well aware that it still regards the die as "private property," and thus somewhat out of pale, it is none the less incumbent on us to point out in elucidation of our general contention as to the actual sanctity of this die, that the gift of a waxen impression thereof, *without the warrant of the President*, was in fact as technical a violation of the law as if the impression had been taken from the die in current use; and that the impression was taken by Mr. Lewis, and not by the Department itself is irrelevant, in that all impressions thereof were thus taken by a similar delegation of authority, which is "the previous question." In other words the original mistake is the responsible informality that we are exploiting. The die ought never to have had an extraneous origin and use, and if private property steps should certainly be taken to secure it by *de jure* rather than *de facto* possession.

It is rather remarkable that Mr. Hunt in his late State Department Brochure on the "Seal of the United States" (1892), omits all mention of this particular die, the history of which certainly forms an interesting chapter in our Great Seal Records, and an important one, as by virtue of this very die a pendent seal was at last actually obtained, and used for high purposes, over several administrations. His nearest approach to any topic collateral thereto is as follows:
"In many countries, at the present day, the authenticity of a treaty with another power is attested by a large pendant wax seal, the cords which run through the paper being carried through the wax. As the wax would otherwise be certain to break and the cords become detached, a metal box—usually of gold or silver—is used to contain the wax impression. Our own seal was thus attached to treaties [from 1856] up to 1869, when the practice was finally abandoned; and the impression upon the paper itself, with a thin white wafer, is used upon treaties, as well as upon all other documents to which the seal is affixed."

And here it is important to point out that the cutting of this die, and its actual employment as the official Great Seal of the Land for impressions on wax and metal, in contradistinction from those "on paper," and for pendants lends positive color in common law to our contention, that the right (and as we conceive it, the duty) of the State department still exists to cut both faces of the Great Seal of the United States and to use them on wax and metal, and as a pendant for at least all high purposes—all as contemplated by the original law.

The Law of September 15, 1789, legalizing the Great Seal of the Confederation then in use for "impressions on paper," looked back to the fundamental law of June 20, 1782, for the collateral and reserved authority to employ the whole instrument in its dual and pendant form should proper occasion arise. The further law of May 31, 1854, legalizing the use of all seals "directly on the paper * * * which shall be
as valid as if made on wax or other adhesive substance," has no constraining or limiting effect in the premises. By well known principles of civil law, the original use remains, an alternative is merely permitted and recognized. Hence, as the State Department did cut, and use this Great Treaty Die on wax and metal, for a pendant, subsequently to both of these laws, by mere reversion to the original law, and that under unquestionable authority, it manifestly still remains within the power of that department to resume the right to use a pendant of wax, with metallic case, and furthermore to perform its whole duty by having both faces of the Great Seal cut and both of them put to use upon such pendant, as originally intended.

This indeed was apparently the remote intention of that department subsequently to 1882, when from Centennial reasons its attention was invited so directly to the subject of Great Seal Heraldry and use, for the outcome of that whole matter was the specific grant of funds by Congress to cut dies of both faces of the Great Seal.

THE GREAT SEAL MEDAL.

Finally (although the incident initiated our own interest in this topic), in February of 1882, the studies of the writer in Biblical directions (relating chiefly to our Origin and Destiny as Manasseh—"a great people," in fact the great "separated people" of latter day Israel, and to the import to Our Race of the Great Pyramid as a historic monument), led him accidentally
across the dismembered record, history and description of the Great Seal of the United States.

Surprised to find it had a Reverse, and astonished that such symbolism as this face possessed should have been allowed to remain so long in a state of neglect and concealment, he was also struck with the opportune approach of the Centennial Anniversary of its original adoption (June 20th, 1782—June 20th, 1882) as affording a most suitable occasion for its more perfect recognition. Acting under this impulse letters were at once indited to both the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury, inviting their attention to the approaching centennial and requesting that some suitable action might be taken to commemorate it.

From both of these officers courteous answers were soon received. The Secretary of State, whose attention had been invited to the necessity of recognizing the Reverse of the Seal, etc., replied, "That the subject would receive consideration." But no further personal advice as to what attention it did receive has yet come officially to hand, though much incidental correspondence upon Seal-heraldry has occurred in the meanwhile. It is presumed that the shortness of time then afforded for such legislative steps as may have been deemed necessary before Congress, and the care with which the State Department assumes to move, prevented further action at that time.

But closely subsequent activity in that Department along these very lines, eventually resulting in Congressional authority and funds to recut the entire Seal
(Act of July 7, 1884), leads us to suppose that the letter and intercourse were indirectly productive of a decided improvement in the realization of our heraldry yet to be noted. (Vide pages 230, 231).

With the Treasury Department, however, it was different. With a large plant at its command,* and rendered independent by a special act of Congress† for just such emergencies, besides being traditionally familiar with all our national heraldry and symbolisms as embodied in the coinage. "The matter touched upon proved very interesting." In the letters originally addressed to Secretary Folger it was asked "If a medal," which should be an exact representation of the Seal, both as to Obverse and Reverse, could not "be struck off to commemorate the one hundredth return of so auspicious a date in our national history." The correspondence was as follows:

Madison Barracks,

To the Honorable
Secretary of the U. S. Treasury,
Washington, D. C.

SIR:—I have the honor to solicit your valued attention to a subject of no little importance and one that I doubt not may be turned to some specially interesting account in the Treasury Department.

The coming 20th of June (which, as you are of course aware, closes a fiscal year) is to be the Centennial anniversary of the adoption of the Great Seal of our country. This seal was adopted by Congress on the 20th day of June, 1782. Up to the present time but one half of it, the obverse, has ever been cut. Indeed,

* The U. S. Mint at Philadelphia, Penn.
† Sec. 3551 Revised Statutes U. S.
very few of our citizens are aware, perhaps, of the adoption at that time of a reverse to this important part of our national regalia.

It is certainly not a little surprising that this reverse has never been officially used either by the State or Treasury departments.

Relative to this seal, and after the description of its obverse, now in use, the report of the committee of Congress adopted June 20th, 1782, goes on to say for the reverse of the seal.

"A pyramid unfinished, in the zenith an eye in a triangle surrounded with a glory proper. Over the eye these words, 'Annuit Capitis' (He has prospered our undertakings); on the pyramid the numerical letters MDCCLXXVI., and underneath the following motto, 'Novus ordo seclorum' (a mighty order of ages is born anew)."

Schuyler Hamilton in his History of the American Flag, explains this reverse very aptly.

But aside from its marked symbolic import to the patriotic student of our country's history, this hitherto uncut reverse has peculiar demands of its own upon our attention. It was originated and adopted by men who lived only upon the threshold of a country whose future is mysteriously boundless, but who nevertheless fully appreciated all its possibilities. It seems to me that they very designedly collected upon this face of the seal the most potent symbols of antiquity.

The all-seeing Eye is one of the oldest hieroglyphics of the Deity. The triangle also is a cabalistic symbol of the most remote antiquity and is found particularly, among the remains of the original peoples, about the earliest home of the human race. The pyramid is the mystery of all ages. It still holds its place as the greatest of the world's wonders. A place to which in the light of modern studies and discoveries in Egypt it is becoming ever more exalted.

The descent of the mystic eye and triangle in the form of a capstone to this mysterious monument of all times and nations, is to us as a people most pregnant with significance. The motto, "Novus ordo seclorum," is a quotation from the 4th
Eclogue and was borrowed in turn by Virgil from the mystic Sibylline records. The entire quotation is as follows, "The last age of Cumæan song now comes, 'Novus ordo seclorum' (altered from 'Magnus seclorum ordo'), 'a mighty order of ages is born anew.' Both the prophetic virgin and Saturnian kingdoms now return. Now a new progeny is let down from the lofty heavens. Favor, chaste Lucina, the boy soon to be born, in whom the iron age shall come to an end, and the golden one shall arise again in the whole earth."*

Truly indeed what nation of the earth has such a seal! And humbly may I also add, how fitting this Sibylline prophecy to our past and to the promise of our future! The entire design of this reverse to the seal is most unique, and is throughout a most masterly harmony of all that is potent in symbolism and of prophecy.

I write therefore to respectfully and most earnestly urge that this hitherto unused and almost forgotten (I was rather tempted to have said, long mysteriously hidden) face of our great country's seal be brought to light of all people, and if possible to suggest that its issue may date with the 20th of the coming June.

And furthermore, as this date is intimately connected with the close and the beginning of the fiscal year, I would respectfully suggest that the design of the reverse to the national seal be employed if possible, either upon a medal or better far upon a coin.

The 20-dollar gold piece now in use bears the obverse of this seal; how fitting it would be if the new gold piece which

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*The following scrap was found among the manuscript notes, etc., of Judge Weisei of Md. "This is a remarkable prophecy if genuine, from a Pagan philosopher of Rome—

"Far beyond the ocean, if we are to believe the Sibylline fables, there will extend after many years, a large and fertile land, and in it there will arise a brave and wise man who shall by his counsel and by his arms liberate his oppressed country from servitude, and shall found, under happy auspices, a republic most like to ours both in its origin and in its other history, much and deservedly to be preferred, ye good Gods, to Brutus and Camillus.

From a fragment of Cicero, Le Brookes Viri Americæ, p. 52, Vita Washingtonii."
has been proposed for international circulation could have the reverse impressed upon it, and bear the tidings of freedom, still a new birth among the nations, far and wide over the earth.

I sincerely trust this subject will present itself favorably to the Hon. Secretary. I regret that in a letter I can present it no better.

If the authority of Congress is necessary to issue a new piece of money it certainly can be obtained without delay for the celebration of such a centennial.

With deep respect, I am, Sir, very sincerely
Your obedient servant,

C. A. L. TOTTEN,
1st Lieut. 4th Art'y, U. S. Army.

(Inclosure) P. S.

MADISON BARRACKS,

To the Honorable
SECRETARY OF THE U. S. TREASURY,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:—Since writing my letter of to-day, to your address, I have shown it to a brother officer, who has been an ardent collector of coins, etc., and who assures me that some such design as belongs upon the reverse of the Great Seal was formerly employed by the Treasury Department upon a dollar piece, or one of other denomination some years ago.*

The interest however in the approaching centennial anniversary of its original adoption still remains, and I have the honor to ask if at least a medal, which shall be the exact representation of the seal, both as to obverse and reverse, cannot be struck off to commemorate this 100th return of so conspicuous a date in our national history.

Perhaps the original die of this old coin still exists, and could

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*This turns out to be an error, the reference being to the Kentucky penny which was only partially pyramidal and not in the sense displayed upon the seal, nor was it an official piece, nor even an American one, it having been made in England.
be milled against the one now employed in making the 20-dol-
lar gold piece and thus secure the object desired.

Again, with sincere respect,

Your obedient servant,

C. A. L. TOTTEN,
1st Lieut. 4th Art’y, U. S. Army.

This letter and enclosure were referred to the Superintend-ent of the Philadelphia Mint, with the following letter of transmittal:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Office of the Secretary, 
February 19th, 1882.

MY DEAR SIR:—I enclose herewith a letter from Lieutenant C. A. L. Totten, 4th Artillery, U. S. A., in relation to the propriety and advisability of striking a coin or medal to commemorate the Centennial Anniversary of the adoption of the Great Seal of the United States, and would thank you for your views and any suggestions you may be pleased to make upon the views expressed therein.

Respectfully, etc.,

CHAS. J. FOLGER,
Sec. of the Treasury.

Hon. A. Loudon Snowden, Supt. of Mint, etc.

In the meantime the following letter of acknowledge-ment was received by us from the Treasury Department.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

LIEUT. C. A. L. TOTTEN,

MY DEAR SIR:—I have your letter and enclosure of February 10th. The matter which you touch is very interesting. I have referred it to the Superintendent of the Mint, at Philadelphia, and upon having his answer will communicate the same to you.

I am obliged to you for calling the subject to my attention.

Yours very respectfully,

CHAS. J. FOLGER,
Secretary.
To the Secretary, the Superintendent, Mr. Snowden, replied at length, and in favor of the medal.*

MINT OF THE UNITED STATES AT PHILADELPHIA, PA.,
SUPERINTENDENT'S OFFICE,
February 24th, 1882.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 19th inst., requesting my views, and any suggestions I may choose to make, on the two letters enclosed from Lieutenant C. A. L. Totten, Fourth Artillery, U. S. A., in which he presents some observations in relation to the Great Seal of the United States, and suggests that the Government issue a coin or medal commemorative of the approaching Centennial Anniversary of its adoption, and further suggests that upon this coin or medal, the devices should be the Obverse of the Seal, and what was intended as the Reverse of the same.

Before expressing an opinion on the suggestions of Lieutenant Totten, I beg the privilege, as kindly requested by you, of presenting some facts, which I have accumulated in relation to the adoption of the present Seal of the United States, as well as to direct attention to the use that has already been made of the Obverse of the same, in our Colonial Currency, and also in our coinage and medal series.

THE SEAL ADOPTED JUNE 20TH, 1782.

On the afternoon of the day on which the Declaration of Independence was made, a resolution was passed authorizing the appointment of a committee, composed of Franklin, Adams and Jefferson, to present a device for a Great Seal. Many devices were suggested, and rough drawings made for the use of the committee. The difficulty of agreeing upon a suitable device was very great, and it must be confessed that the members of the committee, as might be expected, were not very well up on the subject, nor did the new nation have many

* Vide long and interesting communication thereon from Hon. A. Loudon Snowden, Supt., in Phil. Ledger and manuscript for June 24, 1882.
THE GREAT SEAL MEDAL.

artists to assist them. Time passed, and at length Dr. Franklin went to France, and the committee failed to report, although several devices are preserved, showing the efforts made to carry out the will of Congress.

In the meantime the British took possession of Philadelphia, and nothing further was done until the return of Congress from York, when a second committee was appointed to consider and report upon the subject. Their first report was recommitted, and subsequently, with little change, was again reported, but failed to receive the approval of Congress. In April, 1782, another committee, consisting of Henry Middleton, Elias Boudinot (subsequently Director of this Mint) and Edward Rutledge, was appointed, which, on the 9th of May following, made report substantially in favor of the same design as was proposed by the previous committee. This report shared the fate of the preceding one.

Ultimately, Congress, on the 13th of June, 1782, referred the whole matter, including the reports of the several committees, to its Secretary, Charles Thomson, who had evidently been giving considerable attention to the subject.

He procured of Mr. William Barton several designs, among which was the unfinished pyramid with the All-Seeing Eye, which was ultimately selected for the Reverse of the Seal. The designs presented by Barton for the Obverse of the Seal were rejected, and ultimately, after long discussion among those called into consideration, the present Obverse of our Great Seal was selected by Secretary Thomson, although he doubted the propriety of accepting it, as it was designed by an Englishman, Sir John Prestwick, and forwarded by John Adams to Secretary Thomson. The conclusions arrived at by Secretary Thomson were presented to Congress, and adopted on the 20th of the same month. It will thus be seen that our Great Seal, as originally designed, was the joint production of a titled Englishman, with whose country we were at war, and of an American, or rebel against the British Crown.

Why the Reverse was Never Cut.

There was evidently a great want of information on the
subject at the time this Seal was adopted, or no Reverse would have been designed or accepted, as its use was practically out of the question. In earlier times, when the Great Seals of nations were appended to documents, they were attached by a ribbon or piece of parchment, and both sides of the wax, or soft metal used, bore an impress of the Obverse and Reverse of the Seal, but at the time of the adoption of our Seal the mode of attaching Seals was, as at present, by a large wafer, covered by paper cut with points at the edge, and the impress of the Seal made upon this.

The reason why the Reverse of the Seal was never cut was doubtless from the fact that some practical mind suggested the impossibility or impracticability of its use. Lieutenant Totten is mistaken in his intimation that a coin or medal was ever struck, by authority of the Government, having the design of the intended Reverse of the Great Seal. I have before me a Continental fifty-dollar note, issued by authority of Congress, under date of September 26, 1778, which has within a circle the "unfinished pyramid," but has not the "All-Seeing Eye," nor has it the same inscription as is upon the Reverse of the Seal. The pyramid is surrounded by clouds, and over it is the word "Perennis." This is likely the design of William Barton,* who afterwards changed the inscription and design to that adopted by Congress in 1782.

There was a cent coined by private enterprise in Lancaster, England, in 1791, called the Kentucky cent, from the fact that in the pyramid of stars the letter "K.," for Kentucky, was at the top of the same. This is the only device on any coin that has any resemblance to the device on the intended Reverse of the Seal.

* Unless the Colonel has some special information going to show that Mr. Barton was actually employed in banknote designing for the government in 1778 (four years before he was called in to labor at the Seal), we are inclined to take a different view of this matter. It is far more probable that Mr. Barton took the design for the Canton of his first device for the Seal, and which Mr. Thomson made the Reverse of the finally accepted one, from just such a continental note then already four years old, and one of which had casually come into his pocket. He certainly uses the pyramid and the motto shown on the note, but this is small evidence by itself that he designed the latter.—C. A. L. T.
THE GREAT SEAL MEDAL.

USE OF THE OBLVERSE DEVICE.

The device on the Obverse of the Seal as adopted was employed in the earliest gold coinage issued by the Government. In our first gold coinage which was issued in 1795, the half-eagle had this American eagle displayed, as upon the Seal; so also the eagles of 1797. This device was continued until 1808, when it was displaced by the small eagle with extended wings, with the escutcheon on its breast. In 1849 it was again brought into use and placed upon our double eagle.

* * * * * * * *

I should not omit to mention an important fact in connection with the device of the Great Seal, which I came across in investigating the subject, namely, that the present Seal is not in exact conformity with the designs adopted by Congress.

The divergence from the original design is quite marked, and, in my judgment, very injudicious. On the present Seal, you will notice that above the eagle's head there are thirteen stars embraced in an oblong or depressed circle, which would seem to indicate that the thirteen original States were to be forever circumscribed, and that no other stars or States could enter within the charmed circle. How different, and how much more suggestive was the original design, which had the thirteen stars emerging from beneath the dark clouds. The beautiful and appropriate suggestion which was conveyed was that, as the time advanced, other stars would emerge from behind the clouds and take their place in the national firmament.

This was not only beautiful in conception but prophetic in its application to our nation. This change in the design was doubtless the result of an unappreciative engraver, who imagined the stars would look more artistically arranged if embraced within the lines of a circle.

* For omissions, see Diplomatic Medal, page 153.

† This contention of Mr. Snowden is undoubtedly sound, and that in spite of the heraldic latitude which countenances a definite form and some circumscription to the constellation on the seal die itself. In the region of art there can be no dispute with Mr. Snowden, and the opinion of the mint, which has had more to do with realizing the arms of the United States in coinage every month, than the State Department has had since its creation, should certainly have some weight in the premises—albeit not always consistently carried out.
The Reverse of the Seal has also been, to some extent, changed from its original design. In the original the pyramid was composed of thirteen solid blocks, gradually narrowing to an uncompleted apex. In many of the designs which have been handed down to us, among them that forwarded by Lieutenant Totten, it will be noticed that each layer, representing a State, is sub-divided, or broken, and as if composed of several pieces cemented together. This was certainly not the original design, which was intended to convey the compact unit of the States, as bound or cemented together in the unfinished National pyramid.*

**Striking of a Medal Recommended.**

Trusting that it might be interesting to you, I have thus, as far as possible, presented you with all the facts in my possession in relation to the efforts put forth to procure a Great Seal for the United States, with the names of those persons identified therewith, and with the reasons which obviated the necessity† or prevented the preparation or use of the Reverse die; also with the uses that have since been made in our coinage and medal series of the displayed eagle device on the Obverse of the Seal, with the changes that have been made therein, and I shall now, as requested, present my views upon the suggestion of Lieutenant Totten to strike a coin or medal "com-

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* This position of Mr. Snowden is hardly correct—for it was a copy of the State Department picture of the Reverse that we submitted! Barton's original canton is the type and his drawing shows thirteen steps, each made up of several pieces. However, the earlier design upon the continental money showed solid blocks, and we agree with Mr. Snowden in preferring it.

† Here it is incumbent on us to take direct issue with the writer. Nothing "of authority" can have "obviated the necessity" of obeying the original law of June 20, 1782, nor "prevented the preparation or use of the reverse die," except the color of some assumed difficulty that ought not to have obtained prominence. We are not disputing the fact, but questioning the technical legality of its perpetuation. Perhaps we view all this from the ultra rigid standpoint of a military education. If so, it is too late to untwist our conception of fulfilling a law. The fact is we are satisfied that every good citizen of this land, who becomes familiar with these facts, will resent the perpetuation of the lapse from the civil standpoint alone, which is, or ought to be, more rigid than the military conception itself.
memorative of the Centennial anniversary of the adoption of the Great Seal."

I trust you will concur with me in the manifest impropriety of seeking authority from Congress—under which alone it could be done—to strike a coin for the purpose named. It is a part of the unwritten law of this country, inculcated by the early fathers and never departed from, that our coins shall not be used to mark historical events, to note political changes, or to honor individuals, no matter how illustrious or valuable their services may have been, but that the devices thereon shall be "emblematical of Liberty;" and that our coinage, whilst symbolizing the sovereign authority of the Republic should be issued solely for the use and benefit of the people.

This admirable rule in relation to the devices on our coinage, and the purposes to be served by its issue, has thus far controlled legislation upon this subject, and I trust that no departure will be permitted, even for a much more important, if not more worthy, object than the one under consideration.*

I can, however, see no impropriety in having dies prepared from which medals shall be struck commemorative of the interesting event under consideration. On the contrary, there are many reasons in favor of such action.

It is customary in our own and other countries to commemorate important events, as well as to honor individuals for distinguished services rendered, by striking medals bearing appropriate inscriptions and devices.

Under the provisions of No. 3551, Revised Statutes, authority is granted to execute such dies at this mint; and, in conformity therewith, several dies of a similar character have been prepared, and now form a part of our National medal series.

As properly belonging to this series a medal could be struck,

* This contention is very well taken, and we are thankful that the custom of the mint was not violated. It will be noticed, however, that there is no more objection as such to using the reverse of the Seal, upon a coin than to using the obverse, which is employed upon the whole volume thereof. The objection was as to commemoration of a date, etc., in our coinage.
being a fac-simile in device and size of the Great Seal, as originally adopted, with the dates, June 20th, 1782–1882, to indicate when and for what purpose it was issued.

Such a medal would possess historical interest, as well as commemorate an important act in the history of our country.

In this medal would be united for the first time the Obverse and Reverse of the Seal, and for the first time since authority was granted to prepare it, one hundred years ago, the Reverse of the Seal would be engraved and issued by authority of the Government. I am, therefore, heartily in favor of having the medals struck, and, if it is your desire, will have the dies prepared, under my personal supervision, without any expense to the Government, as the work can be performed by the engravers at such times as will not interfere with their other duties. I can have the dies completed and medals struck by the 20th of June next, and these medals will be sold at a fixed price, regulated by size, as are the other national medals struck at the Mint.

I herewith return the letter of Lieutenant Totten, and shall await such further action as you may choose to take in the matter.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. Loudon Snowden,
Superintendent.

Hon. Chas. J. Folger,
Secretary of Treasury, Washington, D. C.

Such a medal was thereupon ordered, as the following subsequent letter advisory thereof indicates.

Treasury Department,
Washington, D. C., April 12th, 1882.

Lieut. C. A. L. Totten,

Dear Sir:—Referring to your communications, calling attention to the approaching Centennial of the adoption of the Great Seal of the United States, and asking that a medal be struck to commemorate the event, I will say that I am obliged to you for your valuable and interesting suggestions. I have
given the subject considerable attention, and the Superintendent of the Mint at Philadelphia, will be directed to strike such a medal bearing the *fac simile* of the Great Seal.

Yours very truly,

CHAS. J. FOLGER,

*Secretary.*

To which we replied as follows:

MADISON BARRACKS, N. Y.,

April 15th, 1882.

To the Honorable

SECRETARY OF THE U. S. TREASURY,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR:—I am this day in receipt of your esteemed favor of the 12th inst., referring to the Great Seal, and am delighted that the subject should have merited so much of your attention; but still more am I pleased that so important an anniversary as the 20th of June, 1882, will be so fittingly commemorated.

I am convinced that the striking of this medal, bearing the *fac simile* of so important an instrument, and of one too, so fundamental to our nationality, will be heartily appreciated by all the deeper students of the philosophy of history. National greatness is certainly trending from the old world towards America with no hesitating strides. What "Ultimate America" shall be, who can tell?

But be it what it may, to assist, even thus humbly, in rearing one of its landmarks is indeed a great favor.

May I personally thank you for your own great interest in the matter, whereby alone the consummation of so greatly to be desired a fitting commemoration of the anniversary, is thus brought about.

I am sir, with sincere respect

Yours very obediently,

C. A. L. TOTTEN,

1st Lieut., 4th Art'y, U. S. Army.

The dies were thereupon immediately prepared and from them two proof copies were struck in time
to commemorate the Centennial Anniversary of the Great Seal.*

The general issue of the medal did not take place until October, 1882, about which time a copy of this very beautiful step towards the realization of Great Seal Heraldry was received, accompanied by the following letter:

MINT OF THE U. S., AT PHILADELPHIA, PA. 
SUPERINTENDENT'S OFFICE, OCT. 18TH, 1882.

HON. CHAS. J. FOLGER,
SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
OF THE U. S. OF AMERICA.

DEAR SIR:—I have great pleasure in enclosing you a copy of the medal struck to commemorate the adoption of the Great Seal of the United States.

I am with sentiments of regard,

Very respectfully

[Signed] A. LOUDON SNOWDEN,
Superintendent.

[Lieut. C. A. L. TOTTEN,
4th Artillery,
Madison Barracks,
Sacketts Harbor, N. Y.

[The medal was forwarded by express.]

*As proved by correspondence with Supt. of U. S. Mint, in possession of author. The following editorial clipping from the Phil. Ledger and Transcript, June 24, 1882, also bears this out: "The Great Seal of the United States. There is an interesting letter in our local columns this morning giving a history of the 'Great Seal' of the United States, written by Colonel A. Loudon Snowden, Superintendent of the Mint, who is thoroughly acquainted with the literature of the subject. Last Tuesday, June 20th, was the centenary of the adoption of the seal; and a medal, commemorative of the Centennial Anniversary, having been struck at the Mint, was ready for delivery that day."
THE GREAT SEAL MEDAL.

By means of the foregoing correspondence was thus brought about a result that, in addition to its direct historical import, is deeply interesting to all believers both in our Identity with Manasseh, and in the Anglo-Saxon import of the Great Pyramid. It marked the Pyramid year 1882, in a notable way—America recognized it as one of her most mysterious symbols upon this year—just 100 after her original adoption of it on her seal. The very circle of the height of the Pyramid (365.24 inches = 365.24 × 100)* is almost prophetic of the deed. It is noticeable too in this connection that England (Ephraim) struck off the Egyptian War-medal dated 1882.† Is it not gratifying to believers to see these two brethren thus reminded of the land of their birth upon a year which is so notably marked upon the time-table of its grandest monument? and can it be that such things happen without the interest of Providence?

It was because of this medallic coincidence in addition to our faith in Joseph's posterity, and because of the prominent part that had been played by the sailors and marines of our own navy in that same Egyptian War, that we very naturally presented a copy of this Great Seal Medal, accompanied by a long Anglo-Israelite memorial letter of transmittal to Her Majesty Queen Victoria. It was sent under cover to Colonel Gawler, then the Keeper of the Crown Jewels at London Tower, and a well-known and famous co-

*2π H = 2π 5813'' + = 36524''

†Sphinx shown on Reverse, a monument directly related to the Pyramid.
laborer with ourselves in the contention that the whole Anglo-Saxon Race is beyond all further successful controversy the literal, lineal, and blood descendant of the ten Lost Tribes of Israel whose Royal Standard of David still floats over London Keep—and whose destiny is as near and as lofty as their origin is remote and glorious. In this destiny, we of this Manassite or Separated Half are to have our own appointed share, and, in the meantime, are equally interested in making our national election sure. It is not a little gratifying, therefore, to those of us who have borne the brunt of the contention, in the past, to recognize the strides it has made into the popular mind, of late, and to see the fruit it is now promising to bear in the way of a practical treaty of arbitration between Ephraim and Manasseh, Brother John and Brother Jonathan, even England and America—the "United Kingdom" and "the People of the United States." For even if the present draft of the treaty, which in certain quarters is awakening such unlooked for and such positive opposition, fails, an ultimate enactment is now certain. We have come together in deliberate conference at least and this is a guarantee of an agreement to walk together in confidence when the time "appointed" shall indeed arrive. Man proposes, but God disposed this matter from of old.

Vast strides are these, indeed, since 1882. But even then we had the satisfaction of knowing that the topic was at sober work in influential quarters howsoever rudely it was treated in less thoughtful ones both at home and abroad. And that the whole topic
had obtained at least a casual representation to the mind of one who in due time was, as we then believed, to be a prominent agent in the premises of fraternity, we soon had evidence in the following letter acknowledging the simple gift itself.

Privy Purse Office.
Buckingham Palace, S. W.,
9, Dec., 1882.

"General Sir Henry F. Ponsonby presents his compliments to Mr. C. A. L. Totten:

"He has received the Queen's commands to thank Mr. Totten for the Medal which he forwarded on the 31st of October, for Her Majesty's acceptance."

Thus for the first time since its original adoption, 100 years earlier, both faces of this honored instrument were at last displayed together, with official (governmental) sanction.

Its Obverse* teems with lessons with which in part we have been familiar for a century, but with its Reverse, thus also brought to light, a host of other teachings flash forth like blazoned and prophetic texts athwart the morning skies of this new centennial of the ages, whose records they are yet destined to usher in and seal. Pyramid students will appreciate the unique fitness of 1882 as a year wherein to have brought these things to pass, for to them 1882 is a year pyramidal, even as 1776 is another.

*Mr. Malcolm Townsend, in his "U. S. Curious Facts Historical, Geographical, Political," makes the curious error of reproducing and calling the Obverse of this Great Seal Medal of 1882, the "Die of 1782!" while he calls the real die of 1782 the "Die of 1841."
With the artistic details involved in designing this medal we, of course, had no part, further than that suggested in the correspondence itself, nor were we then at all versed in the minutiae of the matter. The Treasury Department, too, was more or less at sea as to the exact art-heraldic data involved, for but little critical work had been done previously in the premises. We have no Heraldic College, and the time at the disposal of the Mint for issuing this particular medal was very limited.

In view of all this, Mr. Snowden's realization of the Seal, and his selection of "copy," is in the highest degree commendable; and his rapid compass of the field not a little astonishing. In fact, the dearth of necessary data in the State Department, and the crudity of its official and practical realization of the Seal itself, threw Mr. Snowden upon his own resources, which, fortunately, were after all perhaps richer in Seal lore by direct and official inheritance, both from his father and the former directors of the mint, than those possessed by anyone else.*

That the actual engraving of the dies for this medal was done by Mr. Charles E. Barber, whose artistic work has long been national, is shown by the following letter, subsequently received by us while on military duty at Yale University, the pamphlet referred to in the letter being at that time long out of print:

* The preservation and perpetuation of our Heraldic devices fell to the Mint naturally because of their use in coinage; but the directors of the Mint were providentially kept in a direct line to transmit the tradition.
Mint of the United States at Philadelphia, Penn., Engraver's Department, May 1st, 1891.

Lieut. C. A. L. Totten,
Fourth Artillery, U. S. A.

Dear Sir—In 1882 I engraved a medal of the Great Seal of the United States. I remember I had at that time a pamphlet prepared by you upon this subject, the Great Seal. I thought I had one of your pamphlets in this office but find I have not. I would be much obliged if you could let me have a copy.

Very respectfully yours,

Chas. E. Barber,
Engraver.

Mr. Barber made the question one of realizing the early conceptions of the entire Seal in accordance with some one or more of the best designs of elder days, and his selection naturally fell upon that of the Columbian Magazine as the best and perhaps the only careful study of the whole instrument, the which he modified somewhat by employing the eagle shown upon the Diplomatic Medal in lieu of the rather scrawny one displayed in the Columbian Magazine.

Comparison will show that the Reverse of the medal is a direct copy of that given in the Magazine, and that the Obverse is a mere improvement upon the cut in the Magazine employed as a recognized text, the correction following the Diplomatic Medal as to the Eagle, the details of which are closely followed, since the Eagle has much more character there than in the Columbian Magazine. The whole blazonry of the obverse face thus receives a much better opportunity of occupying the medallic field.

A comparison of the Shields as to form, of the
Olive-branches as to arrangement, and of the Crests as to details, will bear this out. The medal improves the arrangement of the Scroll of the *Columbian Magazine*, by following the Diplomatic Medal, but in following the latter rather lapses in the method of grasping the insignia of Peace and War, in that the action of one of the talons is less positive than that of the other.

It is usual in blazonry to have the grasp alike, where both hands or talons support emblems. The Eagle commonly shows the back of the talons; sometimes, as in Thomson's design, the grasp is to the front. Mr. Hunt's brochure upon the Seal shows the direct heraldic grasp, as the one now employed upon the Seal dies, whereas the illuminated blazonry accompanying this official document of the very same device, shows the back of the talons to the front. It will be noticed that the grasp is alternate upon the Diplomatic Medal; that is, the right talon grasping the Olive-branch back to front, whereas that which holds the Bundle of Arrows is displayed in reverse, and this is copied exactly in the Great Seal Medal.

It is therefore manifest that the design realized in the Great Seal Medal of 1882 is based upon a combination of the designs shown in the *Columbian Magazine*, and Diplomatic Medal, and that in it we have the first combined use of the Obverse and Reverse of the Great Seal, as well as the first use of the Reverse at all with any color of governmental sanction.

**GENERAL INTEREST AWAKENED.**

Incident upon the issue of the Great Seal Medal
interest in the Heraldry of the United States very naturally increased. The Press took the matter up very generally and in the Fall of that year a movement was put on foot to correct it, or at least to rid the State Department realization of some of its heraldic lapses. The movement was reported as originating in the Treasury Department, and is so referred to in *Harper's Weekly* for November 25, 1882 (page 739) as follows:

"We are to have something authentic done about the Great Seal of the United States. Several gentlemen in the Treasury Department and others outside have had the matter under consideration for some months and have come to the conclusion that in all that pertains to heraldry it is inaccurate. This seal is now the same that was adopted by the Colonial Congress. A memorial will therefore be presented to Congress at the approaching session, pointing out its inaccuracies and suggesting corrections. The gentlemen have devoted much time to the subject and are determined to see it put right if it be possible."

To read the above paragraph one might suppose that the grand old instrument our fathers labored at so long, so thoughtfully, and with so much jealousy, was but a burlesque at which Americans had blushed a hundred years! This is not a fact! We are not ashamed of emblems such as those upon our Seal. One might suppose that because "this seal is now the same that was adopted by the Colonial Congress," it was therefore not worthy of perpetuation! Shall we haul down our Flag for this same reason? Are we to throw aside, suppress, and for the same weak cause, blot out our "Statement of Grievances," our
"Declaration of Independence," and forswear the "Constitution" that a world admires? Those who would undermine our "ancient landmarks," are not yet sealed into the Order of Atlantis, are foreigners to our patriotic institutions, and would blazon them with ermine though it swept liberty from the continent, and raised "the Golden Age" back to the skies whence it descended to our shores! A ruthless hand needs but a moment to destroy the priceless labor of a lifetime!

The mere iconoclast may not approach the Altar where resides the Ægis of this People. If there be lapses in its heraldry or symbolism let him present his cause and we will hear it fairly. But its emblems every one of them, are sacred; they are our birthright and inheritance. We cannot spare a single feature from this honored instrument.

'Tis true it has been often misconceived. Its olive-branch has never yet been engraved correctly, its pyramid is not the stable one, but no blame attaches to the statute; the fault lies rather at the door of those who placed the realization of such work in unskilled hands. The archetype is what our heraldists must follow. Nor may we forget that there is a science loftier than modern heraldry—one that emblazons as of Or on Argent, if so be that thereby "the Age of Gold," in which our institutions find foundation, shall dispense to its inhabitants a deeper, truer knowledge of a destiny yet future and more golden still!

The notice above referred to led us into further
correspondence with Secretary Folger and Mr. A. Loudon Snowden from whom we learned that the movement was not in their Department, at least officially, and that any ill-advised effort merely to alter the fundamental law would undoubtedly meet with strong opposition. Subsequently the movers in the matter were found to be in the State Department, and the tenor of their effort to be founded on the perfectly natural desire to secure dies that should at last and at least realize the details of the fundamental law itself.

For instance, about this time we clipped among others the following, on "The National Seal:"

"The oldest employee of the Government of the United States is Joseph Goldsborough Bruff, an artist, who has for the past sixty-three years designed seals, vignettes, medals, etc. During this time he has made the national escutcheon a study, and has come to the conclusion that we have never had a national coat of arms. He has memorialized Congress to order a new great and lesser seal of State, bearing the true heraldic arms of the United States. His description of the devices on our coinage is very amusing. For example, he says that on the dollar of 1854 there is represented "an exasperated and alarmed eagle, with expanded wings and head low, looking to the rear with open mouth."—Boston Budget, December 26th, 1883.

OUR NATIONAL HERALDRY.

By this time, in the prosecution of the notes whereon this present History is founded, we had, ourselves, secured a fund of valuable information in the premises, and accordingly, upon February 27, 1883, or somewhat more than a year after our original letter
to the State Department, and in view of its now fully awakened activity, we submitted the following memorial on the subject. In it we anticipated the publication of our work itself, in order to afford the Department the immediate advantage of all the light that we ourselves at least had gathered; For the promise of new dies was so important that we deemed it to be the duty of all who possessed any accurate understanding on the heraldry or the facts in the case at issue, to submit them at once to the responsible and active party.

**LETTER TO STATE DEPARTMENT.**

_Fort Adams, R. I.,_  
_February 27, 1883._

_The Hon. Secretary of State,_  
_Washington, D. C._

_Sir—_ I have the honor to ask your attention to the following examination of the Statute of June 20th, 1782, relative to the proper conception of the Great Seal. As I am aware of the great interest now awakened upon this subject both in your department and at large in the country, I feel that the conclusion to which I have arrived after a long and careful review of its whole history and signification may not be without value in your deliberations in regard to such new dies as may soon be deemed advisable. I have naturally been forced to be brief in my presentation of the following views, but none of them are without positive heraldic authority, or statutory recognition, and historical use. I sincerely trust the matter may soon be put upon a solid and permanent basis. In the red ink* now following I preserve the wording of the Statute, in the black† I give in brief notes the explanation thereof.

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* 1897: Black face type.  
† 1897: Roman face type.
MANASSEH.

"He also shall become a People, and he also shall be Great."
Gen. xlviii. 19.

"I am the Lord your God, which have Separated you from other people."
Levit. xx. 24, 26.
HERALDRY INVOLVED.

The Great Seal of the United States of America
Adopted June 20th, 1782.
The Wording of the Law Explained.

"ARMS. Paleways of thirteen pieces, argent and gules."

These stripes or pallets must be therefore of equal width, seven of them white and six red; each "piece" is a State and each State an equal. The pallets shown upon the Great Seal Medal of 1882 are wrong in that the red ones are much wider than the white. This error was introduced in the Seal dies by Mr. Webster when he was Secretary of State (see Galaxy, 1872).

"A Chief Azure." The chief should occupy $\frac{1}{3}$ of escutcheon, and be blue without stars. "The escutcheon on the breast of the American Eagle displayed proper,"—Form of the escutcheon should be that best known as the American Shield in coinage, etc.; the American Eagle is the Bald-headed Eagle, brown body and wings, white head and tail, yellow beak.* To display it "proper"ly, put wings spread with tips in chief, i.e., raised—See Great Seal Medal, 1882—"holding in his dexter† talon an olive-branch, and in the sinister‡ a bundle of thirteen arrows. All proper." The peace symbol (olive) refers to the same people as the war symbol (arrow). They must therefore artistically balance, the details wanting in the former are supplied by the latter emblems. Thirteen is the predominant idea throughout the seal. Thirteen olive growths must balance thirteen arrows. See the balance as shown on the present silver dollar, in many of the gold coins of 1795-7, etc., thirteen olives, shown on the official blazonry in St. Paul's Chapel, New York, thirteen olives shown on the large dies for-

*1897: Yellow legs and feet, black talons, i.e., claws. N. B.—13 tail feathers. This latter point may seem to be a trivial one, but it is a fact: we have often seen it mentioned in descriptions of the bald-headed eagle and have ourselves counted to that number in specimens. Early representations aim at this number but later ones make seven or nine, which is erroneous. There are always nearer a baker's dozen, which may be considered as normal.

† Right. ‡ Left.
merly used for treaties by State Department, etc. But, and further, the numerical balance which the true artist must take into consideration is more intimate still. The thirteen arrows are each composed of three separate elements, head, shaft, and fledgings, which must be balanced if we are to preserve art, and catch the wonderfully deep symbolism hidden in the emblem. The olive-branch, therefore, should have thirteen growths, each consisting of leaves (2), olives (1), and flowers (1), to signify vigor, fruit and promise. This is the truly fruitful olive-branch that America, in peace with all the world, offers to mankind. It is a symbolic branch. The olive growth is opposite, hence every two leaves rise from the twig or branch over against each other, and from the same point an olive should rise with one leaf, and a flower with the other. This constitutes a growth, and balances an "arrow."* Leaves green and if under side appears white, Flowers white, Olives ripe, therefore purple. As to the arrows—the arrow shaped like that of the American Indian and ancient Anglo-Saxon is alone correct, it is the barb-headed arrow, fledged opposite.† Its tincture is according to general laws of heraldry, white as to head and shaft, fledged with gold, or maybe for National ideas blazoned. "Silver arrows tipped with gold and fledged from the Eagle's wings," i.e., silver shaft, golden head, brown‡ feathers. "And in his beak a scroll." All books were formerly scrolls, the scroll is an open book since the motto has to be displayed.

It is therefore unsealed and its glorious truth given to all the world. Its proper color is white—it is a virgin page, and on it truth is to be written (pearl, lily, silver, lunar), this is the only proper tincture for the scroll, for as the statute is silent as to tincture, heraldry says it must be "proper,"—"inscribed with this motto, 'E Pluribus Unum.'" In capital letters, and in gold. This does not violate the law of heraldry against

* 1897: That is, its head shaft and two fledgings.
† 1897: Also witness the "famous Broad Arrow" of Britain's war office: the sons of Joseph are bowmen (1 Chron. v. 18; Zec. ix. 13) Joseph's enemies have sorely vexed him, but we have a record that his bow abode in strength (Gen. xlix. 24).
‡ 1897: Perhaps alternately white from the eagle's tail, a de facto preference among archers.
HERALDRY INVOLVED.

"metal on metal." National heraldry is not governed by such laws; they concern only personal heraldry which is unknown in our Republic (see the argument in *Columbian Magazine* of September, 1786). The National Arms of Jerusalem adopted in the heyday of heraldry, were crosses of gold upon a shield of silver. Notice the *quotation marks* on the motto, they belong with it, and are essential. It is a quoted motto.

"For the CREST, over the head of the Eagle, which appears above the escutcheon a glory, or, breaking through a Cloud proper." Head of the Eagle to the dexter or right, as in the national aspect; glory to be tinctured as of gold (its proper color) and to be shown as breaking *through* the cloud (see Seal Medal of 1882, St. Paul's Chapel blazonry, *Columbian Magazine* Engraving, etc.). There can be no doubt about this.* The cloud must be tinctured "proper," *i.e.*, sable, lined with silver (the reflection from the stars) and illuminated (in large blazonries) with red and purple, *i.e.*, it should be a natural cloud, broken by light and resolving the light into its full beauty. "And surrounding thirteen stars," five-pointed,† as in all our National heraldry, "forming a Constellation Argent." This constellation to be *as in Nature.* It should not be circumscribed in circles, diamonds, or star-shape. It should imply that as the clouds roll back new stars will join the group. This idea prevails in our coinage from the earliest days. It is on the St. Paul Chapel blazonry, is shown on the Great Seal Medal of 1882, on the Washington Medal of 1792, in the *Columbian Magazine* of 1786, and has only been accidentally omitted from the actual seal die through the misconception of the first artist.‡ "And on an azure field." This blue field covers all that part of the blazonry not otherwise occupied.§ "REVERSE." This should certainly be cut; it is an essen-

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* 1897: *Vide* Jefferson's definition of the rays, etc., p. 45.
† 1897: Pentalpha, the emblem of power.
‡ 1897: It is to be admitted, however, that Heraldry in contradistinction from mere art may employ a fixed shape for the constellation. Perhaps the very best would be to follow the strict definition of a "halo" or "corona," which is the meaning of a glory and which the statute calls for "above the head of the eagle."
§ 1897: Thus a seal and a Privy Seal.
tial part of the seal, though not of the arms and crest. It is technically illegal to make a part do for the whole when the law is clear. It is perfectly practicable to make a double impression upon a document and show on paper both faces as elements of the whole device.* "A Pyramid unfinished." There is but one ideal pyramid which has in all ages of man been his wonder and his everlasting type of stability. This is the Great Pyramid of Gizeh—the largest, the highest, the oldest, and the most durable. This pyramid is built of white limestone, therefore our tincture is white, because as the statute is silent, it must be "proper" or "natural." It is to be "unfinished," hence, like its great archetype, it lacks a head-stone and is in steps.

The Columbian Magazine (October, 1786), the Great Seal Medal of 1882, the Canton on Barton's original draft and the devices on the fifty-dollar Continental note of September 26th, 1778—from whence he took it—show that the National number 13 is to be the number of solid layers to represent the States. Finally, the proportions of the pyramid must be the same as those of its archetype—not over acute, but stable. The radius of the seal should determine the height of the pyramid (to include that of the up-lifted cap-stone) and the base of the monument should be equal to one-quarter ($\frac{3}{4}$) of the circumference, i.e., of the circumference of the seal.† These are those grand

*1897: This is perhaps an error. The lower background below the fess may better be in the cloud, which, however, should be broken well down around the eagle by the glory, as per Jefferson's definition.

†1897: Where $H = R = 1\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4} \cdot 2\pi H = 1.767$: If $H = R = 1.5$, $\frac{3}{4}$ of $2\pi H = 2.356$. 

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200 THE SEAL OF HISTORY.
Reverse of the

GREAT SEAL OF THE UNITED STATES, 1776-82.
1896-1900?

(AN IDEAL.)

THE GREAT PYRAMID.

"Who laid the measures thereof if thou knowest? Whereupon are the foundations thereof fastened? or who hath laid the [chief] corner stone thereof?"

Job xxxviii. 5-6.
proportions which have stood for over 4000 years at Gizeh, and will outlive as many more. They are those too, that all Egypt in her other pyramids has tried to follow. It is from the northern face of the Great Pyramid that it is most imposing; here, too, is located its only known entrance, it stands near the edge of a steep limestone cliff and looks from its solid rock foundation down upon the sands below, as though in warning to those who found their structures save upon a "wise man's" basis!

Our pyramid should be similarly represented. It must have some sort of a foundation, that of its archetype alone is correct, the white bluff, its rugged sides, and the yellow sands of Sahara below, are its tinctures as in nature.

"In the zenith an eye in a Triangle, surrounded with a Glory proper." This is what caps stability itself. The eye and triangle are the mystic symbol of the Omniscient. Who shall decide upon the color for such an emblem? Manifestly it can only be blazoned "proper" as of white, i.e., every color at once, light itself! This, too, will harmonize with the white pyramid rising from below and growing up towards it. The glory spreading well downward is of gold, again its "proper" color—"over the eye, these words, 'Annuit Cœptis.'" Also to be shown as quoted (""") and to be blazoned gold in capitals. "On the base of the Pyramid the numerical letters MDCCLXXVI." Also quoted ("*"") and to be blazoned gold. It is a golden date of a golden dawn, as shown by the motto below, in which Virgil and the Sibyline books refer to the Golden Age once more to return to earth. It should be written on the lower block. "And underneath the following motto, 'Novus ordo Seclorum,'" also quoted (""") and in capitals, and to circle around the exergue so as to give ample room for the full development of the Pyramid foundations, etc. The field of the reverse where not otherwise occupied is of course to be "proper," since the Statute is silent, and is therefore azure.† The size of the seal is not specified, any size will there-

* 1897: Error: not quoted.
† 1897: As in broad daylight.
fore do so long as proper proportions are preserved; \(2\frac{1}{4}\) inches as at present, is ample.*

The very best seal engraver in the country should be employed. Surely the Government that could afford to give 2,500 dollars for the sealing of the Japanese treaty can pay whatever may be necessary to realize a perfect thing.

The die made should be preserved as a standard and not used, but soft metal (copper) impressions from it (male and female) should be made for use, and upon wearing out should be branded across their face, "condemned," and dated and placed in the archives for reference.

Manifestly no die ever used to authenticate the solemn act of this Republic should be destroyed, or (Sec. 1794 Revised Statutes) be allowed to pass out of the custody of the Secretary of State. The standard die should be cut positive; this would give negative service dies, and positive impressions.

The Great Seal Medal of 1882, struck off at the United States Mint in Philadelphia, gives the best general idea of the Seal, with the three exceptions herein above taken: namely its olive-branch is badly conceived, its pyramid is unstable and without the proper foundation, and its pallets should be of equal width. To use it as a model and put in place of its branch a symbolic one of thirteen growths, leaves (2), fruit (1), flower (1), equalize its paleways, and put upon its reverse a Great Pyramid as to proportions showing its foundation, will be to conceive aright, and realize the only regalia we have beside the Flag.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

[Signature]

U. S. Army.

* Note 1897: Now three (3) inches; three sizes employed, to wit, two and one-quarter \(2\frac{1}{4}\) inches in diameter in the original die, in two others since worn out, and in the die employed up to 1885; three (3) inches in the die of 1885, now in use, four and one-half \(4\frac{1}{4}\) inches in the Great (Treaty) Seal die of Pierce's, Buchanan's, and Lincoln's administrations; three (3) inches, a suitable and convenient compromise with abundant room for all details.
To this communication we soon received the following reply:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, March 5, 1883.

CHARLES A. L. TOTTEN,
FIRST LIEUTENANT, FOURTH ARTILLERY, U. S. A.,
FORT ADAMS, R. I.

Sir—I have received your letter of the 27th ultimo, communicating certain results of your studies concerning the Seal of the United States.

With thanks for the information contained therein,

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,

JOHN DAVIS,
Assistant Secretary.

As the seal is not the die (negative) but the (positive) impression therefrom, and as the Statute defines the seal itself, rather than the die which makes it, the "standard die" should be engraved as a positive. Where, however, a direct stamp is to be delivered from the seal-die itself, its face should of course be cut negatively, and intaglio. In the case of the National seal, which wears out so frequently, it is proposed to keep the die as a "standard;" such die should therefore be engraved as a positive and in high relief. Softer metal impressions thereof will thus be negative, from which the seals (impressions), whether made on paper or in wax, will be positive and in cameo.

These considerations concern both the Obverse and Reverse faces, as integral and necessary parts of the seal as an entirety. In representations of the Arms and Crest alone, however, that is, where the "armorial bearings" only are to be displayed, as in such
HERALDRY INVOLVED.

simple blazons as that in St. Paul’s Chapel, New
York, a positive, of course, is always to be made. It
may seem superfluous to mention these precautions
but an examination of the coinage of past years will
show that they are necessary.*

In the foregoing annotated arrangement of the Law
of June 20, 1782,† we have given in a concise form,
all that it is necessary for the artist, herald, or en-
graver, to know, in order that the realization thereof
shall embody its full symbolic import and interior
correspondence. That this is the true conception
thereof, as argued in the foregoing pages, we are
firmly convinced, and that it will commend itself to
all who shall have carefully accompanied us through-
out our studies, we are also satisfied. The statute
needs no alteration, nor amendment. It was itself
the outgrowth of a long period of development and
its true interpretation has naturally been progressive.

Emblazoned thus, the Arms, the Crest, the Seal,
our whole National heraldry in fact, stand out in bold
relief—an inheritance and birthright of which we
may be justly proud.

Its history looks dimly back into the mists and tra-
ditions of the most remote past, but all of it is

* See the silver dollar, and dime, and the Five and Ten-dol-
lar gold pieces of 1798, the silver half-dollar of 1801, and even
the Columbian stamps of 1892, where the dexter and sinister
emblems are exchanged!

† Ratified by the statute of Sept. 15, 1789, now a part of our
revised organic law both by statute and tacit implication, and
but lately officially recognized as an entirety in the Great Seal
Medal of 1882, and the Resolution of July 7, 1884.
national to our "Great People." Its teachings peer out in confidence towards the farthest horizon of the future now illuminated by the glories of its promise.

Further progress in the matter thus under consideration, to wit: the preparation of the new dies soon after authorized, will now be reached best in the course of a brief review of the history of its last stage under the supervision of the State Department.

THE SEAL AS ACTUALLY USED.

The absence of any legend on the seal, though a legend, in some form or other, had been the design of all the committees until the last, is a noticeable feature of the law as eventually adopted.

SAMPLE OF FAULTY ILLUSTRATION.

Wells in his Hand-book of 1856, gives the above as the Seal of the United States:

Its legend, however, is manifestly irregular and
THE SEAL AS ACTUALLY USED.

unstatutory, and moreover, such a seal has never been employed by the government.* But as Wells also surrounds the seal of each several State by a similarly drawn legend, bearing the name of that State (see Hand-book for 1857) it is probable that he merely intended this legend as a means of distinction—a framework as it were—and not as an essential part of the instruments themselves.

Admiral Preble, upon page 683 of his "Flag of the United States," gives this same device as "The Seal commonly used," manifestly having been led into the error by Wells, and by the difficulty of obtaining any true impression of the die so sacredly deposited for custody with the Secretary of State.†

But to remove any further doubt upon this subject we now offer the first authentic representation of an impression from the Seal Die then employed, and as it should have appeared in any discussion illustrative thereof between the years 1841 and 1885 A.D. We introduce the matter here not only with a view to correcting Wells, Preble, et al., but to set forth the reasons that have led ourselves and numerous other writers in this interval to point out the lapses in our heraldry in general, with the express purpose of inducing the State Department to take steps for their correction. When our own manuscript was finally

* Compare, for instance, the Crest with the regular dies.

† By Gen. Statute 1794, Revision of 1878, it will be seen that it has always been illegal to make any original impression of the Great Seal except upon commissions, and by express warrant of the President.
prepared for publication (1883) this agitation was at its height, and the discussion of the subject matter fell naturally to this place, so that in spite of the fact that the agitation eventually, and that right soon thereafter (1885) culminated in some success, we leave the topic as then discussed, for the discussion itself is a specific feature of the practical seal history in which we ourselves were at that time actively and to some extent successfully interested.
direction of Major General W. S. Hancock (1882). The Marquis desiring a true copy of the seal for the embellishment of his "History of the Yorktown Celebration," General Hancock had traced for him an impression of the Great Seal that was found upon the commission of the Commissioner of Patents for the District of Columbia (named Nones). This commission was signed by Secretary of State Evarts. A photographic copy of the tracing thus made was kindly furnished the writer from General Hancock's office, and from it our own illustration is taken.*

At this time General Hancock was unaware of the recent consummation of the Great Seal Medal, so deeming that a copy thereof would further the purposes of the Marquis far better than the rude design above shown, and so honor our heraldry abroad so much the more, I requested Colonel Snowden to forward duplicate copies thereof to him at my expense. It seemed too bad that such an ill-proportioned thing as for the past forty-two years had usurped our armorial premises should continue to bear any evidence against our national taste, and the General himself was not only delighted with the information but cordially entered into our feelings in the matter, as we know from both actual conversation with, and the following personal letter from him on receipt thereof.

*This tracing was subsequently submitted by us to the State Department for verification, and under date of Jan. 11th, 1883, we have its reply that "it appears to be in all respects an exact copy."
My Dear Mr. Totten—I received a medal in bronze, of the Great Seal of our country from Colonel Snowden, Director or Superintendent of the United States Mint at Philadelphia, for the Marquis de Rochambeau, and an additional one for myself— together with printed correspondence on the subject.

I thank you for your timely thoughts and intercession.

I am truly yours,

My young and bright friend,

Winfield S. Hancock.

To 1st. Lieut. C. A. L. Totten,
U. S. Army,
Mount Vernon, Alabama.

From the foregoing letter it is safe to presume that had General Hancock been the President of the United States, the Great Seal thereof would have been a matter of interest to him, and its correction of all heraldic error probably have been secured.

As a matter of fact there is no comparison necessary between the two realizations, for the seal then in use was a manifest monstrosity.

It will be noticed that this seal is quite unstatutory, although it is the one that was actually used by the State Department from 1841–85. Its number of arrows is only six (!) instead of the bundle of thirteen unquestionably demanded by the plain letter of the law. This departure was arbitrarily taken in 1841 by Mr. Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, and at the same time the red pales of the shield were made twice the width of the white ones (!); thus entirely destroying the equality of the States as intentionally symbolized thereby.
A CASE IN POINT.

And more than this; it actually made the Nation appear to be one of but six States, only, as heraldically symbolized by the six-pointed constellation, the six arrows, the nearer six than thirteen olives, and the six correspondingly broadened pales upon an argent shield; and this ominous number actually dominated all our supreme acts during that most ominous era of all our National History—as if in some subtle way the very stars in their courses were all at sixes and sevens, and were indicative of somewhat that was in store against our peace, and actually fell at the central hexagon, 1860 to 1865 inclusive, of these very years, 1841 to 1885.

The fact is our contention can be both illustrated and established by an appeal to the coinage of the Southern Confederacy itself. Take for instance this piece, which is very similar in obverse or "head" to our own old fashioned silver half-dollar.

But it is to the reverse or "tail" that we wish to call particular attention. Its escutcheon is intended to read heraldically as follows: "Argent: seven pallets, gules; a chief azure, bearing seven stars proper"
—all this to signify the Confederation of the seven seceded States, and whereas they repeated their cognizance upon the chief it is shown that the individual State rights were not merged. It is thus evident that any inequality of width in the "paleways" causes them to cease from being equal "pieces," so that the heraldic "reading," whether intended or not, is for "a silver shield and six pallets, gules."

To return then to the Websterian Great Seal.

In reply to an application at the State Department for the reason of these deviations, Mr. John D. Champlin, Jr.,* elicited the answer, that "This change does not appear to have been authorized by law, and the cause of it is not known." "Is it possible," then exclaims Mr. Champlin in the Galaxy, "that an arbitrary alteration can be made in the Great Seal of the United States by officials temporarily in charge of it? And if so what is to prevent some future Secretary of State, with notions of his own in regard to heraldic bearings, from discarding the old seal altogether in favor of some creation of his own! * * * What guarantee have we for the future?"

Continuously since 1877, when Mr. Champlin's article on the Seal appeared, the same technically illegal seal was employed, and until 1885 constituted the sole dependence of the State Department for authenticating the more solemn acts of the government, no matter what may have been their dignity.

Thus it was surely time to have the Great Seal of

*See Galaxy, vol. 23, p. 691, May, 1877, "The Great Seal of the United States."
our country carefully and correctly cut,—the whole of it. "Why the Reverse has been neglected hitherto, does not appear to be of record." "Nor," says Mr. Champlin, "does there seem to be any means of ascertaining by what authority one half of the seal is still made to do duty for the whole. It is certainly not authorized by any law," and hence he concludes that the continued use of the Obverse alone, no matter how correctly cut, is also technically illegal.

All this is manifestly so. Both the Obverse and the Reverse of this honored instrument should be forthwith engraved by the hand of the most skillful artist in our country. The dies themselves thus obtained, should, however, not be employed. Mates therefrom should be carefully cast for constant use, and the originals (from which an indefinite series of such duplicates can be obtained, as successive sets wear out in service) be securely preserved beyond the reach of loss, and tampering hands. The duplicate dies, thus worn out in service, should either be destroyed, as is annually the case in the Treasury Department with its coinage dies, or else they should be plainly marked "condemned," across the face, and placed in the State cabinet of national relics. In this way we might secure for the future a consistent preservation of the lofty symbols we have adopted for our Arms, Crest and Seal, and effectually defend posterity from any further arbitrary acts of temporary officials, unfamiliar or unimpressed with the traditions that surround the most important element of our national regalia.
Thus far we wrote in 1883. It was, however, at a time when attention to Mr. Champlin’s mooted points had received additional publicity through the recent issue of the Great Seal Medal and our own correspondence and intercourse with the departments and various officials bore some promise of the fruition.

The passage of an Act soon after (July 7th, 1884) gave the Secretary of State Congressional authority and the necessary funds for rectifying all this confusion in our Heraldry and Seal. It will now be in order to notice that it was public agitation and interest that led up to and brought this matter to so auspicious an opportunity of consummation, and we have next to reveal how this opportunity was improved and how its real constituents were repaid for their toil.

Accordingly, by 1885 a new die of the Obverse face, the one now (1897) in use as the Seal, had been designed and cut and been accepted by the State Department.

It was done by authority of Act of Congress, July 7th, 1884:

“To enable the Secretary of State to obtain dies of the Obverse and Reverse of the Seal of the United States, and the appliances necessary for making impressions from, and for the preservation of same, one thousand dollars.”

But only half done; for in spite of the vast improvement of the design that resulted for the Obverse face over all of its predecessors, the same fatality pursued the realization of any die at all for the Reverse that has characterized seal history to the present time.
No die whatever appears to have been made for the Reverse, which omission was clearly as arbitrary an act of negligence, and as direct a violation, both in letter and spirit, of the Act of Congress itself, as if the Reverse alone had then been cut for use, and to the exclusion of the Obverse itself! There is in fact just as much authority, and no less, for such an interpretation as this, as for what did obtain in the premises, and if the entire transaction does not savor of gross neglect, or else high-handedness, our own ideas of how the laws and statutes should be carried out are hopelessly confused.

The Congressional appropriation plainly called for "dies of the Obverse and Reverse of the Seal of the United States," i. e., for each face, and for one no more than the other, and it manifestly contemplated the subsequent taking of impressions from
both faces as intended in the original act of 1782. There is no escaping the plain wording of the Act. It was to fetch about this very consummation that so much agitation had already obtained, and it was due thereto in particular that Congress had passed the appropriation, so that it is difficult to understand by what principle of subsequent and superior authority those who were temporarily charged with and responsible for the work, designed and accepted a part thereof for the whole, and elected the part to be cut to the prejudice of the very part whose absence all these years had originated the pressure and assisted the appropriation.

The fact is, if the matter was done wittingly it was so done in the spirit of an arbitrary assumption of authority which in any other department of the government would have resulted in "a stoppage" until the remaining face had also been provided—and the additional expense if any mulcted from the pay of the responsible parties.

It is too bad that this fatality of arbitrary, or at any rate seriously negligent, dealing with so important an instrument as the National Seal has pursued its history, a thing that never could have happened had the Seal been as familiar to the people at large as is the Flag. The custody of the latter, and the realization of its design results in and devolves upon the War Department, and never in all of its history has it been amenable to such potent charges of bungling or worse as those that lie at the doors of a Department that has charge of the realization and
vitality of an instrument, perhaps even more sacred than the Flag itself—because it is the final stamp of our National dignity.

Nor are we overdoing our representation of this matter, for it has come to a serious pass in any corporation, particularly in one so comprehensive as a Nation such as ours, when, in spite of express agitation on these very lines and of the express provisions of the legislative act of a Sovereign Branch of the Government, the will of a mere agent (even if it be a Department of the government itself) can bring the Act to a shortcoming of the effect intended; and that, in view of the wording of the Act itself, is just what obtained in the matter under consideration.

It will be to no purpose in rebuttal to state that the appropriation was not sufficient, for it resulted from estimates duly submitted, and, no matter what the amount appropriated, it called for four things, two dies, and two sets of appliances, and could have been legitimately diverted to the realization of nothing less. If the estimates of contractors did not come within the limits prescribed by the Act, then other contractors should have been sought, for surely there is no dearth in this country of establishments that could have mastered all the details within the limits set. Thus the full force of Mr. Champlin's arraignment still obtains (see pages 212–214).

However, the heraldic and legal correctness of the designs of 1885, in so far as the State Department saw fit to prosecute the Act, devolved upon Mr. James Horton Whitehouse, and the work itself was entrusted
to Tiffany and Company of New York City. The Obverse die was cut in the fine steel, three inches in diameter, and weighs one pound six ounces. It is used in a screw press. The plate on which the paper is placed to receive the impression is made of bronze into which the matrix is cut, and by an ingenious mechanism the impression can now be made with the Eagle erect, which in the former press could not be done with bulky documents.

In spite then of our own long delay in the issue of this particular history, and the opportunity that was expected and in reality afforded for it to complete as it were the matter by recording the ideal realization of both faces, and in spite of the far longer delay therefor that the nation at large has suffered since 1782, it will be seen that we are still in need of the Reverse to this august instrument. Thus it is plain that there yet remains as "wanting" at least another chapter; one not to be written, perhaps, until the people fully realize the facts, and Congress again enters the precincts that from of old have proved to be the very mansion of confusion.

It may be questioned, indeed, whether (even as to this last Obverse, which, no doubt, is a vast improvement over all of its predecessors), the work already accomplished has in reality been thoroughly done yet, for the incongruous if not still ominous six-pointed constellation continues to overshadow the Eagle, and its talons are so enormously out of proportion that they look as if they belonged to the well-known monstrous bird of Arabian mythology,
the Roc. They certainly do not belong to the Rock whence we are hewn save in the proverbial or aphoristic sense, in which, perhaps, they aim to be as big, so to quote, as "the Hand of Providence" itself.

However, we would have little animus against this particular realization of the Obverse face as a mere heraldic blazon, and as a whole, had it been duly balanced by the Reverse as expected. The import and the opportunity of this dual instrument are wholly misconceived. The one face or the other should be the "Privy Seal" of the Republic, and be held by the Secretary of State. Then the sign manual of the President would be the warrant to this "Privy Seal" and the two be sufficient for all ordinary purposes. The "Privy Seal" would then become the warrant of the Great Seal, in special cases, which should be held by the Vice-President who is president of the Senate,* with and by the advice and consent of which, only, are all High Acts consummated in our Polity. And the fact is, as a Privy Seal is a private or secret one the Reverse is its natural counterpart, and should have been the only one used by the State Department all these years, while the Obverse, whereby it is completed into a "Great Seal," should have been as rarely used as the double or conjoint act of the President and Senate is exercised in supreme and international affairs.

*We are aware that the Senate already has a Seal whose origin, history and use it does not understand, and we shall refer to it in due time. In the meanwhile the Seal of the Senate, if employed as we suggest above would be a matter not at all difficult to comprehend,
The use however of the Obverse by the Secretary of State has been confirmed by too long usage, now to be displaced, so that when cut, and at last put into tardy use, the Reverse itself would properly fall to the Vice-President should this proposition commend itself to further enactment; and, at any rate, such additional enactment being wanting, the double faces should be used upon a pendant as contemplated from first (June 20, 1782) to last (July 7, 1885); and other things remaining as now upon the statutes, both should reside with, and be used by the Secretary of State as intended.

**THE SEAL AT CHICAGO.**

"The central feature of the Government exhibition in the Columbian Exposition consisted of a painting on canvass, producing the design of the Great Seal surrounded with draperies of handsome flags. The idea conceived in the Department of State of introducing as 'the pivotal feature of the entire exposition' a semblance in such character of the National Seal adopted in 1782 is impressively realized in the consummation of this plan" (The Great Seal of the United States, by E. T. Lander, *Magazine of Amer. Hist.*, May, June, 1893.

This was certainly a primary step in the proper direction towards familiarizing our own citizens, as well as those of all the world with the significant heraldry of the New Atlantis. We trust that the blazon, however, was superior in technique to that contained in the official State Department brochure.
of the same date, 1892. The latter, to which we have had frequent occasion to refer, contains upon the cover an outline supposed to be a copy of an actual impression from the die in current use, while in addi-

PHOTO-ENGRAVING OF BLAZONRY.*

tion the brochure contains detailed blazons of the Obverse and Reverse of the National Heraldry in official tinctures. The most remarkable anomaly of

*Showing outline only; to detect inconsistencies, vide illustrations pp. 215, 230, which are taken from the cover of the same official document. Both pretending to be correct, which is in authority?
the publication is the complete disagreement of the details of the two Obverses thus shown! For instance: upon the outline Obverse on the cover the palets gules are much wider than the argent ones, the Olives on the branch are thirteen, and the grasp of the talons is natural and close.

But in the blazon proper (illuminated) the pale-ways are of the same width, argent and gules, the olives number only eight, and the grasp of the talons is both reversed and open. How such a publication is expected to establish heraldic knowledge in the premises may well be questioned. It is rather a perpetuator of confusion in that it does not state specifically which device is of final authority, nor, indeed, that either is an actual copy from the die itself.

To some extent we, too, were in a quandary upon this matter, and to set the question at rest, both for ourselves and others, we made a direct application to the President of the United States for a warrant (under R. S. 1794), upon which, for the purposes of this history, we might be furnished from the State Department with a direct impression from the actual dies.

The application, however, seems to have been made too near to the close of the late administration, for thus far, our only reply is to the effect that the request "has been referred to the Secretary of State."

We shall hope for definite information by the time Volume II. is issued.
Aside, however, from all discussion as to the mere details of its realization, this formal act of blazoning our heraldry in public, at the Columbian Exposition, and publishing the brochure in discussion, is a matter of hearty congratulation to the State Department. Fortunately or unfortunately, "the White City" was of brief duration, a mere text for future and more permanent art; the brochure, too, had an edition of but 1000 copies: Consequently an official and lasting blazon of our Arms, and Crest, and of the Reverse to the Great Seal, is now in order and demand.

It should be set up at the National Capitol, and be made in such heroic proportions as to afford opportunity to introduce every numerical, heraldic, or natural detail that the most punctilious demands of art and heraldic arithmography can suggest or expect.

And not only should a mere blazon be prominently displayed, but a bronze also, with the exact grasp of every heraldic principle in full display should find place upon the walls of our National Forum. A yard to an inch would be a scale none too gigantic for the casting, nor the employment of a committee formed from the very best cabalistic, scriptural and engraving talent in the land be considered as out of proportion to the end in view. We are by no means advocating that the realization of such august national art shall be risked into the hands of erratic men: quite the contrary, for errancy is exactly what we fear in the premises; and we contend that it inheres as much in lack of appreciation, or lack of knowledge, as in the one-sided or exaggerated possession thereof. When
one quotes Latin he should quote *good* Latin; when we use symbols one should follow *standards*; when we accept arithmography at all we should give it sway throughout—a tree is a mere development of *leaves*: the botanist only *knows* this; every element is a leaf, or evolved from one. So in American heraldry every element is literally evolved from the original number thirteen, and this conception may be realized without offending any cultivated taste, without even showing on the surface save when expected. It must, however, result on analysis, and broad scholarship ought to appreciate these points.

An artist studies the details of a theme quite as much as its *tout ensemble*; but his aim after all is to unite the twain.

To realize then a lasting monument, and one that shall be lifted at the start above all danger of artistic condemnation, the subject should be advertised in such a manner as to enlist the interest of our very best talent, and it should demand not only a model but an accompanying specification, it being understood by all competitors that the resulting theme shall involve every element offered that is in keeping with the topic, and that the award is to go to the hand that gives not only the best evidence of skill, but manifests the spirit of willingness to obey and to adopt. In fact the spirit manifested by Secretary Thomson in his own seal labors is the *sine qua non* to be followed in the final stage of the work. The plan being accepted, or built up—one design made up as it were out of many—the work will become not only that of
THE GREAT SEAL DIES.

the superintendent artist, but of the faithful mechanic who after all is the real fabricator of our mansion.

NUMBER OF DIES CUT.

There are now in the possession of the State Department five metallic dies and an odd matrix which have been, in times past, or are now, employed for stamping the National Seal. They are all of the Obverse face only.

FIRST PATTERN. THOMSON.

No. 1. Is the oldest, and is believed to have been made under Secretary Thomson's own directions immediately after the adoption of the seal in 1782.*

*We believe soon enough to send a "copy" of its impression to Mr. Barton four days after the passage of the law.
It is of brass, \(2\frac{1}{4}\)" in diameter, and \(\frac{3}{4}\)" thick, and was intended to be used for making impressions in wax. When about 1840, Mr. George Bartel, as seal custodian, took charge of that branch of the State Department, this die was the only one in existence; and he informed the writer (1882) that the traditions then concerning it were positive as to its being the original die made under Secretary Thomson and used down to his own (Bartel's) time. This die has long been too much worn for use, and it is preserved by the State Department merely as an object of historic value and interest. It will be noticed that its stars are all six-pointed and arranged in a six-pointed constellations.

SECOND PATTERN. WEBSTER.

No. 2.—Soon after 1840, the original die having
become thus worn, a new steel die was ordered by Mr. Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, to be made and to be used for making impressions on paper. It is about the size of die No. 1. On it the Eagle holds in his dexter talon a branch possessing seventeen leaves and four olives, and in his sinister a bundle of but six arrows.* This die has also become too much worn for use and is now preserved merely as a relic. "Its matrix or female counter die is mislaid, but is believed to be still in existence, forming a part of the original press in which it was used and which is thought to be in one of the storerooms of the State Department." Meanwhile the die itself was replaced by another (No. 5) similar thereto.

No. 3.—This piece is likewise quite an old and now worn out historic relic. It is not a die proper but a copper matrix or female counter die, similar in its numerical and heraldic characteristics to die No. 2, though somewhat diverse therefrom in minor artistic details. It is probably a miscut intended to have been used with die No. 2, or else the mate of an Obverse die of the same series.

*By another singular, and this time a double, anachronism in the art-history of the Great Seal, Mr. Lander makes the Websterian die of 1841 to have been that of 1784 (vide his article in the Magazine of American History, May, 1893, page 483). The double width of the red paleways, and the six elements in the bundle of arrows, the six-pointed constellation of five-pointed stars sufficiently identify his illustration as in reality based upon the die cut by Mr. Webster's order in 1841, while the Lander date, 1784, is an additional anomaly, as there is no such date connected with Seal history.
No. 4.—This is *par excellence*, the Great Die already described, and was used for the sealing of treaties between the times of Mr. Pierce and Mr. Lincoln's last year. The State Department still (Jan. 1897) considers it to be "private property," but has custody thereof through the courtesy of the sons of Mr. Samuel Lewis by whom it was cut; but by what principle of law the State Department presumed to delegate the authority therefor will forever be a mystery.

No. 5.—Is another of the Websterian pattern. It consists of both male and female dies permanently fixed in the press, and was used for making the impression of the seal upon paper. This press was carefully secured from interference and illegal use
by being covered when not in employment with a locked mahogany box.

This Websterian pattern is a poorly-made and badly-centered, unstatutory, and unartistic realization of the National Arms and Crest. While it brings the five-pointed star officially and for the first time into the seal, it perpetuates the error of having no Reverse and of showing but six arrows (the statute calling explicitly for thirteen) and is unbalanced by having over against them an olive-branch with seventeen leaves and but four olives. Its pallets are also of unequal width! Its workmanship is so bad that no impression made by it was clearly cut, this being due to the want of relief in the dies themselves. Our notes taken on the spot in 1882, read as follows: "This die from wear and long service is likewise nearing the end of its usefulness so that it will soon become necessary for the State Department to order the preparation of a new die altogether. It is sincerely to be hoped that when the day arrives for the cutting of this new die, it will be caused to embody all that is now known concerning its statutory, heraldic, and art ideas, and that at the same time, whether for use or not, the same engraver will be ordered to cut the reverse side of the Great Seal. The two dies thus made, or soft metal copies thereof, will then be available for making waxen impressions should any such be deemed necessary in the sanctioning of treaties, and government papers of like importance. In preparing the silver boxes or bullæ for holding and preserving these pendant
waxen seals, the same dies may also be employed and a most beautiful realization of our national heraldry thus result."

FOURTH PATTERN. FRELINGHUYSEN.

No. 6.—Is that of the die now in use since 1885; and already discussed above (pages 214 to 219). It was cut while the Honorable Frederick T. Frelinghuysen was Secretary of State, after the design had been submitted by the Department to several historical scholars and authorities on heraldry and had been approved by them. It is by far the best working realization ever yet obtained of the obverse face of the Great Seal. The number of arrows is correct; the olive-branch has its thirteen leaves drawn correctly and botanically "opposite," and is embellished with thirteen olives; the Eagle is artistically realized;
and the shield well set, although its gule pales are unfortunately wider than its argent ones, to the continued prominence of the number *Six*.

The scroll and motto are also well displayed; the crest is poised by itself in perhaps the best taste ever attained for this prominent feature from the particular point of view accepted by the *heraldic* artist with no little authority and precedent in its favor. We shall discuss this matter later on. The Crest retains the *Six*-pointed form, and thus intensifies the still ominous Six upon the escutcheon.

**RECAPITULATION.**

The legal history of the Great Seal is so intimately wrapped up and connected with that of the country itself, that no satisfactory idea can be formed of its various periods of development without a most comprehensive survey of the whole subject. To present this survey in its simplest form we have adopted the chronological method. In the table now given will be found a comprehensive statement of the dates at which marked epochs in this dual development commence and end. A careful examination thereof will establish not only the consecutive progress of each, but also the fact of their intimate mutual development; and will perfectly define the legal basis upon which the Great Seal, as originally adopted June 20th, 1782, still continues to be the unaltered and recognized instrument of the present day. The fact that the Reverse has never yet been officially
employed for seal purposes in no way militates against its present legal existence ever demanding recognition and standing in readiness for such use when the proper opportunity occurs. It is still tacitly a part of the Great Seal. At its centennial anniversary the whole Seal had received official recognition and its Reverse was displayed for the first time. The future and proper use of the Reverse will be alluded to in due order.

In the meantime let us examine the following statement, giving a chronological list of Public Acts, Resolutions, Statutes and Laws bearing upon the mutual histories of the United States and of its Great Seal and collaterals:


1774. Sept. 5.—Continental Congress convenes at Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, Penn.


1776. June 11.—Congress resolves to appoint a committee to draw up "Articles of Confederation."

   June 12.—Committee appointed: consists of a member from each colony.

   July 4.—Declaration of Independence and appointment of First Committee on Great Seal (Franklin, Adams, Jefferson).

   Aug. 27.—First Committee on Seal make their
RECAPITULATION.

report; laid on table; noted and recorded on Journals of Congress.

1777. June 14.—Flag adopted (noted for connection with Seal history).

    Nov. 15.—Committee on Articles of Confederation agree. Copy made out and Committee reports to Congress.

    Nov. 17.—Congress sends thirteen copies of the Articles of Confederation, one each, to the various colonies.


    July 9, to Mar. 1., 1781.—Period of agreement to Articles of Confederation. North Carolina July 21, 1778; Georgia, July 24, 1778; New Jersey, November 26, 1778; Delaware, May 5, 1779; Maryland, last, March 1, 1781.

1779. Mar. 25.—Second Committee on Great Seal appointed (Lovell, Scott and Houstoun) and report of First Committee referred to them.

    May 10.—Second Committee on Great Seal reports.

    May 17.—Congress considers their report and recommits it.

1780. May 10.—Second committee on Great Seal makes its second report to Congress. Not accepted.

1781. Mar. 1.—Maryland last of thirteen colonies, accepts confederation.
1781. Mar. 2.—Congress of full thirteen colonies meets for first time under Articles of Confederation.

1782. April.—Third Committee on Great Seal appointed (Middleton, Boudinot and Rutledge).

May 9.—Third Committee on Great Seal reports. Report referred to Secretary of Congress (Thomson).

May 9, to June 13.—Period of advisory control of Secretary Thomson over the various reports of this and former committees on Great Seal matters.

June 13.—Second Report of Third Committee. Also referred to Secretary Thomson.

June 13, to June 20.—Period of final control and arbitration upon all reports and proposals as to Great Seal, exercised by Secretary of Congress.

June 20.—Secretary Thomson reports the result of his labors to Congress.

June 20.—Congress adopts report of Secretary Thomson and enacts the Great Seal (Obverse only, of seal thus adopted; soon cut and used by Secretary of Congress).

June 20, to March 4, 1789.—Period of legalized use of Great Seal under the Confederation.

Nov. 30.—Preliminary Treaty of Peace with Mother Country.

1783. Jan. 20.—Armistice signed at Versailles (cessation of hostilities; John Adams and Benj. Franklin, Plenipotentiaries).
RECAPITULATION.

1783. Sept. 3.—Definitive Treaty of Peace signed; Independence of the thirteen United States recognized; signed at Paris, Adams and Franklin among the Plenipotentiaries.

1787. Feb. 21.—Constitutional Convention resolved upon by the Congress of the Confederation.


Sept. 17.—Constitution adopted by Convention and referred to Congress.

Sept. 28.—Constitution engrossed and transmitted by Congress to each of the thirteen several States for ratification.

Dec. 7, to June 1, 1790.—Period of Constitutional ratification, during which the thirteen original colonies came successively thereunder.

1788. June 21.—Constitution ratified by legal number (nine) of States, all of them original.

1789. March 4. Constitution goes into effect, eleven original States having joined under it, and forming the new government upon the day agreed upon. Congress recognizes the Arms and Crest of United States by ordering blazonry for St. Paul's Chapel.

March 4, to Sept. 15.—Period of tacit use of Great Seal of the Confederation by the Constitutional Government, the same not having been specially legalized thereby.

May 29.—North Carolina, twelfth original State, adopts the Constitution and comes into the Union.

Sept. 15.—Twelve of the original States, now
forming the Constitutional Government, formally adopt and ratify the Great Seal used under the Confederation as that of the present Government and provide for its use, its transfer and custody.*

[1789. Sept. 15 to current time.—The Period of legalized use, under the Constitution, of the Great Seal, Obverse alone hitherto cut and employed upon public documents and commissions. Reverse a hidden part of the instrument up to June 20, 1882.]

1790. June 1.—Rhode Island, thirteenth and last of (Conven. in May) the original colonies, adopts the Constitution, complements the Nation, comes under its seal and completes its significance.

1791. Feb. 19.—Vermont, as a "new and entire State," formally admitted into the Union as the first fruits of national increase and as such stated.

1818. Apr. 4.—The National Flag ratified and finally established by Congress. (Noted for connection with Seal.)

1854. May 31.—Special use of all seals, by impressing them directly upon a document (without wax), legalized by Congress.

1871. Feb. 25.—Committee on Revision of all the General Statutes of the Country appointed.

1873. Dec. —.—Committee on Revision report, including Sections 6, 1793 and 1794, ratifying the Great Seal, its use and its custody.

*Thus the Great Seal was ratified at the first session of Congress under the Constitutional form of Government.
RECAPITULATION.

1874. June 20.—Printing of the Statutes as revised authorized.

June 22.—Revision formally ratified including "seal heretofore used as the Seal of the U. S." and again fixing its use and custody.

1875. Feb. 2.—Statutes thus revised, printed and ratified are duly authenticated as provided for by law under the Seal of the Secretary of State.

1877. Mar. 2.—Second Edition of Revised Statutes authorized to be made.

1878. Mar. 9.—Second Edition of Revised Statutes, as above authorized, completed and brought down to include laws as late as Dec. 1st, 1873.

Feb. 18.—2d Edition, as completed and adopted, formally sanctioned under seal of Secretary of State—Seal clauses remaining unchanged.

1880. June 7.—Congress passed a resolution to continue revision.

1881.—Revision continued.

Aug.—Vol. I. Supplement to Revised Statutes duly authorized and printed, is formally sanctioned under seal of Secretary of State. No change in Seal paragraphs of organic law; includes laws down to Mar. 5, 1881.

1882. Feb. 10.—Commemorative Centennial Medal of the adoption of the Great Seal proposed.

1882. April 12.—Centennial Medal decided upon, to bear the exact fac-simile of the Great Seal of the United States.
1882. June 20.—Centennial Medal issued at U. S. Mint, Phila., Pa., by order of the Secretary of the Treasury. At this time the Reverse so long hidden receives its first official and Governmental recognition, and its symbolism displayed to the nation and world at large.

1884. July 7. An act appropriating $1000 to cut dies of the Obverse and Reverse faces of the Great Seal, and for appliances for making impressions from the same, passes Congress.

1885. State Department accepts a die of the Obverse alone as a satisfaction of the foregoing law, and thus perpetuates one of the very errors it was intended to obviate.

Current Time.—Seal clauses unaltered—Obverse of Seal still used separately. Seal thus technically illegal since only one face is used. Seal Medal with its whole symbolism now displayed and in the hands of the nation.

See opposite page 239.

It is thus seen that the appointment of the first committee on the Great Seal of the United States was contemporary with the Declaration of their Independence. The labors of this committee, together with those of its several successors, extended over to and well into the period of Confederation, and were not completed until the act of June 20th, 1782, under that Confederation. The Seal as thus at last ratified was, therefore, that of the original thirteen States that on July 4th, 1776, declared themselves free and independent, and on July 9th, 1778, began
**SUMMARY.**

**GRAPHIC REPRESENTATION. DURATION OF MAIN PERIODS.**

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THE SEAL OF HISTORY.

to confederate themselves into "a perpetual union," and on September 3, 1783, also under this Seal gained their acknowledged Independence. Upon the preliminary adoption of the present Constitution by the delegates of twelve of these original States (Rhode Island not being at the time represented), September 17, 1787, it was in use as the Great Seal of the Confederation. Upon the final constitutional ratification it was still in use and was carried over into the Constitutional government as a part of its organic regalia. Thus upon the 4th of March, 1789, when this constitutional government went into effect, it was the tacitly recognized Great Seal of eleven of the original States which had then come into the bonds of its "more lasting union." Upon the same day the Arms and Crest were specially recognized by the St. Paul Chapel resolution and blazonry. The twelfth State, North Carolina, came under the constitution May 29, 1789. Upon the 15th of September, 1789, these twelve States formally ratified and readopted the Great Seal of the United States as originated and used by the Confederation. On the 1st of June, 1790, Rhode Island, the last of these thirteen States, came into the constitutional union, the symbolism of whose Great Seal, already anticipating her action, was awaiting for it to recompose its deep significance. It was not until February 19th, 1791, that Vermont, as a "new and entire member," joined the rest and became the first fruit of a national increase that shall continue fruitful until who can tell how many more shall have been gathered in and sealed, under the
"new order of the ages." From that day to this, in an unbroken line of usage, statutes and ratifications, this time-honored instrument has been handed down to us, in part long concealed, though now at last with veil somewhat withdrawn. To-day it rests within our hands not even yet fully understood—not always used aright—its heraldry and symbolism seldom grasped—the realization of its devices too often left to unskilled artists, bound either by no traditions, or else ignorant of laws that brook no alterations—and yet ever patiently waiting the time of its most perfect recognition, the opportunity for which was very inexcusably suffered to lapse by the late failure (1885) of those in responsibility to realize the act of July 7, 1884.

EARLIER USE OF ARMORIAL ELEMENTS.

Of course in an investigation such as this in hand it is one thing to find a device so entirely original as to be employed for the first time in symbology, and an entirely different and far easier one to find out by whom and when such and such a device was first proposed for use upon the national Seal.

Few if any of the elementary devices employed in our national heraldry are new per se; and very many more than is generally supposed were current in the country for years before the Seal was adopted. Indeed some of the most expressive ones were in very general use colonially even before the Declaration of Independence and therefore clearly anterior to the very inception of a national Seal. Thus as early as
Massachusetts set the example of establishing a paper currency. This was done with a view of defraying the expenses of an expedition against Quebec.* Almost simultaneously with the first issue of money by the second Continental Congress (May 10, 1775) several of the colonies, upon their individual authority, and as independent States, resorted to the same expedient. Among these were South Carolina, New Hampshire, Georgia, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Connecticut, and soon all the colonies adopted the same policy. Among the devices employed upon these bills in 1775, are two in particular that may be fairly presumed to have suggested to Charles Thomson the bundle of arrows and the olive branch with which, working eight years after, he occupies the sinister and dexter talons of the eagle.

For example—a South Carolina certificate dated June 1, 1775, bears the device, in a circle, of a bundle of arrows.

*So, too, she was the earliest of the colonies to resort to colonial money after the outbreak of the Revolution upon her soil early in 1775.
A Maryland bill, dated December 7, 1775, has upon it a brawny arm projecting from a Cloud broken by rays, bearing a shield, and in the hand an olive branch with thirteen leaves and two or three olives. Motto: Sub Clypeo ("Under the Shield,"—this was the branch that ran over the wall).

These devices are thus clearly shown to have been symbolic educators of the public mind for nearly a year before the appointment of any committee upon national heraldry. The number thirteen was furthermore employed and illustrated in any quantity of ways upon the Continental money, as we shall see anon, our present purpose merely being to show such employment as was directly suggestive of the seal-devices themselves.

Again, in the issue of Continental money, made in November 1775 by authority of the American Congress, is a bill for One Sixth of a Dollar. Upon the back of this bill is a chain in a circle—an emblem of union—composed of thirteen circular links, on each of which is the name of one of the
thirteen colonies. In the center are the words: "We are One," surrounded by a Glory.

This bill is undoubtedly the source from whence Jefferson, in 1776, obtained a part of the device finally adopted by his committee and reported to Congress for the Great Seal. Though somewhat altered in the obverse of Jefferson's proposed device, its main features are there, as well as the essential idea embodied in the motto, "We are one," altered by him into its more appropriate Latin form, *E Pluribus Unum*.

In 1776 this same device was employed upon the reverse of a Continental coin, and later upon the
"Washington piece," and in 1787 upon the first United States cent, whose common-sense motto, "Mind your business," is indicative of the frugal times in which it circulated, and as "Time flies" (fugio) would be an excellent motto still for any one who undertakes to "occupy."

On a fifty-dollar bill issued on the 26th of September, 1778, is a picture of an unfinished pyramid of thirteen solid layers, representing the thirteen colonies and above it in the exergue is the motto, "Perennis." This pyramid being incomplete denotes the expectation of other States yet to be added, and the motto denotes everlasting endurance to the Union. On the back of this bill are three Indian arrows on the wing. The similarity of this device to that upon Barton's Canton is manifest.

THE ELEMENTS IN COLONIAL COINAGE.

As might have been anticipated, the whole or detached parts of our national heraldry appear in our earliest coinage.
Thus, in 1776 the thirteen stars occupy the reverse exergue of a Massachusetts copper. This was before they were borne upon the Flag and probably ante-dated the Declaration of Independence.

The thirteen stars next appear upon the *Nova Constellatio* coins, of which there were one gold, three silver, and two copper pieces, issued during the period from 1783 to 1785.

The obverse device of all these coins consisted
of a radiant Eye surrounded by a circle of thirteen stars, and all surrounded by the legend Constel- 
latio Nova. * In this coin Columbia is presumed to be sitting on a ballot-box with justice offered to all.

In the coinage of 1785 a piece known among collectors as the Confederatio copper had as its central reverse device the radiant constellation of thirteen stars.

The Res Publica coppers of Vermont (1785–87) have the same central reverse device as those of the Nova Constellatio series. Vermont was the fourteenth colony, hence the motto, Stella Quarta Decima.

The Eagle first appears upon the early Massachusetts coin above alluded to, and is surrounded by the thirteen stars. (See opposite page).

*A new constellation.
It is next found upon a New York copper coin of 1786, but the eagle’s aspect is wrong.

The eagle also appears upon a gold coin of 1787. The reverses of these coins have upon them an almost exact representation of the National Arms and Crest and are the earliest attempts thereat in coinage with which we are familiar.

An *Immunis Columbia* copper of the same year
bears the spread Eagle without the Shield, and is remarkable in that the olive branch in dexter has thirteen growths to balance the bundle of arrows.* From 1790 to 1795 the Arms and Crest in a more or less modified form occur upon at least eight of the colonial coins.

The American Shield first appears upon our coinage on the New Jersey cents of 1786–88. On these coins it forms the entire reverse device, and is surrounded by the motto, *E Pluribus Unum*, which likewise enters our national coinage at this time.

The shield surrounded by thirteen stars also forms the obverse of the "Carolina token." Upon the New York gold coin of 1787 the motto next appears in the form, "*Unum* *E Pluribus.*" The

*Aspect however, sinister.*
true motto re-occurs upon the *Immunis Columbia* copper of 1787, which see above, page 248. Also on the Kentucky penny, which shows Kentucky as the fifteenth star in a radiant triangular constellation.

The olive branch appears first upon an Annapolis three-pence piece of 1783. It occupies on this coin the central obverse place, consists of six growths, and is surrounded by an olive wreath of seven growths, thus making in all the thirteen symbolic olive growths. The olive is after this date very frequently employed as an emblem of peace in the
hand of Liberty, and as a wreath or head ornament in the colonial coinage. The arrows do not appear to have been used independently upon any of the colonial coinage (except that of Massachusetts, as on the coppers of 1787);

but were always used as a component part of the Arms when represented. This war emblem, "the Bundle of Arrows," has been ignored, apparently without intention, but none the less significantly omitted. Manasseh stands for Peace, that is his name, i. e., "Rest;" Higher powers than human legislative ones have governed in these matters.
HERALDRY ON THE NATIONAL COINAGE.

In the United States coinage proper the National heraldry, both entire and in its detached elements, has been almost constantly repeated from 1792 to the present time.

*AN EARLY COIN.*

From but few of the whole series of coins have the thirteen stars, symbolic of the Union, been omitted, and the eagle in some form or other almost

*Arms nearly correct, but motto and crest omitted. Note, 13 arms, 13 leaves, 13 tail feathers.

†Note the peculiar shield on this coin and its inverted motto, "Unum E Pluribus." Note also, however, the correct balance, 13 arrows and 13 leaves on the olive branch, also 13 feathers in the tail, a rare realization, but correct.
constantly recurs. The Crest has not been used alone as a device, but the Arms have frequently been so, and both Arms and Crest combined have been one of the most familiar of our coin devices.

The olive wreath has been frequently employed upon the reverse of coins and very generally in its botanic character of an olive to a leaf, or growth.

In the gold coinage the Eagle generally appears.

*Note the exchange of the arrows and olive branch, and the six and eight-pointed stars.
as spread with wings in chief, but in that of silver

the smaller Eagle, especially upon the lesser denominations, has its wings spread with tips lowered to the base points. The latest issue of the silver quarter now (1897) in current use is perhaps the most artistic realization of the numerical balance by thirteens ever attempted at the mint.* If our

*The Silver half dollar equally elegant.
readers will examine a practical specimen taken from their pockets they will be surprised at the number of thirteens they can count, and will note that, while the Obverse shows the thirteen stars as six-pointed, as usual on our coinage, the Reverse shows the crest as of thirteen five-pointed stars.

GOVERNMENT USE OF NATIONAL DEVICES.

As would naturally have been expected the seals and insignia of most of the subordinate branches of the Government repeat, in combination with such other elements as are peculiar to themselves, many of the symbols upon the National device.

Thus at the same time that the Seal of the United States was adopted Congress ordered a smaller seal for the use of the President of Congress. This was a small oval about an inch in length, the center covered with clouds surrounding a blue sky on which were seen thirteen stars arranged to form a six-pointed star. Over this device was the motto, "E Pluribus Unum." This seal was used by all the Presidents of the Confederation. The present Seal of the President of the United States is round with an Eagle upon it.
THE SEAL OF THE SENATE.

"Mr. Edward Stabler, Jr., of Baltimore, son of the late engraver, and Postmaster at Sandy Springs, has in his possession the correspondence relating to the history of the existing seal. A few days ago the Committee on Rules at Washington made a careful search of the Journal and archives, but failed to discover the history of the seal or any authority for its use. In the package of letters in the possession of Mr. Stabler it is stated that Edward Stabler, Postmaster at Sandy Springs, Md., from 1828 until his death, in 1883, engraved the seal about 1831. The device was designed by R. P. Lamplier, Jr., a French artist, then a resident of Washington. Mr. Wagner, a wood engraver, of York, Penn., in a letter to the elder Stabler in 1831, says: 'The seal of the Senate is not what it ought to be for the money it cost. The figures are very awkward, and especially the middle one, which appears to be falling over. The drapery is very stiff and of too scanty a pattern.' No one has yet ever discovered what the figures were intended to typify or what relevancy they have to the United States Senate or its proceedings. Mr. Stabler has a large collection of the seals made by his father for Government departments at Washington and for States and courts."—From the Baltimore American, May 3, 1886.*

*See page 219. Our own ideas of the Senatorial Seal is that it should be a supplement or confirmatory Seal to that of the State, i. e., the Reverse of the national Obverse should reside with the Vice-President,
The old Seal of the State Department approached very nearly in its design to that upon the Obverse of the Great Seal of the United States. Its device is "an Eagle solant, bearing in its beak the motto, 'E Pluribus Unum,' and over its head the constellation of thirteen stars.* On its breast is the American shield, the blue field of the upper portion likewise studded with thirteen stars.†

In the right claw of the Eagle was an olive branch and in the left a bundle of arrows with points downward; below the Eagle was a wreath of oak leaves, and around the upper part of the Seal the legend, "Department of State." The new Seal of the State Department is a more accurate approximation to the Obverse of the Great Seal.

Each of the foreign Consular and Diplomatic offices of the American Government is furnished by the State Department with a blazoned cognizance consisting of the Arms and Crest of the United States. These are understood to have been the

*Scattered.
†This is more like the shield said to have been proposed by Prestwick for the Arms of the U. S.
only official blazonry of our National heraldry ever issued by the State Department,* and as they are intended for and exclusively used only in foreign countries it is a matter of great regret that they are artistically and heraldically subject to so much criticism. The Crest as represented upon them is unstatutory in that no rays nor glory whatsoever surrounds the constellation! Upon most of them the tincture of the American or bald-headed eagle is black and white! instead of its "proper" color, dark brown! The tincture of the scroll is red and the motto thereon instead of being or (gold), is black (sable)! There are three or four different sizes of these Consular signs and in but one of them is the National olive branch furnished with its numerical balance of thirteen growths to offset the thirteen arrows in the bundle opposite. Upon the other sizes of these signs are found from sixteen to eighteen leaves, and upon all of them but three olives!

In all of this we are placed in a somewhat humiliating position by our Heraldic Custodians, who are either too self-sufficient or else are grossly negligent. We are a young nation it is true, but by no means nouveau, in an opprobrious sense. As a matter of fact our Flag is the oldest on earth, and our Arms and Seal are relatively ancient. Since their adoption it is understood that all other national devices have

*1882-3: The late (1892) brochure of Mr. Hunt, and the Chicago Blazonry (1892) are now later, but not much above similar criticism.
been altered. That, therefore, those who are responsible for our showing in the International College of Symbology are so dilatory in putting our Ensign into prominent honor is a matter of chagrin, and it is to be trusted that our official insignia will be speedily corrected.

The Seal of the Treasury Department has its silver shield divided by a chevron studded with thirteen stars.

The Seal device of the Department of the Interior is an Eagle just ready to soar, resting on a sheaf of grain with olive-branch and arrows in its talons, but reversed from dexter to sinister.
That of the Department of Justice is an Eagle resting on a prone National Shield, wings fluttering, with olive-branch and arrows in its talons.

The Seal of the War Department contains none of the elements of the great National seal.*

But the uniform of the army, its regimental colors, and other regalia are filled with them.

* It was adopted in 1778; the present seal bears precisely the same device.
ton is almost universal, that for general officers being gilt, convex, with spread eagle and stars.

The buttons for "the three arms of the service" have their distinctive letter on the escutcheon. For instance, that upon the Artillery button is A.

So the eagle with motto, olive branch, shield and arrows, forms the almost universal hat or helmet ornament. The sword-belt-plate for all officers contains the "Arms of the United States," the motto and stars thereon being charged as of argent upon gold. The epaulettes, shoulder straps and horse-housing of the General of the Army likewise contains these arms, embroidered in gold, as their
appropriate insignia. Stars of gold form the epaulette, shoulder-strap and knot insignia of the Lieutenant, Major and Brigadier Generals.

The National Arms, embroidered in silver (motto omitted), form the hat, shoulder-knot and strap device for Colonels. These "arms" are also conspicuously borne upon the colors of Infantry regiments, and the standards of mounted regiments are according to regulations to be thus duly blazoned with silken embroidery.* The leaf of the Lieutenant-Colonel and Major, respectively of silver and gold emblazonry, is in reality a branch of seven olive leaves, and the bars upon the shoulder straps and knots of the Captain and First Lieutenant refer to the paleways upon the Shield.

It is a remarkable fact that the only device upon the Arms thus omitted from this military sequence is strangely enough the war emblem itself. The

*The tincturing, however, is ordinarily in oil paint rather than silk.
MILITARY APPLICATION.

General.

Lieutenant-Colonel. or Major.

Lieutenant-General.

Captain.

Major-General.

First-Lieutenant.

Brigadier-General.

Second-Lieutenant.

Colonel.

Chaplain.

Unused.

SHOULDER-STRAP DEVICES. U. S. ARMY.
bundle of arrows is not employed as a distinctive emblem! It would seem that, instead of repeating* the olive leaves as the insignia of both the Major and Lieutenant-Colonel, this most distinctive war device—a bunch of arrows—should be adopted for the latter. By this means not only would the chance of confusion of rank between the Lieutenant Colonel and Major be entirely done away with, but the system upon which our military insignia is based would be relieved from what is now both an unnecessary hiatus and an awkward oversight.

NAVY DEPARTMENT.

The original Seal of the Navy Department (1779) contained thirteen stars in its exergue, and on its escutcheon a chevron with thirteen perpendicular bars or paleways of alternate gules and argent.

The present Seal of this department (1882) has a large part of its face covered with a spread Eagle. The Navy pennant contains the thirteen stars on its

*As if for dearth of insignia.
blue union, that of the Revenue Marine the thirteen stars, azure, on an argent union. The Revenue Ensign itself contains the thirteen stars and the spread eagle, with shield, arrows and olive branch upon its argent union. The yacht ensign has thirteen stars argent on an azure union. As a general rule in the uniform and insignia of the Navy, corresponding use is made of the devices upon the National Coat of Arms and Crest, as is made in the Army.

The Seal of the Post-office Department was adopted some years previous to that of the general Government, and like that of the War Department, has none of the elements of our national heraldry upon it. Upon an examination, however, of the several issues of United States postage stamps, many detached portions of the Arms and Crest are to be discovered. Thus in the second issue of postage stamps, July 1, 1851, the eagle with outstretched wings appears as the central device upon the one-cent stamp; the thirteen five-pointed stars
upon the ten-cent stamp; and the escutcheon in the four angles of the thirty-cent stamp; the star on the three-cent envelope.

In the next issue, that of 1861, the thirteen stars appear upon both the ten and twenty-four-cent stamps, and the olive branch on the ten-cent envelope.

A new series of stamps appeared in 1869, upon the ten and thirty-cent denomination of which almost the whole of our National heraldry, with the exception of the reverse to the seal, appears. In the issue of 1870 the thirteen stars are again very beautifully embodied into the design of the twenty-four-cent stamp, one six-pointed star appearing on the five-cent, two five-pointed on the ninety-cent, and an escutcheon on the thirty-cent stamps.

In 1873, owing to the repeal of the franking privilege the Postmaster-General was required to furnish stamps to each of the Executive Departments. Upon those of the Departments of Justice, the Interior and the Navy, stars are employed, and upon those of the War Department the Prestwick shield occurs.

Under the Act of June 23, 1872, a beautiful issue of stamps with special designs for the use of news agencies was made. Upon the two, three, four, six, eight, nine and ten-cent stamps of this series the Prestwick shield is used. On the twelve, twenty-four, thirty-six, forty-eight, sixty, seventy-two, eighty-four and ninety-six-cent stamps of the

*All five-pointed,
issue Astraea or Justice, stands wreathed with a chaplet of thirteen stars upon which the American eagle rests as a crest; the left hand of Astraea in these designs rests on an escutcheon upon which is blazoned the entire National Coat of Arms. On the three-dollar stamp of the issue Victory rests her left hand upon the true National escutcheon; in the twenty-four-dollar stamp the Goddess of Peace holds the olive branch in one hand and the bundle of arrows in the other, while finally in the forty-eight-dollar stamp of the same series Hebe the Goddess of Youth has her left arm thrown about the Eagle's neck. She holds, however, the olive branch and bundle of arrows reversed.

We had intended here to show an illustration of the Columbian issue of envelope stamps, but under date of March 2, 1897, are officially informed that "the Post Office Department has always held that any reproduction of a postage stamp, no matter by what process, nor how innocent the purpose, is a violation of the law, and this decision applies as well to engraved illustrations in books as to any other. The Postmaster General, moreover, has no authority to make any exceptions to this rule. There would be no impropriety in pasting in your forthcoming book cancelled stamps of the kind referred to." Readers, therefore, will kindly notice; and procure, and tip in here, any one of the Columbian Envelope Stamps.

COLUMBIAN ENVELOPE STAMP.

In the Columbian issue there are no heraldic references, save in the envelope series, where appear the Prestwick shield, though with but twelve paleways (red and white, instead of thirteen white and red); and the eagle (without shield), with arrows and olive branch reversed from dexter to sinister. In other
words the entire envelope series places a heavy load of inexcusable heraldic lapses to the credit of its artist.

In the same way the letter sheet, now discontinued, bore the Prestwick Shield, as part of its device, but with the colors of the pales reversed, red and white instead of white and red.

The Postoffice Department has made a further use of our National heraldry as the embellishment upon both sides of its mail wagons. These may be seen daily in New York and our large cities, traveling between the Post-office and the depots. The design is generally a beautifully painted American eagle, about to rise, resting upon a prone National shield.

THE GREAT SEAL IN THE RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE.

Belonging here in chronological order some notice should now be taken of the use of the Great Seal of the United States as a "text" for the embellishment of the cars of "the Fast Mail."

In reply to inquiries made at the Post-Office Department in 1883, the following has been learned: "Upon all the postal cars used on the first fast mail trains from New York to Chicago—begun in September, 1875—both sides of the Great Seal of the United States were painted" At each end the obverse occurs upon the left-hand side of the car, the reverse upon the right, the cars themselves being painted white." This was done by direction of Mr. George
S. Bangs, then General Superintendent of the Railway Mail Service of this Department, and was, it seems, confined to the cars of these fast mail trains, some of which are still in use. These cars are not the property of the United States, though they are under the control of the Post-Office Department, and the use of them is specially paid for by the Government. Mr. W. B. Thomson, the present superintendent (1883) of the Railway Mail Service furnishes the information that the painting of these designs upon postal cars had no other signification than that of a mere embellishment."

Subsequent to this a description of these trains "was incorporated into a History of the Railway Mail Service published by the Post-Office Department some years ago," the article itself being taken from the New York Daily Graphic, of about September 17, 1875, and for a copy of which we are recently (1897) indebted to the Post-Office Department, and particularly to Mr. James E. White, the General Superintendent of the Railway Service.

A careful search of the records at Washington has failed to disclose any illustration of the external ornamentation of the cars referred to, but did result in the notice from the Graphic, and which is as follows:

"Description of Postal Cars.

"The letter-distributing cars are fifty feet in length, while those designed for the newspaper mail are ten feet longer. All are uniform in width, nine feet eight inches, and six feet nine inches high in the clear. The finish of the exterior does not
differ, all of them being painted white, with cream-colored borderings and gilt ornamentation, highly varnished within and without. Midway on the outside and below the windows of each car is a large oval, gilt-finished frame, within which is painted the name of the car, with the words 'United States Post-Office,' above and below. Along the upper edge and centre are painted the words, in large gilt letters, 'The Fast Mail,' while on a line with these words, at either end, in a square, are the words, in like lettering, 'New York Central,' and 'Lake Shore.' The frieze and minute trimmings around the windows are also of gilt finish. At the lower sides and ends of the cars are ovals corresponding to those on which the names are painted, and inclosed at one end a painted landscape scene background and in the relief an all-seeing eye, beneath which is a pyramid inscribed with gilt Roman figures 'MDCCC-LXXV.,'* and the motto, Novus ordo Seculorum. At the opposite end, in the same colors, on a blue background, is the United States coat-of-arms."

GREAT SEAL OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

Interesting in this connection is the brief history of the Great Seal of the Confederate States which was destined never to be used. It was established by the following joint resolution:

"Resolved, by the Congress of the Confederate States of America, that the seal of the Confederate States shall consist of a device representing an equestrian portrait of Washington (after the statue which surmounts his monument in the capitol square at Richmond), surrounded with a wreath composed of the principal agricultural products of the Confederacy (cotton, tobacco, sugar-cane, corn, wheat and rice),

*Note this intentional variation from "MDCCCLXXVI." (1776) to 1875 in commemoration of the establishment of the Railway Mail Service.
and having around its margin the words: 'The Confederate States of America, twenty-second February, eighteen hundred and sixty-two,' with the following motto: 'Deo vindice.'”*
THE SEAL OF HISTORY.

"BILL OF EXPENSE.

J. M. Mason, Esq.,

To Joseph S. Wyon,

Chief Engraver of Her Majesty's Seals, etc.,

287 Regent St., London, W.

1864. July 2—Silver Seal for the Confederate States of America, with ivory handle, box with spring lock and screw press, £34.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Cost</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3000 wafers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000 seal papers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000 strips of parchment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 brass boxes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>100 cakes of wax</td>
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<td></td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>100 silk cords</td>
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<td>6.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 perforator</td>
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<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 packing-cases lined with tin</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3.00</td>
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By cash 21 March £42 — — — — — £122.10

Settled by cheque for balance 6th July, 1864.

The £42 was a deposit for half cost of the press. Press made of silver at suggestion of manufacturers, as not affected by rust and of the same metal as State seals of England are made." ("Curious Facts," Malcolm Townsend, 1896).

HERALDIC CONFUSION GENERAL THROUGHOUT THE UNION.

But the same duty of disseminating better knowledge of their arms and seal devolves upon the proper officers in every State. So far as the heraldry and correspondence of their chosen armorial bearings is concerned, the universal experience in almost all the States of the Union has been merely a history of confusion. Artists have misconceived the emblems, or ruined the symmetry of the combinations, and
engravers in their turn have used every license with their copy. Thus they have made of the arms of Kentucky "a mere burlesque of the original." New York bears record of "the singular changes which have taken place from the whims of artists or the carelessness of those charged with reproducing the Arms on public documents." In 1874 the legislature of Pennsylvania had to pass a resolution authorizing the Governor, Attorney General, and Secretary of the Commonwealth to have "the arms of the State corrected of such errors and anomalies as may thereon be discovered;" "in fact," says Admiral Preble, "to restore the arms as originally adopted and engraved, and which in the lapse of a hundred years had been changed to suit the whim of every engraver and designer." Again, after citing the Statute for the Arkansas seal the Admiral remarks: "Such is the law; but artists have taken considerable liberty with the devices, a specimen of which is shown in the illustration." The same cry comes from Ohio, and such is the universal experience. Lack of knowledge, the absence of official interest, the dearth of heraldic information, the parsimony of legislatures, the crudity of ideas upon symbology and correspondence, all have conspired in bringing about these unfortunate results.

It is surely time for Americans to awaken their interest in these matters. Our day of infancy has passed away. We are now inheritors, and we have new traditions to bequeath to our descendants. If we quote Latin, let us quote it correctly; if we as-
sume or find ourselves possessors of heraldic bear-
ings let us save them from dishonor. Let such an
official knowledge of them be disseminated from
those in whom their custody resides that we shall
recognize them at a glance as now we do our flag.
Let no one dare to alter them thereafter—let such an
act be forgery, a crime akin to counterfeiting—condemned at once, at least in public sentiment. The
Arms of all the States are elegant when conceived
aright, and blazoned as intended. With beautiful
unanimity they severally symbolize the individual
fulfillment of each and all the blessings that were
prophetically promised centuries ago to be poured
upon the head of Joseph,* and on the crown of the
head of him that was separate from his brethren.†
Blessings of the heaven above,‡ and of the dew,§ and
of the deep,¶ and of the breasts,** and of the womb.††
The chief things of the ancient mountains,‡‡ and the
precious things of the everlasting hills,¶¶ and bless-
ings of the precious fruits brought forth by the sun,§§
and of the precious things put forth by the moon.¶¶

† See Arms and Seal of every State.
‡ See Arms and Seal of New Hamp., R. I., Penn., Del.,
** See Arms and Seal of Penn., Miss., Ark., Ore., Iowa.
†† See Arms and Seal of W. Va., Colo., Nev., Cal., Ariz.,
Mont., Wyo., Idaho, Okla.
§§ See Arms and Sealsof Ver., Conn., Del., N. J.,
S. C., Ga., Fla., Ark., Tenn., Ohio, Mich., Ore., Kan., Vt.,
Wyo., Col., N. Dak., N. Mex., Ida., Cher. Ind., Ariz., Utah,
Okla.
Certainly in such an array of blessings symbolized so glowingly by the Arms and Seal of every State, the future of America has a brilliant outlook. And certainly the protection of these emblems, and their security from future misconception and misuse, is a duty that devolves upon all of the officials in whose custody they rest.

**USE OF NATIONAL DEVICES BY STATES.*

Among the devices chosen for their seals, arms and crests, by the several individual States, the elementary emblems of the National arms and crest are very generally employed. Thus the "arms" entire are charged upon one of the quarterings of the shield of Missouri. The "Eagle" is borne by New York, Pennsylvania, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Michigan, Illinois, Oregon, New Mexico, Wyoming and Utah; sometimes as a crest, sometimes as a supporter, and at others as in the national arms.

"The Eagle, as the crest of New York, has this historical prominence, that it is extremely probable that New York was the first of the States to make use of it. * * * It was not adopted as a portion of the Arms of the United States till * * * more than four years after its adoption by the State of New York as its crest.† It had not been upon any arms or seals previously used in the State.

* The Seals of all the States are given in Webster's Unabridged Dictionary, and are generally too familiar to need repetition here.

† Mar. 16, 1778, carefully defined in Chapter 229, Laws of New York, 1896.
"The choice of Liberty and Justice as supporters of the shield [of New York, March 16, 1778] may have been suggested to our committee, from their remembering that in the Congress of 1776, on the 20th of August, these emblematic figures had been suggested as the supporters by the first committee of the most distinguished character possible — John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and Benjamin Franklin, and only abandoned on account of the whole device, with obverse and reverse being too complicated."

The entire national motto "E Pluribus Unum," is borne by Michigan and Wisconsin; the "Olive branch," by Pennsylvania, Mississippi, Arkansas, Oregon and New Mexico; the American shield by Alabama, Illinois, Wisconsin and Wyoming; the arrow or bundle of arrows, by Massachusetts (1), South Carolina (12), Alabama (3), Mississippi (4), Arkansas (13), Ohio (17), Oregon (13), New Mexico (13), Michigan (13), North Dakota (13), and Utah (6).

A single star is employed by Massachusetts "for one of the United States of America."
The "Lone Star" is also beautifully borne by Texas as its sole device, and one of seven points by the Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory. Eighteen stars are borne by Louisiana, twenty-four by Missouri, thirty-four by Arkansas, thirty-six by Nevada, forty-two by North Dakota, and Utah forty-five, to denote their number in the Union. Wisconsin bears thirteen stars.

Colorado is the only State in the Union that employs upon its seal or arms any part of

the reverse of the National device. This latter State has above its shield in the crest position "the all-seeing eye in a triangle surrounded by rays."
HERALDIC KNOWLEDGE.

Although personal Heraldry is almost as good as unknown in this country, National Heraldry, the more ancient and honorable subdivision of the Science, is a most important part of our statute and organic law. It is the science of conventional distinctions, and deals with insignia of every description impressed upon shields, banners, tablets, medals, etc. In a country such as ours it is perhaps natural that this science should have hitherto received but little attention. Nevertheless, it is certainly lamentable that to the present time no branch of our Government has been specially charged with the study of its principles, the due preservation of its traditions, and the spread of a more perfect information concerning it. Nothing is more common upon our public holidays than to see our Flag covered with advertisements, or the escutcheon stamped with some miserable nostrum.

Even corporations of some magnitude have not hesitated to make private use of these sacred emblems. For instance the St. Louis Mutual Life Insurance Co. adopted the Reverse of the Great Seal as their cognizance, and displayed a large-sized garbled emblazonry thereof until the day of its own premature and uninsured demise, some fifteen years ago. Surely the Government has a patent and preemptive right upon its own heraldry, and should take steps, such as other corporations take, to prevent its dishonor and unauthorized use.
One seldom sees, upon such occasions, a truthful representation of the Coat of Arms. Indeed, its erroneous representation is so common that our people are almost wholly ignorant of its true delineation and emblazonry: There seems to be no officially recognized guide, and thus the artist, pressed for time or else left to his own devices, as often manufactures error as the truth, and far oftener prefers his own conceptions to following those which it took a congress of most thoughtful statesmen years to bring to their perfection. These things certainly ought not so to be.

As an example of the reckless ignorance displayed in these premises, notice the errors upon the cut (page 278,) taken almost at random from the catalogue of one of the largest Type Founders in the country: the stars in the crest are all six-pointed; there is no glory surrounding them; the motto is punctuated as if E was an abbreviation for some other word; the shield is out of all proportion; the number of arrows is eleven, the olive branch has twelve leaves, and the two devices for Peace and War are upset or reversed from dexter to sinister. It is safe to say that the bulk of our official insignia is thus mutilated.

Either the State or Treasury Department should be particularly entrusted with our National Heraldry as a subject of concern. For many reasons we would prefer seeing it turned over to that of the Treasury. This department is already learned in all the arts that form the proper basis for this science. Its experience in bond and bank-note engraving has taught it
A NATIONAL HERALD NEEDED.

not only the value of a hair-line, but in the selection of its subjects, requiring so much care, attention to historic lore and critical analysis has taught it to distinguish gold from dross.

So, too, in its coinage and medallurgy, the traditions of this most exact department are so carefully preserved, handed down, and carried out, that the perpetuity of error, even should it accidently creep in, is not at all conceivable (compare Hon. A. L. Snowden's remarks, page 181).

As the Government, then, is a large Department Corporation, and its Treasury Department is actually skilled in the art of die-cutting, we fail to see why the cutting of the Great Seal for the State Department, and in fact the seals for all the Government functions, should not be turned over to the Treasury Department for realization.

At any rate, the subject of our National Heraldry should be made more prominent. It is in the nature of things to suppose that during our second century of National existence this subject will receive the attention which it merits. Perhaps each of these departments has its part to play in these premises. As the former is the present repository of such information as we have preserved upon what is now our Seal, our Crest and Coat-of-Arms, so to the latter it would be most natural to turn to have the necessary dies, escutcheons, plates and medals accurately realized and cut. The State Department being now already, at least by implication, the legal custodian of all our heraldic lore, could without any
further legislation set itself to put this in its proper light before the country at large. To do this would be not only to discharge a duty, but to raise the standard of our patriotic education.

But even in the matter of personal heraldry we may see a growth springing up, unnoticed almost, but none the less dense, and rapidly becoming almost universal over the country. We refer to the subject of Trade-marks. Almost every business house, particularly when of a manufacturing nature, has its distinctive insignia duly patented, recorded and protected by law! Can we not see in this an origin similar to that of some of the most honorable of the European distinctions of our own day? Any American citizen may select his own design, be it for trade, for manufacture, or for the more polished pursuits of literary, professional or scientific life, and by duly recording it in Washington can secure its inviolability and preserve it for exclusive use. This is a form of heraldry—a Republican form—and who cannot see that in future ages many of the devices whose humble origin is ridiculed to-day, may by the wealthy and polished descendants of the scion of their fortunes be borne as proudly as are those of Europe's noblest houses?

Take for instance the seal upon the cover of these distinctive publications—The "Our Race Series," and The "News Leaflets." It consists of Obverse and Reverse, and is symbolical of Faith in Inspiration: Prophecy is its Aleph-Tau, and History is the respondent Alpha-Omega thereto. It is our own
"copyrighted" emblem, chosen in a day when the doors of all the publishing houses at which we applied were closed against our effort, but now, though still the device of the least among them, has already with the help of its earnest body of constituents, made a record that is not without some honor in the premises of work accomplished. May God in whose service it is still sealing the proof of Inspiration see to it that its constituency widens with the "Novus Ordo Seclorum." "He" has certainly "prospered our beginnings," and their outcome is in his hands.

Volume One.

Finis.
"And in Jerusalem dwelt (some) of the children of Judah, and (some) of the children of Benjamin, and (some) of the children of Ephraim and Manasseh."

I. Chron. ix. 3.

"Of the Tribe of Manasseh were sealed twelve thousand."

Rev. vii. 6.
EDITORIALS.
THE HEAVENS DECLARE THE GLORY OF GOD, AND THE FIRMAMENT SHOWETH HIS HANDIWORK.

THE HERALDRY OF THE HOUSE OF JOSEPH, AS AT THE DAWN.

Compare Job xxxviii., xxxix., xl., xli., xlii.
Our Race:
ITS ORIGIN AND ITS DESTINY.

Series V. MARCH, 1897. No. 18.

EDITORIALS.

AS

SHILOH;

"NUNC SIDERA DUCIT:"

CHRESTOS HE BEARETH:

*

**

AND FOR A SEAL AS FOLLOWS:

BEAUTY.

BANDS.

THE OBVERSE AND THE REVERSE OF THE UNIVERSE.

*

**

AND FOR A MOTTO THIS:

"The earth and all the inhabitants thereof are dissolved, I bear up the pillars of it. Selah," (Psa. lxxv. 3).
"I said unto the fools. Deal not so foolishly; and unto the wicked, Lift not up the horn; Lift not up your horn on high; Speak not with a stiff neck."

"For promotion cometh neither from the East, nor from the West, nor from the South. But God is Judge; he putteth down one and setteth up another."

We have elsewhere admitted the cosmic fact that the world was made for man, so we have taken liberty with the expression and maintained that this new world was made for Manasseh, the story of whose Seal we have now related.

"That spirit which prompted Cromwell crossed to these shores and established a church without a bishop and a state without a king, and is now seeking to abolish war. The Puritan revolution was an assertion by the people of a right to rule, and of their duty to heed God and their consciences."

We take our cue in the enigma upon page 286 from Albert Ross Parsons' "New Light from the Great Pyramid." It is a remarkable fact that the constellations at creation over-shadowed the lands that from of old were destined unto the sons of Joseph to whom pertains the Birthright. It must not be overlooked that this matter of the Birthright among Jacob's posterity is one of broad concern;
for "when the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel. For the Lord's portion is his people, and Jacob is the lot (cord, or Zodiac) of his inheritance." So the Birth-right in Israel is the Primality among the nations under Israel. Who shall gainsay this?

**

Verily but One can "bring forth Mazzaroth in his season"; "the Eagle mounts" at his command alone; hence it is all "turned as clay unto the Seal." His whole answer to Job out of the whirlwind was, in fact, a prophecy, and Israel is its literal fulfillment, for Israel is History. Let us thank God that it is history to be renewed as an eagle molting his old feathers and casting off his sins; and that, mounting anew into the aura, with vision keen and purified, he can reverse the process of his own evolution, and see the beginning from the end, and so realize that the Word itself is the definition of Inspiration, thus that God is all in all.

**

And now a note as to woman's rights in Manasseh, as of inheritance. Like the daughters of Job she receives an inheritance with her brethren. In Colorado, Utah and Wyoming women have full suffrage and vote for all officers including even Presidential Electors. The woman Suffrage Law was adopted in Wyoming in 1870, and in Colorado in 1893; it is a Constitutional provision in Utah. But in some
form, mainly as to taxation or the selection of school officers, woman suffrage exists in a limited way in Arizona, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Texas, Vermont, Washington and Wisconsin. In many foreign countries, all Anglo-Saxon, in Australia, New Zealand, Cape Colony, Canada and in some parts of India, women vote on various terms for municipal or school officers.

**

And a word or so as to mystic things based upon the monogram of our mark. The Hebrew root of the word Manasseh, מָנָאֶשֶׁה, conceals the root of another Hebrew word, נֶשֶׁר, Nesh-er or Neshar, an Eagle, which was destined to be Manasseh's chief Heraldic emblem. Hence, the Talmudists gave the Eagle to Manasseh for a symbol because of its affinity to his name if for naught else, which was enough because in order, and outside of accident.

**

As is still the case in the English alphabet, the letter M (or מ, mem, the initial letter of Manasseh) was the 13th letter in the Hebrew alphabet; its value was 40, which is \(3 \times 13 + 1\); i.e., 1 in a new 13, just as 13 is 1 in a new dozen. Manasseh is in fact the name of a new beginning—Forgetfulness of old things. The Millennium, for which his terrestrial effort stands as a token, will be the true
Novus Ordo Seclorum, and is derived from the Latin word *mille* (a thousand), whence M in Latin is the symbol for 1,000, and the seventh numeral letter of its otherwise ominous nomenclature—\(I + V + X + L + C + D = 666\).

* * *

The letter \(\text{ש}\) *mem* signifies water, and is the root of Mayim out of which Miz-ra-im, the Land of Manasseh, or Egypt, was born anew yearly; the idea being similar to that which gave rise to the Egyptian fable of the Phoenix, or the Eagle hidden in Manasseh's name and also born anew, its youth renewed out of the ashes of its own funeral pyre. M also implied *number* or *many*, and is thus the root of the word *Tom*, twin, and *Tomim*, twins. Hence we find the double in Manasseh, to wit: in his two "half-tribes." The fact is M is considered to be the most mystical letter of the alphabet, and was peculiarly sacred to all languages and religions, in which it was as powerful a *mid*, measure, or monogram, as the Pyramid (likewise derived from it and placed at the center and the border of Mizraim) was of scientific things.

* * *

This mysterious letter \(M\), which is thus the *initial* of Manasseh, is the *final* of Adam, \(י\), which is the equivalent of *man* or \(י\), *ish*; for when Adam said of his wife, "she shall be called 'wo-man' (or \(י\), *ish-i*) because she was taken out of 'man'" (ish), the equality was shown in the first *pun* ever perpetrated. But *ish*, \(י\), or *man*, has the numerical
value of 113 or 311 when written on a circle as in cabalistic treatment; when substituted for מ, its monogram, in Manasseh, we have (instead of מ-ן-ן) מ-ן-ן, as a result whose numerical form is 355 - 311.

Now it is a remarkable fact that when this sequence is written on the circumference of a Circle it takes the natural hexagonal form as in our Obverse Crest, which now seems to be Heraldically fixed to that shape, to wit:

And it is a remarkable fact that this word Manasseh, thus treated, is not only made up of a double interlacing of the peculiar triangular number 153, to wit:

But by diametrical division

is the Metius approximation to the metric ratio
\[ \pi = \frac{355}{113} = 3.141592 \mp \]; In which sense Manasseh's Obverse Crest is an emblem of the circle squared quite as much as his triangular Reverse Crest, that caps a \( \pi \)-ramid intentionally. Thus the first born son of Joseph*, to wit, Manasseh, whose monogram is M, the emblem of many, is by this double "netfull" \((2 \times 153)\) quite as notable for Plenty as his brother Ephraim who has appropriated and crossed his father's mathematical signs in the well known Union Jack. But as we must not anticipate too much of the Significance of Manasseh's Heraldry in this present volume we resist the impulse to proceed. Study Number Nineteen is already under way and, if our readers will extend to us their usual courteous patience, will in due time follow this and place its purport in their hands.

** *

Let us then return to revolutionary things, and pick up some of the remnants missed along our route. The outcome of the struggle between Ephraim and Manasseh (Isa. ix. 20-21) was to bring good out of evil after all, and though in those days they were not known by their old cognomens their separation was looked upon as certain and its expected fruit propitious.

** *

Thus in relating his pre-revolutionary "Travels in North America" (London 1775, p. 155) the Rev. A. Burnaby records this premonition, then so soon to formulate and seize its opportunity, as follows: "An

*Whose own name is addition (+), or multiplication (×).
idea as strange as it is visionary has entered into the minds of the generality of mankind—that Empire is traveling Westward; and everyone is looking forward with eager and impatient expectation to that destined moment when America is to give the law to the rest of the world.''

**

It was just so nineteen hundred years ago. The world was in a similar state of expectancy, and behold, the Desire of all nations, the Prince of Peace and of spiritual liberty had birth. This was in due order; in that a principle must precede its evolution into practice. Three Sari (3 × 600) or 1800 years passed by and lo, the travail was resumed upon a lower plane. It had required all these years for the principle to work down into the particulars whereby individual freedom was to be wrought out, and then wrought back into a Union that hath strength; strength, let us thank Him, to renew its youth like the Eagle, and be born again like the Phoenix.

**

But Bishop George Berkeley, "to whom Pope assigned 'every virtue under heaven,'" saw what was coming here, long before Burnaby. It was when he was inspired with his trans-Atlantic vision that he penned the following, that seems prophetic of the fast accomplishing greatness of the new world." It is as much a prophecy of young America, as Virgil’s Fourth Eclogue was of the Messiah—both were at least attestations of what was current expectation in their respective days.
LINES ON THE PROSPECTS OF PLANTING ARTS AND LEARNING IN AMERICA.

The muse, disgusted at an age and clime
Barren of every glorious theme,
In distant lands now waits a better time,
Producing subjects worthy fame.

In happy climes, where from the genial sun
And virgin Earth, such scenes ensue,
The force of art by nature seems outdone
And fancied beauties by the true,

In happy climes, the seat of innocence,
Where nature guides and virtue rules,
Where man shall not impose for truth and sense
The pedantry of courts and schools.

There shall be sung another golden age,
The rise of empire and of arts,
The good and great inspiring epic rage,
The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

Not such as Europe breeds in her decay:
Such as she bred when fresh and young,
When heavenly flame did animate her clay,
By future poets shall be sung.

WESTWARD THE COURSE OF EMPIRE TAKES ITS WAY.
THE FIRST FOUR ACTS ALREADY PAST,
A FIFTH SHALL CLOSE THE DRAMA WITH THE DAY,
TIME'S NOBLEST OFF-SPRING IS THE LAST.

**

Bishop Berkeley was correct. The "Seven times" of punishment, incurred by OUR RACE, were nearing their end, and it became necessary to identify us, each tribe, in his appointed lot. To
this end Manasseh had to be separated from Ephraim so that the twain might be known later and reunited fraternally as the House of Joseph, to whom pertained the Birthright. There is no escaping the facts and the facts fit the case. At the start we had fair warning (Levit. xxvi. 14–17) as to preliminary evils, and a quadrated threat of duration thereafter if for all this we would not hearken (Levit. xxvi. 18, 21, 24, 28).

** **

For a while, therefore, Israel was content under the Theocracy, and duly ruled by punishments whenever necessary. But at last we rebelled from Him who is no tyrant, and as though to test the converse of the Bradshaw inscription we took an earthly King unto ourselves with the inevitable result. The experience lasted just one "Time," (360 years) i.e., from Saul to Hoshea. Then God cast Israel out, and she went quickly into the lost condition which lasted for exactly seven "times" (7 x 360 = 2520 years), i.e., from Hoshea to George III. But when of them two "times" (2 x 360) or 720 years from Hoshea to Herod had gone by agreeably to prophecy (Jer. xvi. 18) he sent "Fishers" for them (Jer. xvi. 16), yea, and, "after" that even when five "times" (5 x 360), or 1800 years more had transpired, and so the full seven were spent, agreeably to the same prophecy he sent "for many Hunters," for our "week" was fulfilled. As a result, Lost Israel is Found in the Anglo-Saxon Race—and found Sealed, for they are the Seal of History.
To those who have followed us in these Studies there is no enigma in these sayings. There is none intended, for instance, as a stumbling block, to such as have not pursued the path with us. Few of even those who are disposed to take issue with any deductions that are predicated upon scriptural fulfillments will antagonize with the sentiment expressed by Bishop Berkeley, and if agreed to but so small degree as that, they can proceed with us in this opening Volume of our Inheritance in the Great Seal of the United States without discord; for in it we have merely treated in ordinary narrative, of History and Heraldry, and have left to a later volume the discussion of its Significance to the Great People Sealed.

As a matter of fact America is no accident, neither as to time or place, nor yet as to persons, for America is Manasseh, and whether Manasseh or not is the outcome of history. "When Manasseh's birth time of separation came near, he began to get restless; and that his brethren might see him and he learn to know his own, Providence permitted them to come to the surface under Cromwell, and for several years Manasseh stood forth in a separate character. The people asked Cromwell to be their king, for as yet they knew not the grand purpose of Providence; he refused, and well he might, for this people were to choose their rulers from among themselves, and their nobles and their governors were to
proceed from the midst of them, as the Prophets had foretold. This English Cromwell was only a successor of Gideon and Jephthah and other democratic leaders of the Tribe of Manasseh.’’ But a ‘‘Commonwealth’’ was out of place in Ephraim, quite as much as a monarchy would be here in Manasseh; therefore the reign of Charles II. lapped back over the interruption, and the Scepter, which in reality had never lacked an heir, resumed its sway. Hence the Commonwealth moved West, according to Destiny and was erected here. For Washington liked Cromwell and Gideon declined a crown—our individual tribal destiny was clearly democratic, a return to the primitive Israelitish principle under the freedom of a better covenant.

***

In a literal and material sense America is the land of ‘‘the new Heavens and the new earth,’’ and not a few who have seen beneath the lines have written ably on the ‘‘New World,’’ as though one of her names was also Shiloh—Rest. It is indeed a synonym of Manasseh, which is but another of the age to come.

***

For many curious derivations of the name America see Albert Ross Parson’s ‘‘New Light from the Great Pyramid.’’ He makes it out as prominently named from the Amerisque mountains of Nicaragua, from the same root as meru, or Merom, a high place, called by the Norse voyagers ‘‘Mark land’’ and by the Aborigines Amarak.
"Both the eagle (Aquila) and the serpent (Ophiucus) fall to the American continent in accordance with the Pyramidal allotment of the Zodiac." The continent is covered with serpent mounds and legends of Sagittarius, the Arrow-bearer. Lyra, the 13-stringed harp of the constellations borne upon the eagle's breast presided over it when the Zodiac was set in order and it was the veritable land of Hercules, and Poseidon.

**

Even the Book of Mormon teaches that the Indians were the tribe of Manasseh. "Indeed, all history has the true and the false, but whether true or false," says Dr. Wild, "all seem to have the idea that America is Manasseh." It is, at any rate, no matter what the myths are made out to imply of old, the land of the great and separated people of modern times, the dominant and indomitable land, one whose principles, be we but true to them, need not be found wanting, even in the millennium itself, of which, like the Reverse of the Great Seal, they are the unfinished type.

**

In its best sense Manasseh means Peace; causing forgetfulness, for at his birth Joseph exclaimed, "I have forgotten all my toils, and all my father's house," from whom his troubles had arisen. And this derivation is not only an eminently fitting one for the bearer of "the Olive Branch," but one for whose derivation we may strictly contend. For instance, Mana-hath, from the same Hebrew root (M.
N.) means "resting-place, or Rest"; and the Greek name Mana-en, means "Comforter." The S, or Shin, added in Manasseh, M N S-eh, or מַנָּשֶׁה, is the strong letter of the word Messiah*, to which the word itself has an indirect relation, as it does to the Hebrew word Amen.

The fact is Manasseh's emblems are all millennial, and our Peace can only come from that phase of universal socialism for which Christianity truly stands. Indeed, MN-S, the consonant of Manasseh, is built up into a word for Rest that has, as it were, like all things Josephic, a double portion thereof, to wit: Peace, from the Bountiful Himself (Josh. xvii. 17). It is a strange fact, too, that it was only with the loss of Peace, so to speak, by the Independence of Manasseh, that Ephraim, or England, settled down to internal peace, and thus all Joseph was at rest.

* *

The whole history of Manasseh is that of a "Great People." This was in particular his blessing (Gen. xlviii. 19), and his constant aspiration even while associated with Ephraim (Jos. xvii.), and he himself had two portions, one upon each side of the Jordan, even as the whole tribe of Joseph had two. We may actually trace Manasseh as a double tribe (the Derians) into the Isles in long-subsequent days,

* So too of Shem, The Name; and Shaddai, The Bountiful out-pourer of every blessing—such as those ascribed to Joseph and his sons; and of Shiloh, the giver of Rest; and of Shalom; and of Solomon, etc.
and it was the very straitness he encountered there that brought his final exodus about and his predicted separation from the rest (Isa. xlix. 19).

** *

It is to no purpose that some contend that England's mere precedence as to age and origin as a nation makes her the elder of the two nations, and therefore Manasseh, and thus of us they obtain Ephraim; for as Ephraim, though the younger, was made the elder in adoption at Jacob's bedside, and so the twelfth, and his brother was forced into the last or 13th place, although the elder, so by the universal Biblical law of twins he obtained his portion last in spite of his eldership. Moreover, Ephraim was and still is the generic name for the Ten-Tribed Israel from which the literal sceptre may not be absent: for it was given in perpetuity to David over Israel and is certainly not in sway over the People of this Republic in any sense at all; whereas it is secure over the United Kingdom of Great Britain. England is "a company of nations" as Ephraim was to be, but Manasseh's great blessing was his popular one

** *

In fact the very mark of Manasseh is his special predilection for the term wherein his great strength and boast subsist, to wit: that he is a People, first and last, in all his conceptions of government. It was in the name of "the good people of the several colonies" that we drew up our Bill of Colonial Rights (1775). It was "in the name and
by the authority of the good people of these Colonies," we solemnly published and declared "that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States" (1776). It was chiefly from the slighting of this idea that our Confederation had no strength (1777); and it was then that "We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union," established our final Constitution (1787).

***

Our Government has never been otherwise than a "popular" one, and so Manassite. "Mr. Lincoln aptly and grandly said on the field of Gettysburg, it was the duty of those present highly to resolve, 'that Government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.' It should be understood that the United States Government exists by and for the people, and not the people by and for the Government"—in other words, the Earth was made for man, and this new Earth for Manasseh! In this same spirit Washington, in his inaugural address, offered his "fervent supplications to the Almighty Being whose providential aid can supply every human defect, that his benediction would consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the People of the United States, a Government instituted by themselves."

***

Manasseh hath no missing marks in her identification, nor hath Ephraim who is a company of nations, and rules over other nations as predicted.
His glory is like a bullock, and his horns are like those of an unicorn, belting the whole world with his colonies, occupying the gates of his enemies, perpetually sending out new shoals to fill up the desolate heritages of the earth, he is the natural protector of the Holy Places; who can fail to see in Britain Joseph's younger son, and in the Birthright the properly distributed inheritance of both his sons? It were in vain to find in all history two other nations that have done and are doing, and must continue to do, the work of these twain; or any other nation that gives promise of supplanting them; nor should those whose eyes are open as to the integrity of prophecy and its fulfillment in the House of Joseph, confuse the phases of the Birthright that pertain to each, or from any vanity of National pride covet any part of what clearly belongs to the other half of the Anglo-Saxon Race. They give political freedom in their own way to all who come in contact with them and "are preëminent over all others in developing the resources of men and nations;" and no weapons fashioned against them can prosper.

**

The sources of information on the subject of the United States Seal are very meagre and include the following: The original documents in Department of State; American Archives; Journals of Congress; The Statutes of the United States, and the familiar letters of John Adams to his wife, edited by George Francis Adams. These compose about all our first-

It is believed that in the present volume we have compared the whole body of information contained in the portfolio above listed, and that we have codified it into chronological and historical order. To them all, therefore, we now give such honor and credit as may be due them, and which in the body of the work we may have incidentally omitted.

**

It is also impossible to acknowledge in detail the
numerous courtesies we have had extended to us by Government departments, and officials, in this long investigation of now some fifteen years' duration. It is our hope, however, that the thoroughness of the resultant work, whose exposition is begun in this volume, and which we chiefly owe to their assistance, will in some small degree compensate for the impor-
tunity with which we may have appeared to urge their return to some of the topics until satisfactorily cleared up. In our animadversions upon certain irregularities we of course have had no personal ani-
mus, and certainly do not intend to invidiate against individuals; it is rather against untoward customs, (which in this land of independence have been bred perhaps unwittingly, or for lack of precedents to the contrary, have been perpetuated by inheritance) that we have written. But the Seal is defined by law, and its history is a matter of fact; hence, if the facts show that the law has not been complied with, the Historian must point out the failure and discuss, as well as place the burden of the blame. It is to recover the features, and to establish the honor of this wonderful instrument, that is of our seal, for the present and future generations that we have mainly aimed in all our adverse criticism, and the only way to defeat such criticism is to correct the abuses it points out; for it is certain that the volume of criti-
cism will increase pari passu with the perpetuation of its cause.

**

In the design on page 286, we do not begin to
exhaust the Astronomical (astrologic) significance of the constellations that appear as related Decans to the dominant ones set forth. For instance the duly accredited Decan of Sagittarius is Lyra as shown, i.e., the eagle holding the shield-shaped harp upon its breast, the which was actually put upon our National Passports by Mr. John Quincy Adams because, as he had it from his father, it was regarded as the American constellation. Ara, the altar, and Draco are its other Decans; Ara, out of whose consuming fire Phoenix rises with renewed vigor, and Draco that battles in vain against the woman Israel, who flees into these Western wilds. To the dexter of Lyra is Hercules who holds the Olive-Branch, and to its sinister is Sagitta the arrow, while on its head is Vega, with the motto "Nunc Sidera Ducet," a variant of "E Pluribus Unum," and, far above, the Pole-star as a Crest to all the rest. Thus in literal fact we have the Eagle, the 13-stringed Shield (Lyra) upon its breast, the Olive-branch in dexter, and the Arrow in sinister, the Motto, and the Crest, upon the crown of the sky itself. The fact is, not an element is missing nor one out of place. Such are the stars that in their courses fight the battles of Manasseh (challenge him who dares) and they will all be found discussed in Dr. Seiss' "Gospel in the Stars."

***

These things are older than the Book of Job, which is itself the oldest book (as an entirety) there is in the world. It makes specific reference to the cardinal constellations, and a direct citing of the Zodiac (Maz-
yaroth, which according to the margin of the English Bible, the Targum, and our best scholars, is the ecliptic belt). "On the basis of Astronomy's own records, apart from all other testimony we are thus inevitably carried back to a period within the lifetime of Adam and his sons for the original of the Zodiac, and, with it, of the whole system of our Astronomy" (Seiss). But if so, then, too, for the Astrologic prophecy of Manasseh's "New Constellation," set in fact, with all of its surrounding elements upon the vault of the Firmament when God set the boundaries of the nations, and long before he divided the Earth for their habitation in the days of Peleg. Such facts as these laugh the Higher Criticism to scorn, and all other "facts" hold it in supreme derision. The Heavens above, the earth beneath, the waters under it; the Pyramid symbolizing it, man as its microcosm, and the universe as the macrocosm, all in fact, that is in measure, number and weight hath Folly in supreme contempt—it is a belly that will not be satisfied even with its own proportion: until its filling with the East Wind has been sufficient to explode it with its own medicine.

**

We have written in this volume the History, and discussed the Heraldry of an Instrument in whose development we ourselves have been active agents; to the degree, therefore, in which this agency is set forth our evidence is of course first-class; in other respects we have merely searched the records to get at the facts, and to set them in due order. The
topic is a National one; yea, even more than this, it is a Racial one; and, is thus related to Universal History itself. Hence its discussion falls naturally to a place in our own specific Series of Studies which are inquisitive of the relation of Prophecy itself to History in general, and in particular to that of Our Race. Fortunately, it is a topic that should be of no little popular interest, and perhaps, therefore, it may be the means of inducing a wider class of readers to investigate the collateral topics that have received similar exhaustive treatment in the previous Studies. We are not conscious of having treated any of the branches of our theme in any other spirit than is evinced in these pages, so that if the general reader is satisfied with the method and its fruits, he will be open to our earnest invitation to investigate our previous Studies for himself and not be dissuaded therefrom by the adverse criticism we have strangely received at the hands of a Press and Pulpit that as a rule has condemned us "sight unseen."

**

As announced in a recent News Leaflet, this Study, like the Phoenix, has been through the fire. It occurred at our electroplaters on Artizan Street, New Haven, upon the night of February 20th. Our mutual loss was considerable, both in time and outlay, as many of the plates have had to be recast, and not a few of the pages recomposed from beginning to end. But the matter of loss is not so interesting as a statement of what we saved. The electroplater on the second floor of a fully occupied manufactory was sand-
wiched in between two stories, both of which were almost completely wrecked, whereas the fire was very considerate in so far as we were concerned, so that both for ourselves and Mr W. T. Barnum & Co., who had the work in hand, we are particularly grateful, as well as for the sympathy that has been extended to all concerned. Upon taking an inventory of stock recovered intact from the disaster, we found that the pages recovered were 1-24, 36-59, 61-79, 81-96, 129-170, 172-188, 190, or that exactly 153 plates had been saved! The coincidence is a remarkable one considering the prominence of this number in chronology, arithmography and metrology, and the particular persistence with which it has pursued our own efforts in behalf of truth, so that we take courage from both small and great things, and go on. Resurgam is the veritable motto of the Truth in all of its phases, and it never fails to catch an unbroken netful. On all topics, therefore, may the Truth close a volume, both for rest and for recuperation, with the confidence that it is

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