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Features

Natural Women 20
America’s first women naturalists defied tradition to make their mark in the fields of botany and wildlife exploration.

BY GIN PHILLIPS

Pillars of Revolution 26
The last liberty tree, once a safe haven to colonists plotting revolt, is finding new life as emblems of patriotism.

BY DON DAUGHENBAUGH

Guerrilla Publishing 31
Pamphlets played a revolutionary role in the forging of America’s independence.

BY STACEY EVERS

The Romance of the Vine 36
California’s real gold turned out to be the grape.

SHARON MCDONNELL

Getting the Story 42
A Q&A with Willard Sterne Randall, award-winning historian, reveals the truth behind America’s most notorious traitor.

BY EMILY McMACKIN

The First American Revolution 47
Long before the events of 1776, England sowed the seeds of its American colonists’ rebellion.

BY JUDITH JACOBSON

ABOUT THE COVER:
THE HISTORY OF WINE, HEARD THROUGH THE CALIFORNIA GRAPEVINE
©STEVE DECANIO/GETTY IMAGES
On a Mission 7
Jann Zermeno shares the American dream with immigrant families through the nonprofit agency Operation Hope.

BY LENA BASHA

Globe Trotters 8
“Don’t know much geography?” Take a spin with these globes.

FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE DAR MUSEUM

Honoring Washington In an Unlikely Place 9
Some presidential heirlooms are a little off the beaten path.

BY AMY CATES

A Remarkable Case in a Remarkable Time 11
The concept of justice in early America is revealed through the careful examination of a 19th-century crime and trial.

BY GEOFFREY D. WITHERAM

History Speaks 14
A voice recorder and a list of questions are all you need to keep alive the voices of the past.

BY TAMARA HOLMES

The Natural Birdhouse 16
Transform dried gourds into creative and colorful birdhouses.
The written word has amazing power to influence and to motivate people, and seldom has that power been more evident than in the pamphlets of the Revolutionary period. Despite being cheaply produced and anonymously written, these inspirational writings rallied the revolutionaries and became the bedrock of our nation’s democratic character. Even in their 21st-century incarnation, using the Internet, pamphlets still bring about political change.

As the independence movement in the Colonies grew, rebels often sought refuge in native, unspoiled forests under tall trees where they could plot against the British and escape the hangman’s noose or the firing squad. Redcoats destroyed many of these “liberty trees,” but one withstood the test of time. Our story reveals how Maryland’s liberty tree survived centuries of natural and human interference and reclaimed its former glory in the hands of a master carpenter.

Several features in this issue celebrate nature—the endless ways in which our everyday lives are influenced by its beauty and mystery. As our feature illustrates, women naturalists in the early days of our country were driven to explore and examine nature’s mysteries just as much as their male counterparts were. As scientific study was beginning to emerge in the New World, these remarkable women were part of natural exploration from the very start.

Although the discovery of gold in California in 1848 lured fortune hunters, the real gold turned out to be the grape. The state’s growth into a wine industry giant is rooted in the entrepreneurial ability of 18th- and 19th-century immigrants, including a Hungarian nobleman known as the “Father of California Wine,” a Spanish missionary and even a Japanese samurai warrior. These immigrants came to California to cultivate and develop what are now world-famous wines.

On the 225th anniversary of Benedict Arnold’s betrayal, American Spirit explores the real motives behind the former Patriot’s disloyal acts. A conversation with Pulitzer Prize-nominated author, Willard Sterne Randall, reveals how this journalist used his investigative skills to uncover the full story behind Arnold’s treason.

Have you ever wished you could recall the funny stories told by your grandmother or remember the tall tales from your grandfather’s past? Our preservation department shows how easy it is to keep alive the memories of special family members. Imagine how wonderful it would be to hear the laughter and voices of loved ones long after they’re gone.

I hope you will enjoy this issue of American Spirit. Remember that September is the time when we celebrate the true spirit of America as we observe Constitution Week. During the week of September 17–23, please do all you can to encourage everyone to increase their understanding of and appreciation for this incredible document.

Presley Merritt Wagoner
TRACING 444 MILES in 25 counties across three states is one of the most significant roads in American history. And thanks to relentless efforts by members of the Mississippi State Daughters of the American Revolution, the Natchez Trace Parkway is finally complete.

The DAR has always recognized the historical relevance of the Natchez Trace, which runs from Natchez, Miss., through the Shoals of Alabama to Nashville, Tenn. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the venerable highway was a major trade route for the Cherokee, Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians, and it was traveled by many, including Davy Crockett, Meriwether Lewis and President Andrew Jackson. In 1905, Mrs. Egbert Jones, Mississippi State Regent, launched a grassroots effort to place granite markers in every Mississippi county through which the Old Trace ran. In 1909, the first granite marker was placed on the Mississippi River bluff in Natchez; over the next 25 years, 14 more markers were placed between Natchez and the Mississippi-Alabama border telling the story of the historic pathway.

This was only the beginning of the Mississippi Society’s involvement in commemorating the Old Trace. Their work—spearheaded by Mrs. Jones and Mrs. Ferriday Byrnes, President of the Natchez Trace Association and member of the Natchez Trace Chapter, Booneville, Miss.—led to congressional authorization in 1935 to begin paving the highway.

Work began in 1938 and was finally completed—67 years later—in May. At a dedication ceremony attended by U.S. Sens. Trent Lott and Thad Cochran and U.S. Rep. Charles Pickering, the Mississippi Society unveiled a new marker honoring the tireless efforts of Mrs. Jones, Mrs. Byrnes and their contemporaries to make the completion of the Natchez Trace a reality.

For more information, visit www.nps.gov/natr.
Full Circle

SEPTEMBER 23 MARKS the 199th anniversary of the end of the Lewis and Clark expedition when the Corps of Discovery returned to St. Louis, the same spot from which they departed almost two and a half years before.

To commemorate that homecoming—which many doubted would even happen—and to celebrate the upcoming bicentennial of Lewis and Clark's landmark expedition, St. Louis is playing host to a variety of events this fall to honor the famous westward explorers.

Just across the river at Camp DuBois, in Hartford, Ill., where expedition members prepared for their journey west, experience the expedition members' diverse backgrounds—including French, Spanish and American Indian—during the Lewis and Clark Music Festival (right). Featuring traditional music of the late 18th century and early 19th century, the festival takes place September 17-19.

Watch the Lewis and Clark expedition come to life at the Gateway Arch-Jefferson National Expansion Memorial (top). Playing through next December, “Lewis and Clark: Great Journey West” was produced by National Geographic and follows the Corps of Discovery on its 8,000-mile journey.

For more information on these and other events, visit www.explorestlouis.com.

ON THIS DAY IN HISTORY

(Based on Library of Congress’ “American Memory” http://memory.loc.gov)

September 9, 1739: Twenty black Carolinians wage the Stono Rebellion, the largest slave uprising in America prior to the Revolutionary War.

September 12, 1910: Alice Stebbins Wells becomes the first woman police officer in the United States when she joins the Los Angeles Police Department.

September 15, 1968: The first Hispanic Heritage Week is celebrated to honor Hispanic culture, achievements and heritage. In 1988, President Ronald Reagan extended the celebration to a month.

September 19, 1777: American General Horatio Gates defeats the British at Saratoga, N.Y., with the help of Benedict Arnold, who later became a traitor to the Revolutionary cause. (See related story on page 42.)

September 29, 1988: Stacy Allison becomes the first U.S. woman to reach the summit of Mt. Everest.

October 2, 1780: Charged with espionage, British Major John Andre is hanged in Tappan, N.Y.

October 13, 1792: Builders lay the cornerstone of the White House.

October 28, 1919: Congress passes the Volstead Act, prohibiting the manufacture, sale and transportation of alcohol.

HALLOWEEN

1. What ancient European tribe started the tradition of Halloween?
2. What American city has proclaimed itself the Halloween capital of the world?
3. In what European country do children not attend school on Halloween?
4. What was the most popular Halloween costume in 2004?
5. Approximately 35 million pounds of which favorite Halloween candy are produced each year?

Answers on page 6.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS

Does your community have a hidden historical tale to tell? PARADE magazine wants to hear it. In honor of National Preservation Month and in conjunction with the National Trust for Historic Preservation, PARADE invites you to “Tell America's Story” by sharing the story of an obscure historical or cultural site in your community. From a Main Street building to a city street corner, no site is too insignificant.

Ten national winners will receive an inscribed plaque noting the historical importance of the site, and 50 other winners will receive framed certificates. All winners will receive a one-year membership to the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Submissions must be received by September 30.

For more information, visit www.parade.com/history.
Portland Is for Preservationists

JOIN PRESERVATION ENTHUSIASTS from across the country at the 2005 National Preservation Conference, September 27 through October 2, in Portland, Ore. This year’s theme is “Sustain America: Vision, Economics and Preservation.”

The premier meeting of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, the conference gives attendees numerous opportunities to network, hear ideas for community revitalization projects, study new preservation techniques and learn from the unique preservation history of the host city and the challenges it faces.

Attendees can also take a walking tour of Portland’s historically rich Japantown and New Chinatown areas or hop on a bike and take a leisurely 15-mile tour of scenic southeast Portland, only two of many walking, biking and bus tours offered during the conference.

Registration deadline is September 21. For more information, visit www.nthpconference.org.

New Orleans To Host World War II International Conference

AN IMPRESSIVE ROSTER OF speakers, including Walter Cronkite, Madeleine Albright and Andy Rooney, will gather in New Orleans October 5–9 to participate in the International Conference on World War II sponsored by the National D-Day Museum.

The event, the highlight of a yearlong celebration of the 60th anniversary of the end of World War II, is the largest such gathering ever and one of the last of the World War II generation. The five-day conference will feature lectures, panel discussions, a film festival, a memorial service and a USO dance with Deacon John and his Duke Ellington Orchestra.

Most conference events will be held at the Ernest N. Morial Convention Center or the National D-Day Museum. Some events are free.

For further information and to register, go to www.ww2conference.org or call the museum toll-free at (877) 813—DDAY.

GET SPOOKED

WITH HALLOWEEN ON OUR HEELS, there’s no better way to prepare for the scariest of holidays than by listening to a good ghost story. But why listen when you can experience it firsthand? That’s the motto at Colonial Williamsburg, where you can gear up for Halloween all year long.

Hear the ghost stories and other mysteries of Colonial Williamsburg on the candlelit “Legends, Ghosts, Mysteries and Myths” walking tour. Or if it’s a witch you’re after, you won’t want to miss “Cry Witch,” a re-enactment of a witch trial where you get to vote on the guilt or innocence of the accused.

For more information, visit www.cwf.org.

Answers to the quiz on page 5:
1. The Celts, who believed all the people who died in the previous year assembled to choose the body of the person or animal they would inhabit before proceeding to the afterlife. To ward off these souls, villagers would dress as demons, ghosts and witches. The Celts would also sacrifice one of their own that night to discourage the spirits from human possession.
2. The residents of Anoka, Minn., celebrate Halloween each year with a 150–float parade, a 5K run and a Miss Anoka Pageant, among other activities associated with the fall holiday.
3. Ireland
4. Spiderman (for boys); princess (for girls)
5. Candy corn. According to the National Confectioners Association, 9 billion pieces are produced each year, enough to circle the moon four times when laid end-to-end.
Jann Zermeno, an Illinois native, always saw herself working as a teacher—not running a nonprofit organization in Florida. But now she and her husband, Jesse, pass the American dream onto others by tutoring children of immigrant farmers and helping their families through Operation Hope.

The story begins 10 years ago when Jesse, a Mexican immigrant who owned his own carpet-cleaning business, became aware of the impoverished conditions in which many immigrant farmers and their families lived in central Florida.

“It was a life-changing moment for him that right here in America, people are living in deplorable conditions,” Jann says. “He had always thought of poor people as making poor choices, yet he saw all these children who, through no choice of their own, were living in poverty. And he wanted to do something about it.”

Together, they founded Operation Hope. What started with Jesse collecting old clothes, shoes and furniture from his clients and distributing them to the needy has evolved into a full-fledged charitable organization. With four employees and thousands of volunteers, Operation Hope provides more than 10,000 immigrant families in central Florida with food, clothing, furniture and toys each year. They’ve also helped place almost 300 immigrants and their family members in new jobs.

“I never thought I would be doing something like this,” says the former elementary schoolteacher. “My husband didn’t either. It’s challenging, but very rewarding. You feel like you have a purpose, like you’re making a difference, and that you’re standing up for American ideals. We’re living the American dream and passing it on to others.”

One of Mrs. Zermeno’s real passions is tutoring immigrant children. “I believe education is what will break the cycle of poverty in the migrant community,” she says. “It’s heartbreaking to see these children fail a grade twice, and it’s because they don’t know how to read well enough or don’t know their multiplication tables.”

Operation Hope tutors students of all ages in computer skills, English and math. And one of the greatest gifts Jann and Jesse have received was having that first student come back and thank them for their help.

“It’s very rewarding to have people say, ‘Your help with reading has made the difference,’” she says. “From being a poor immigrant who can’t read to being at the top of the class is exciting for them and us.”

Students aren’t the only ones recognizing the good deeds of Operation Hope. The Zermenos were recently honored in Washington, D.C., with one of the American Institute of Public Service’s highest honors—the Jefferson Award.

“It is wonderful to get a thank you and a pat on the back for the work we do, and it encourages us to do more,” she says.

In fact, the Zermenos are in the process of securing funding to open a school. “These kids are not given the opportunity to succeed,” she says. “We want to give them a chance and be taught ethics, character and citizenship. We want to go beyond the tutoring to have a school where we can make a difference for a whole generation of immigrants.”

When she’s not busy with Operation Hope, Mrs. Zermeno enjoys spending time with her three grown children and getting to know her fellow members of the Abigail Wright Chamberlin Chapter, Melbourne, Fla. Mrs. Zermeno became a member of the DAR in July and looks forward to becoming more involved.

“Being able to spend time with other women who are like-minded—who appreciate God, their heritage and our country—means a lot to me.”

To nominate a Daughter for a future issue, e-mail a description to americanspirit@dar.org.
Globe Trotters

Geography students of the late 19th century made their mark with slate terrestrial globes like the one owned by the DAR Museum. Made in Prague by the J. Felkl & Son Company from 1890-1900, the “slate” of the globe is actually black paint whose surface was easily written upon and erased during and after each geography lesson. This example is unusual because the continents are permanently delineated, whereas most surviving slate globes are plain.

Most slate globes advertised in U.S. catalogs during this period were imported from Europe. J. Felkl & Son was the leading European globe manufacturer during the late 19th century whose products were exported throughout Europe as well as the United States. Purchased by Friends of the Museum, the painted sphere is made of an unidentified material containing steel, brass and wood.

The DAR collection also includes a manuscript globe made by Samuel Clapp of Athol, Mass., about 1825. Mrs. Eleanor Marcy of Pinehurst, N.C., in whose family the globe has descended, donated the unique piece. Its wooden horizon band is divided into months of the year and the signs of the zodiac.

Among the notations written on the manuscript globe:

- **New Holland**—now Australia
- **New Zealand**—A kind of flax-like silk grows on this island
- **Sumatra Java**—The interior inhabitants are cannibals—when a man is Old he invites his Friends to come and eat him
- **St. Helena, South Atlantic**—This isle was the Prison of N. Bonaparte from 1815 till his death 1821
- **Juan Fernandez Island**—Robinson Crusoe or Alexander Selkirk, a Scotch sailor, lived 4 years on this island
- **Marquesas Island**—The inhabitants are said to be the handsomest people in the world
- **Bahama Islands**—First land discovered by Columbus
Clockwise from left: This pine bed with hardwood overlays belonged to George Washington's half brother, Augustin. • Martha Washington's prayer book was printed in 1783. • The Sevres porcelain tea set from the Washington family estate dates back to 1774.

By Amy Cates

iles from Mount Vernon and the battlefields of the Revolutionary War, the award-winning Karl C. Harrison Museum of George Washington in Columbiana, Ala., is an unexpected find.

Filled with rare first family artifacts dating from 1710 through 1865, the collection will mark five years of being in its current home this fall.

This largest collection of Washington artifacts outside of Mount Vernon features paintings, letters, furniture, porcelain, glassware, silver and jewelry that belonged to the first family and their descendants. More than 1,000 pieces passed down through the Custis and Washington families highlight an unusual tale of circumstance and the foresight of a local couple determined to bring this history to Alabama.

ESTABLISHING THE COLLECTION

Karl and Mildred Harrison of Columbiana were community servants. Karl served as a lawyer, politician, state representative and president of First National Bank. Mildred played an active role in literacy, education and the local library.

In 1982, Karl learned of a sixth-generation descendant of Martha Washington, Charlotte Smith Weaver, who lived nearby and wanted to share her family heirlooms with the public. Mount Vernon curators purchased some of the artifacts, but left a large number behind. Mount Vernon had reached the end of its fiscal year, and funding wasn't available, according to Mary
Hedrick, Administrative Assistant with the Harrison Regional Library. “They waited a little too long,” adds Karen Gerchow, Director of the Harrison Museum.

Harrison generated interest among fellow businessmen, contributed some of his own money, and the private collection was born. Among the items Harrison and his associates purchased—and one that Mount Vernon curators wanted showcased in northern Virginia—was Martha Washington’s prayer book printed in 1783. The Anglican prayer book features an inscription by Eliza Parke Custis, George and Martha’s granddaughter.

**FINDING A HOME**

As Harrison purchased and collected the Washington artifacts, he became increasingly aware of the need to put the items in a safe place until a permanent home could be found.

“The problem was, there was no place to put it,” Hedrick says. The pieces were scattered and stored in bank vaults across the county until a library meeting room was transformed into a makeshift museum to house the silver, china, letters, paintings and personal belongings never before shared with the public.

In 1987, Harrison learned of a Paducah, Ky. home where many of the belongings of Augustin Washington, George’s half brother, were stored. Harrison ultimately purchased these and added them to the collection. “Almost everything that could have been authenticated had a home,” Hedrick says. In 1999, the museum received the George Washington Honor Medal from the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge.

**A PERMANENT DISPLAY**

If chance brought the pieces together, the vision of the Harrisons kept them in Columbiana. The museum found its permanent home in 2000 in a special wing of the regional library.

Painted in Prussian blue, the bedroom display features a pine bed with hardwood overlays from Augustin Washington’s estate and a candle stand with a hand-carved inlay made from a Mount Vernon tree circa 1750. Around the corner stands Augustin Washington’s German-made grandfather clock. More than 200 years old, it rings with Westminster chimes encased in a hand-carved body.

After her husband died in 1799, Martha burned some 40 years’ worth of personal letters, an agreement the couple had made years earlier. However, a granddaughter found two letters under a drawer years after Martha died. She carefully traced the letters, and those facsimiles are displayed at the museum. A letter dated June 1775 reveals George’s hesitation in taking command of the Continental Army.

Other notable artifacts include a 207-piece set of Minton porcelain, a pair of Sevres vases, even a swatch of linen clipped from Washington’s coffin as it was being relocated at Mount Vernon. Pieces of silver coin used at Mount Vernon circa 1785 are also exhibited.

Governed by a museum board, the Karl C. Harrison Museum of George Washington employs two part-time workers. To date, the museum does not have a foundation, but is considering forming one.

Today, with more than 1,000 artifacts on hand in its permanent space, the collection is considered complete and relies on support from the state of Alabama, Shelby County and the Harrison family.

“It was never meant to be a private collection,” Hedrick says. “The legacy that the Harrisons have left to the county and the state is a treasure.”

**VISITING THE MUSEUM**

The Karl C. Harrison Museum of George Washington welcomes visitors from 10 a.m. until 3 p.m., Monday through Friday. Groups are encouraged to call ahead for reservations. No admission fee is charged.

The museum is located at 50 Lester St., Columbiana, Ala. 35051. For more information, call (205) 669-8767, or visit www.washingtonmuseum.com.
A Remarkable Case
In a Remarkable Time

By Geoffrey D. Witham

In their analysis of Ephraim Wheeler’s crime, the Browns devote individual chapters to each step of his trial and each Wheeler family member involved. The first chapter successfully sets the scene of life in Lenox, Mass., and readers learn about the region’s economic struggles and its Christian values. As the chapter concludes, we discover that in the months before Wheeler’s trial, there had been numerous sensational newspaper reports of family violence and “Shocking Murder!” Early 19th-century readers wanted stories that were instructive, extolling the benefits of a temperate life and warning against the perils of sin. In the authors’ view, early American citizens worried about their new nation upholding natural and Biblical principles, as well as the Constitution. The drama of the Wheeler case—with a wife calling the authorities and a teenage daughter testifying in court against her father—helped sell many newspapers because it violated readers’ legal, cultural and religious sensibilities.

The Browns’ choice to place the chapter on Wheeler’s trial before the chapter about Wheeler himself may at first seem odd, but it illustrates that he was not tried by an anonymous, impartial court, but by a group of mortals charged with a grave duty to their new country: In this early national era, the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court toured the state to hear cases, a practice designed not only to protect citizens, but also to assure them that their new system was worth the suffering they had endured during the Revolution. Wheeler’s case was but one example of the broader implications of local legal practices.

A Troubled Family

The pathetic position of Ephraim Wheeler is difficult to overstate, but the Browns deftly balance pity and revulsion toward their subject. Living among the poorest residents in the county, Wheeler was orphaned in 1770 at 8 years old and was indentured to a brutally abusive shoemaker. Ephraim was briefly a sailor and even a soldier in the defense of Rhode Island, but kept returning to and failing at farming. His 1791 marriage to Hannah did nothing to stabilize his life; he never lived in one place for more than a year because he couldn’t keep a job. By his own admission, he spent his “time and property ... in idleness, hard drinking and quarreling, neglecting industry, and the means of obtaining an honest livelihood for myself and my family.” Even during his trial, it seems that the best his defense attorney could claim for Ephraim was that “the prisoner appears to be a person of at least ordinary discernment.”

One of the great achievements of The Hanging of Ephraim Wheeler is its persuasive insight into the Wheelers’ emotions and motivations. Where there was insufficient proof but significant evidence, the Browns carefully reconstruct what may have been Ephraim’s thoughts, helping to explain his submission to authority, his religious beliefs and his interpretation of his crime. Fewer records exist about Hannah, but the authors make several convincing assumptions about her strained
familial relationships, her reaction when Betsy approached her about Ephraim’s attack, and even why Hannah originally consented to Ephraim’s marriage proposal.

The Browns’ success in bringing Ephraim and Hannah to life makes their more conservative approach with Betsy disappointing. Of course, as with most poor girls of this era, little information survived; the Browns had only Betsy’s testimony to guide them. Yet, where they use slim facts about the parents to make assumptions about their inner lives, the Browns seem reluctant to take the same liberties with Betsy. They touch upon what may have been her budding religious sensibilities, the likelihood of post-traumatic stress disorder and the possible symptoms of her head injury, but otherwise do not delve deeply into Betsy’s psyche. Because they are so careful to divide fact and assumption throughout the book, it seems like the Browns would have given themselves freer reign to probe Betsy’s emotions, especially if they had relied upon current psychological theories and practices. Certainly, their account of her experiences is compelling, but it is not as emotionally rich as the chapters about her parents.

Balancing Order and Mercy

The Browns so successfully portray the concerns of the new United States that the young nation seems to be an emotional character itself. Our forefathers were constantly trying to balance tradition and progress, authority and liberty, and order and mercy. Lawmakers, attorneys and judges had to cultivate public confidence in the rule of law; and one step in this direction had been to scale back the use of the death penalty, which had become brutal and haphazardly applied in Europe and the American Colonies.

In the decade before Wheeler’s trial, Massachusetts had pardoned men who had been sentenced to hang for burglary, bestiality and rape; in 1787, Governor John Hancock had even pardoned several men convicted of treason in Shays’ Rebellion. No one had been executed for rape in Massachusetts in more than 27 years. If he were a different man or his victim a different girl, Wheeler could have been reasonably confident that his life, too, would be spared. However, Wheeler’s crime violated not only state law, but also what was supposed to be “God’s covenant with fathers...[which] directed that they both command obedience and supply protection, nurture and instruction.” As the authors note, “Wheeler’s crime was not only an assault on Betsy, it was also an attack on patriarchy—a perversion of the ruling ideal of fathers as masters of their families.”

A Chilling Final Scene

There would be no pardon for Ephraim Wheeler. On a rainy day in February of 1806, 5,000 people—more than four times the population of Lenox—gathered to watch the solemn ceremony of his hanging. He was executed by Sheriff Simon Larned, a Revolutionary militia colonel, Berkshire County’s former representative in Congress and a recent signer of the petition to spare Wheeler’s life.

The Browns treat this chapter with special grace and depth, painting a chilling scene that will haunt readers long after they have finished the book. The Hanging of Ephraim Wheeler is a deft account of a remarkable case in a remarkable time. It will prove fascinating to any reader interested in justice and family life in the early national era.

A World That We Have Lost:
A CONVERSATION WITH THE AUTHORS OF THE HANGING OF EPHRAIM WHEELER

American Spirit talks with historians Richard Brown and Irene Quenzler Brown about how they used the specific case of Ephraim Wheeler to bring greater understanding to the larger issues of violence, justice and mercy in early America. —G.D.W.

What inspired you to write about the case of Ephraim Wheeler?

RICHTARD: This particular case dealt with profound issues that all societies must face: the controversy over capital punishment, the question of child abuse and sexual abuse, the nature of marriage, the proper role of the father. By examining this case, we were able to understand better than before how people in the early national era confronted these kinds of profound questions.

IRENE: It is also an amazing story for Betsy Wheeler—in her circumstances—to speak at the trial in such a manner that her word was taken over that of her father’s. That’s a plot almost out of a Greek play. We thought it was astonishing that this family that lived in the backwoods, about whom we know very little, briefly appears in the public record—in such a dramatic way—and then quickly fades away again.

Why did you choose to focus on the Wheeler case individually rather than the larger subjects of family violence and sexual crimes?

RICHTARD: You can know a little bit about a lot, or you can know a lot about a little bit. To understand one set of transactions in three dimensions as wholly as we could was more desirable than seeking to assemble a lot of fragmentary data about many cases. I think it’s difficult to understand fragmentary data absent its context. One of the reasons why quite a few historians have moved in the direction of microhistory is that it enables you to develop a context for understanding specific events and individuals.

There are moments in the book when you speculate about how a person thought or felt at a certain point. In approaching your subjects, where
we are looking in upon a world that we have lost. Was getting out of hand, that there was too much change and there were other cases in which the charges were reduced to lascivious conduct or the prisoner was outright pardoned. Why did the case of Ephraim Wheeler warrant the death penalty?

RICHARD: What made it impossible to pardon Ephraim Wheeler was that he had raped his daughter. Though the law made no distinction as to the relationship between the assailant and the assaulted, no one could ignore the fact that he had so egregiously violated, not an unknown woman, but his daughter.

IRENE: It defied all of the notions of order that they wanted to create as a society.

RICHARD: The Revolution represents a high point in idealism and reformism, but in the first part of the 19th century, there was a reaction against that, particularly in the second Great Awakening and Old Testament literalism. Many believed that the society was getting out of hand, that there was too much change and that the ways of our fathers were being lost. This resort to capital punishment is a part of that.

What can a historical high-profile rape case like Ephraim Wheeler's tell us about contemporary high-profile rape cases?

RICHARD: In all rape cases, the case dies if the alleged victim decides she is not willing to testify. In cases involving wealthy defendants, I'd be willing to bet that if the accuser had an opportunity to accept a cash settlement, and she knew that her case was without merit, she would accept that settlement. For an accuser to pursue a case indicates that at least she believes that she has a strong case.

IRENE: There's also a long-standing controversy about how rape is especially difficult to try because it pits the victim's word against the perpetrator's. In the Wheeler case, there was actually a legal error made by the justice of the peace in that he failed to make a physical examination of the victim. In instructing the jury, the judge even noted this error. Despite this gap in the evidentiary record, Wheeler was still convicted, so there must have been something very compelling about Betsy's testimony.

RICHARD: Ephraim did not believe that he was guilty. He went to the gallows proclaiming his innocence, but the difference between consent and submission is not always obvious to the perpetrator. If a woman submits, a man may think that she has consented, but consent is in the mind of the woman. As a result of this issue, there were a number of tests devised: the woman had to cry out, she had to demonstrate that she made an effort to escape, she had to report the rape promptly. Jurists were aware in Wheeler's time that a woman could falsely accuse a man and ruin his life, and that's still a standard part of the rape defense. In other words, there's little that's new under the sun.
When Clea Simon's father was ill with cancer 12 years ago, she was struck by the enormity of the major loss of family history that loomed.
Armed with an audiocassette recorder and the hope that she could distract her father from his illness with thoughts of a happier past, Simon asked her dad to recount stories about his childhood and long-gone relatives.

What she came away with was “a connection to a world that I don’t have anymore,” she says, as well as an understanding of just how powerful an oral history can be when it comes to capturing poignant moments in a family’s legacy.

LISTENING BETWEEN THE LINES

Oral histories place a magnifying glass on intricacies of life that written words tend to miss.

“When you’re listening to someone telling a story, the tone of the voice, the accent and the manner of speaking all add qualities that cannot be conveyed in written words alone,” says Jennifer Abraham, Director of the T. Harry Williams Center for Oral History at Louisiana State University. The center’s mission is to collect historical information about Louisiana history through tape-recorded interviews as a way to ensure that memories stay intact.

Families can create the same type of historical library by recording the memories of various family members, so those who come behind will not only learn their ancestral history, but also hear the cadence or nervous chuckle of an ancestor no longer living.

The ability to hear her father’s voice months and years after his death is one of the greatest gifts the recordings have given her, Simon says.

“Even though he does sound really tired and really sick, I have my father’s voice, and he died now 12 years ago,” she says. The tape also allowed her to share a piece of her father with her husband, whom she met after her father died.

“He never met my father, yet he got to hear all his stories.”

GATHERING THE TOOLS

The process of collecting oral histories is not difficult. A recording device and some open-ended questions to ask family members will get you started. Researchers suggest that families take some time to research topics and come up with every question they might want interviewees to answer.

For example, if family members lived through a historic event, ask them details about it. Pose questions so they can’t be answered with “yes,” “no” or other short responses. For example, you might ask questions such as: Where were you when Pearl Harbor was bombed, or when President Kennedy was shot? How and when did you decide on your career? Who was your best friend when you were a kid? What is the most exciting vacation you’ve ever been on?

One of the biggest concerns is how to preserve oral histories. While digital recorders often have a better sound quality than old-fashioned audiocassette recorders, Abraham suggests that families store the histories on both forms of media.

“Digital is great for sound quality, and you can easily transfer it to your computer for presentations,” Abraham says. “But we always transfer it to analog, too: We know there will be tape players around for a while, and we know that tapes last anywhere from 15 to even up to 30 years.”

Recorders come in all sizes, and many are even voice-activated so they turn on only when the subject speaks, eliminating extended silences and dead space on tapes. Some come with microphones; others rely on speakers embedded in the recorder to pick up sounds.

Depending on the number of features the device has, recorders can range in price from less than $20 to a couple hundred dollars. Audiocassette recorders tend to cost less than their digital counterparts, which can be good news for genealogists because they’re viewed as a more secure medium for storing recordings through time. Always make more than one copy of any tape.

SAVING A COMMUNITY’S HISTORY

Many libraries and community groups collect family histories and store copies in their archives, which are usually temperature-controlled to enhance preservation. Storing an oral history in such a way also helps a family make sure that its stories are saved and passed down.

Many of those who have recorded their own family’s oral histories recommend that people don’t wait for family members to become too old or sick to start recounting their pasts. In retrospect, Simon has thought of many questions she would have liked to ask her father on tape.

“The only regret I have is that I didn’t start sooner and ask him for more stories,” she says. “I think it was a great thing to have done because it preserved some family history that would now be lost, and it also preserved his voice.”

American Spirit - September/October 2005
Thought by experts to be one of the only plants cultivated in countries all across the world, gourds have proven useful for thousands of years—as food, containers, even musical instruments. In America, transforming dried bottle gourds into creative and colorful birdhouses has been a tradition since early Native Americans inhabited the South. Groupings of gourd birdhouses are still used today to house purple martins who help keep away mosquitoes. So whether it’s for utility or just for show, grab a gourd—and your tools—and craft a beautiful birdhouse that’s uniquely your own.
PICKING. Gourds grow during the summertime and take 100 to 180 days to harvest. When the gourd is very firm to the touch and the stem is brown, it's ready to be cut from the vine. Make sure to leave an inch or more of the stem.

PREPARING. Next, properly dry out the gourd and let it cure, which may take weeks or months depending on the size, thickness and shape. Store gourds in a well-ventilated area or leave outside to dry. Turn them periodically to dry evenly. The gourd shell will become tan or brown and will feel light when held. The gourd is ready for crafting when the seeds inside rattle when shaken.

CRAFTING. 1. Assemble the following tools: a scrubber, small hole or cross saw, drill, scraper, sandpaper, leather dye or acrylic paint, polyurethane varnish and a wood-burning tool or stencils. You’ll also need string or wire to hang the gourd. 2. To clean off the mold that’s formed on your dried gourd, submerge it in soapy water and scrape off the top layer of skin with a scrubber or steel wool. 3. Decide on the size of the hole you want to cut, which will determine what birds will be attracted to the birdhouse. Typical hole sizes range from 1 inch (for wrens) to 2 inches (for purple martins). The hole should be at least 5 inches from the bottom of the gourd. Also, drill two or more drainage holes in the bottom of the gourd, as well as two more holes at the top so you can hang it. 4. Once you cut the hole, shake out all the seeds and clean out the gourd with a scraper. 5. Next, smooth the opening with sandpaper. 6. Now you’re ready to decorate. Draw a pattern with a pencil or use stencils. Use a wood-burning tool to give dimension to your design. 7. Finally, you’re ready to paint your gourd. Use leather dyes or acrylic paint, and to leave a lasting impression, finish off with a polyurethane coat for protection.

Naturalists

By Gin Phillips

A FEW TALENTED AND CURIOUS WOMEN IN EARLY AMERICA DEVOTED THEIR LIVES TO EXPLORING AND PRESERVING A WIDE VARIETY OF PLANT AND ANIMAL LIFE. THOUGH THEIR NAMES ARE LARGELY UNKNOWN, THESE NATURALISTS’ CONTRIBUTIONS TO BOTANY AND WILDLIFE EXPLORATION INCLUDE WORKS OF PERMANENCE AND BEAUTY THAT ENHANCED THE SCIENCE.

Watercolors from Maria Martin’s sketchbook, now in the Charleston Museum. Martin’s paintings and watercolor drawings of birds, flowers and insects would later appear in Audubon’s Birds of America.
AS EVERYONE BELIEVED IN EARLY AMERICA, WOMEN DIDN’T HAVE THE INTELLIGENCE FOR SCIENCE. BUT FLOWERS AND PLANTS SEEMED SO DELICATE, SO HARMLESS, MUCH LIKE THE FAIRER SEX. AND WEALTHY WOMEN WERE FINDING THEMSELVES WITH AN ABUNDANCE OF FREE TIME, THANKS TO THEIR COOKS, MAIDS AND GROUNDSKEEPERS.

That’s why, from the time botany took root in the American colonies, the science was seen as an appropriate feminine diversion. It was “the most genteel and delicate of the sciences,” according to author Elizabeth Keeney.

Not that studying science meant women were accepted as scientists. To describe the public’s view of women in science, historian Joan Hoff Wilson borrows Samuel Johnson’s remark that “a woman’s preaching is like a dog’s walking on his hinder legs. It is not done well, but you are surprised to find it done at all.”

Despite their environment, a handful of women did devote their lives to much more than looking at pretty flowers. They explored, studied, catalogued and fought to preserve a wide variety of plant and animal life. These women naturalists were curiosities to most, usually seen as rather charming, yet not-to-be-taken-seriously aberrations.

History has judged them a bit differently.

**JANE COLDEN, COLONIAL BOTANIST**

Jane Colden entered botany on the cusp of a new age in the field. Botany underwent a revival in the first half of the 1700s, spurred by the new classification system of Carl Linnaeus.

Colden’s father, a published botanist himself and a Lieutenant Governor of New York, not only owned the first copy of Linnaeus’ *Genera Plantarum* in America, but he corresponded personally with Carl Linnaeus. Jane grew up surrounded by plants; in 1728, when she was 4 years old, her father, Cadwallader Colden, moved the family to rural Newburgh, N.Y., where he could more easily pursue his research. She was inclined toward a scientific approach from the beginning. Among the eight Colden children, Jane was in charge of the storage and uses of herbal remedies, notes Thomas Hallock in *From the Fallen Tree* (University of North Carolina Press, 2003). When one visitor complimented her homemade cheese as the best he’d had in America, it was no lucky accident. She’d perfected the cheese during experiments she conducted throughout 1756 that she’d recorded in her “cheese book.”

By the time Jane was in her 20s, her father was instructing her in botany. Since she didn’t know Latin, he translated the Linnaean system into English. Cadwallader introduced Jane to the science because he “thought that botany is an amusement, which may be made agreeable to the ladies, who are often at a loss to fill up their time. Their natural curiosity, and the pleasure they take in the beauty and variety of dress, seems to fit them for it.”

Regardless of all womankind, Colden herself was well fitted to the work. By 1757 she’d sketched and described 300 plants in her catalog. Her published 341-page *Botanic Manuscript* reveals “an excellent observer of nature,” writes Vera Norwood in *Made from This Earth: American Women and Nature* (University of North Carolina Press, 1993), though she was “a more skilled writer than artist.” Throughout the work, it is her more informal...
observations that stand out: She mentions that certain grass petals are “shaped like a Cat's Ear” and that “country people” brew a certain leaf to treat “sickness of the Stomak.”

The 18th-century English naturalist Peter Collinson said Colden, who discovered and named the gardenia, was “perhaps the only lady that makes profession of the Linnaean system.” Her father happily introduced her to scholars in America and Europe, and she exchanged seeds and specimens with leading botanists. Linnaeus himself reportedly praised her.

Encouraged by educators to study botany, by the turn of the century, women were being taught the intricacies of illustration. Botany was a standard component of the curriculum during the spread of women’s seminaries in the 1820s and 1830s. Yet few women seriously studied science until several decades after Colden’s death. Instead, the interest in illustration led to floral artists, a profession that bridged the gap to a new generation of women scientists in the mid-1800s.

**MARIA MARTIN, WILDLIFE ARTIST**

In 1831, Maria Martin met ornithologist John James Audubon. At the time, she had no idea that she could paint. But Audubon asked her to sketch a bird for him, and he was struck by her talent. He soon hired her to provide the watercolor backgrounds for the birds he painted for *Birds of America*. In 1833, Audubon lauded her work, writing that “the insects she has drawn are, perhaps, the best I’ve seen.”

Martin had been living in Charleston, S.C., with her married older sister, Harriet, and her family since 1827. Her brother-in-law, John Bachman, had befriended Audubon, and the two began a collaboration that lasted until Audubon’s death. The ornithologist-artists Audubon and Alexander Wilson set the American standard for zoological studies.

In the summer after Audubon departed, Maria followed his suggestion and began drawing flowers. Her brother-in-law wrote Audubon, “Maria has figured for you the white hibiscus and also a red one, both natives and beautiful; a suanymus in seed ...”

Martin improved her skill as the years went by. Her illustrations of birds, flowers and insects appeared in the second and fourth volumes of the Elephant Folio of *Audubon’s Birds of America*. She helped Bachman with his work for Audubon’s *Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America*, and she contributed drawings to John Edwards Holbrook’s *North American Herpetology*.

Fifteen years after Martin’s introduction to Audubon, Bachman’s wife (Maria’s sister) died. John Bachman married Maria in 1848. She continued to help her new husband with illustrations and encouraged him when he grew frustrated with the second volume of *Quadrupeds*. Author Lester Stephens recounts Bachman explaining their work process to a friend in 1849, saying Maria “corrects, criticizes, abuses and praises us by turns.” But, her husband said, “she does wonders.”

Sketches and observations from a reprint of Jane Colden’s *Botanic Manuscript*, the original of which is held by the British Library. Colden’s book describes 400 species of plants located near her home in New York’s Hudson River Valley.
MARTHA MAXWELL, FIELD NATURALIST

For a naturalist on the American frontier, the gun was mightier than the paintbrush.

Small and feminine, Martha Maxwell rarely looked like a woman whom audiences across the country referred to as the "goddess of the hunt." But at Philadelphia's Centennial Exposition in 1876, her decades-long experience with hunting and taxidermy captivated a nation. The crowds couldn't get enough of her. "On and on they came, until even the policemen stationed at the entrance and exit of the building were hard-pressed to maintain control, so intent were the fairgoers on seeing for themselves the modern Diana," writes Maxine Benson in Martha Maxwell: Rocky Mountain Naturalist (University of Nebraska Press, 1986).

Although she was the first woman field naturalist in the country, the style and complexity of Maxwell's exhibits distinguished them as much as their creator. She caught and stuffed all her own animals, then set them in dioramas that mimicked their natural environment. It was a novel notion; until the 1880s, scientific exhibits in museums were still the neat rows of specimens against white backgrounds.

Maxwell had taken a whole wall in the Kansas-Colorado building, constructing a mountain landscape full of trees and boulders, complete with a running stream and small lake. From turtles sunning themselves to beavers and water birds, the aquatic scene teemed with wildlife, as did a cave area with sheep, bears and lions and a plain with buffalo, elk and antelope. Her placard placed in front read "Woman's Work."

A professor in Wisconsin had taught Maxwell the basics of mounting birds and mammals in 1861, after she'd already tried a less conventional method of learning. She'd found a German claim jumper in her Colorado cabin one day who had several mounted birds. He agreed to teach her when she asked, but when she returned the next day to begin lessons, he'd changed his mind. Thinking women had smaller hands and might work quicker, he didn't want to create any competition for himself. When a judge ordered the claim jumper to leave, he refused. So Maxwell waited for him to go out, collected all of his things and dumped them outside of the cabin. She kept his birds to study.

The press loved Maxwell. In her biography, Benson recounts a story one woman told to a local paper. The woman lifted her small child onto an animal in Maxwell's exhibit, telling "Georgie Porgie" to ride the "bearie wearie." Maxwell "turned round like a house afire and cried, 'Good gracious, Madam! Don't teach your child such erroneous notions of natural history; that is a panther.'"

Maxwell emphasized knowledge of anatomy in her taxidermy. Much like sculpture, she created an iron framework of an animal, which she covered with material to represent flesh, and sewed the animal skin over the metal skeleton. An avid preservationist, Maxwell emphasized that she killed to "give their forms a perpetual memory."

She pre-dated taxidermic principles similar to those of William Hornaday, noted taxidermist at New York Zoological Society and pioneer in wildlife conservation at the turn of the 20th century. "What is noteworthy about Martha's work is not that a woman was mounting a variety of animals, large and small, but that anyone was employing such relatively sophisticated techniques in an isolated settlement," Benson writes.

SISTERHOOD OF SCIENTISTS

Colden, Martin and Maxwell weren't alone, but the sisterhood of women in science remained extraordinarily exclusive—and largely ignored—until the late 1800s. Martha Laurens Ramsay (1759–1811) successfully experimented with growing and preserving olives in South Carolina. Martha Daniell Logan (1702–1779) wrote The Garden's Kalendar, which became the standard...
gardening text for upper South Carolina for the two decades after her death. Eliza Lucas Pinckney perfected the cultivation of indigo and experimented with crop rotation. In 1742, when she was 19, she wrote that she loved the vegetable world, and that it kept her from falling into a "lethargy of stupidity," according to historian Joan Hoff Wilson.

**THE BARRIERS**

These early naturalists didn't so much carve a niche for themselves as they did hammer it out in a granite-hard social structure that had no room for them and their interests. It was a world not ready to see women scientists—no matter what their intellect and drive.

Even the women's closest colleagues and mentors often tinted support with superiority. Jane Colden's father, for instance, didn't merely translate Latin to English to boost her studies; he didn't think women were capable of learning it.

"The chief reason that few or none of them have hitherto applied themselves to this study," he explained in 1775, "is because all the books of any value are wrote in Latin and so filled with technical words that obtaining the necessary previous knowledge is so tiresome and disagreeable that they are discouraged at the first setting out."

His fondness for encouraging women to study botany came in part from his belief that they were prone to idleness if given too much free time. He hoped other young women would learn from Jane's example how such studies could "fill up some part of their time, which otherwise might be heavy on their hand."

Of course, education was hard to come by. As a lack of training in Latin inhibited Colden's scientific endeavors, "the lack of formal education was a basic inhibiting factor for all women in the sciences and other professions," Wilson says.

**THE BALANCING ACT**

This was not a world that could handle much complexity in a woman. A proper, home-centered woman seemed to be at odds with a professional, successful one. The tug-of-war between scientific curiosity and social protocol forced women naturalists into a state of constant justification. Maxwell, who became a national celebrity in her lifetime, struggled to maintain an image as a feminine, cultured woman, not an animal-skin-clad wild woman living in a cave. To counter this image—and to make money, always a worry for Maxwell—she helped her half sister write a biography of her, *On the Plains and Among the Peaks; or, How Mrs. Maxwell Made Her Natural History Collection*. The book suggested "that a Euro-American woman engaged in trophy hunting could still maintain the proper domestic role as long as she kept her educational goal firmly in sight," Vera Norwood writes.

"Most of them (and their male colleagues) also justified their scientific activities as a sure means to overcome the peculiarly female vice of idleness, rather than in the name of science and progress," Wilson writes.

While society felt women were prone to idleness, it certainly didn't think their idleness should turn into a lust for adventure.

In Elizabeth Keeney's *The Botanizers* (University of North Carolina Press, 1992), she writes that, though "we do not actually know much about how Colden went about botanizing, the indications are that she did so in a way that became the pattern for later American women—a pattern of activities very different from that of men."

Records mention nearby gardens, her family's estate and specimens from correspondents, but make no mention of field explorations, unlike male colleagues who spent much time collecting specimens in the wild.

Clearly, Maxwell broke out of the mold, but part of her flexibility could have been geographical.

"Women have always done better in fluid situations, where things are forming or falling apart," says Dr. Miriam Levin, Associate Professor of History at Case Western Reserve University and author of *Defining Women's Scientific Enterprise: Mount Holyoke Faculty and the Rise of American Science* (University Press of New England, 2005). "For new agendas, men need participants, and they'll open it up to everyone, including women. Maybe in Colorado at that time, you could be more unconventional."

In trying to maintain the proper image of wife and mother, the women sometimes ran headlong into the problem of having too few hours in the day.

After leaving college because of a lack of money, Maxwell agreed to marry a man 20 years her senior, which also involved raising his six children. Her passionate interest in natural history, social reform and feminism was buried under domestic duties until she was in her early 30s. Her work led to prolonged separations from her husband, even years at a time, and a rift with her only daughter that never thoroughly healed. Apparently, many of these naturalists could only pursue science when single or after their children grew up: Colden stopped her botanical work altogether after marrying in 1759 at age 35. Martin never had children and didn't marry until her 50s.

**LUCKY BREAKS, SUPPORTIVE FRIENDS**

It was an unlikely combination of elements that allowed women to thrive in natural science in the 18th and 19th centuries.

"These women were obviously fairly well-to-do," Levin says, "so economically they were supported, and they were in family situations where they were mentored and supported. And, of course, they were offered opportunities that they made the most of."

Family finances allowed the women the freedom to pursue their interests. And at a time when early education was largely based in the home, having parents who had an education themselves and, just as importantly, believed girls should be well educated, played a vital role. Key relationships opened doors: Cadwallader Colden for Jane, John Bachman for Maria and her grandmother's fondness for walks through the woods for Martha.

When the pieces of the puzzle came together, the end products were each woman's own creation. As Maxwell said before the Philadelphia Exposition, "My next ambition is to build up a temple of science that shall be a credit to our sex and an acquisition to the world."

Gin Phillips is a contributing editor whose last feature profiling the nation's first female architects can be found in the July/August 2005 issue.
Colonial rebels often sought refuge in native, unspoiled forests that provided them with protection and escape from persecution. Within sight of villages and hamlets along the eastern seaboard, these forests allowed them to assemble without risking the hangman's noose or the firing squad. The British had threatened with execution any residents who met privately, so colonists retreated to the woods to share ideals and organize the growing independence movement.

Heavy rains in colonies such as Maryland, New Jersey and Delaware pushed native hardwoods—oak, beech, maple and magnolia—to unbelievable growth, producing trees of more than 6 feet in diameter and more than 100 feet in height. Away from eavesdropping redcoats, trees in open clearings were easy to spot and made ideal meeting places. Revolutionists in each colony found a tree where they could gather in secret to plot their rebellion against the British. Representing the desire for liberty and self-rule, the trees became known as "liberty trees," a symbol inspiring a famous revolutionary poem by Thomas Paine.
Five questions every woman should ask herself.

- Do I have a signed will to protect my assets as well as my family and friends and is it stored in a safe place?

- Do I have any low-yielding stocks that I could reinvest in a charitable gift annuity or living trust for a better stream of income?

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- Did I make arrangements in my estate plans to preserve the futures of the charitable organizations, like NSDAR, that I supported during my life?

- Did I take advantage of the new NSDAR gift planning program that is free with no obligation?

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A Storied Symbol

Rebels suspended two effigies from the first known liberty tree, an elm in Boston, in 1765 to protest the hated Stamp Act. A decade later, troops burned the tree before being forced out of the city because they knew what it represented to the colonists. Liberty trees evolved into such powerful symbols of freedom that the British hacked down every one they could—even burning the stump of one in Virginia—to demoralize Patriots. Many original liberty trees met similar fates.

The last surviving liberty tree was a 400-year-old tulip poplar that sat on the front lawn of St. John’s College in Annapolis, Md. Burned, scarred and used for target practice for 250 years, this famous poplar with tulip-shaped leaves withstood the test of time. It grew to more than 90 feet in height with a trunk circumference of more than 27 feet before a hurricane fatally ripped its trunk in 1999.

It was a green, flourishing tree as old as the Maryland colony when the people of Annapolis held their own tea party and burned the ship Peggy Stewart. The Sons of Liberty met underneath its branches to hear speeches by Samuel Chase and other Patriots. Annapolis residents gathered there to decide if they should drive townspeople who had not joined an association of Patriots out of the colony.

Centuries of Survival

In the 1800s, the tree survived an accidental fire and a gunpowder explosion set by mischievous college boys. The tree appeared destroyed after the hoax, then surprisingly put out lush growth the next year. According to one account, the prank rid the tree of worms gnawing at its entrails.

The tree was a favorite spot for Fourth of July picnics and became so famous by the turn of the century that it attracted souvenir hunters who chipped at its bark. To mark the 100th anniversary of Lafayette’s visit to the Annapolis campus in 1924, the Peggy Stewart Tea Party Chapter of the NSDAR dedicated an iron fence to surround and protect the tree. The fence was later removed when the souvenir hunting subsided.

In 1907, the tree’s decaying, 56-foot-tall cavity was cleaned out, filled with concrete and reinforced with steel and iron—a feat considered to be the biggest accomplishment of tree surgery in the world at the time.

Winds cracked the upper trunk and widened it by as much as four inches in 1975. Tree surgeons filled the crack and removed branches to lighten the top and prevent future storm damage. The tree was put under the care of a local horticulture expert, and in June 1999, scientists at the University of Maryland even tried to clone it. Hurricane Floyd dealt the tree its final blow that fall, opening a 12-foot-long crack in a central branch and forcing it to be cut down on October 25, 1999.

Led by Maryland Governor Parris Glendening and the renowned Marine Corps Color Guard and Band, the felling was a solemn event. But destiny was just the beginning for this beautiful landmark. As it lay on the ground, too large for a truck to budge, officials had to make quick decisions about where to dump the limbs, bark and the snarled trunk.

Recapturing Former Glory

Prominent tree surgeon Mark Mehnert of Arnold, Md., immediately recognized the historical significance of the tree’s parts. He rescued it from the city dump and recruited Gene Landon, a master craftsman of 18th-century furniture and carvings, to be its caretaker. Mehnert brought remnants of the tree to Montoursville, Pa., where Landon studied and directed the harvesting of usable chunks and boards. The wood eventually made its way back to Landon’s shop where its pieces took shape.

From this famous tree, Landon created hand-carved replicas of early Colonial Bible boxes, which were presented to President George W. Bush, former President Jimmy Carter and the Naval Academy chapel in Annapolis. Landon also crafted a replica of the wooden yoke for the reproduced Liberty Bell and a life-size bald eagle to be placed near the original bell in Philadelphia’s Independence Hall.

So ends the saga of the last of 13 liberty trees, which remain a symbol of our model of freedom and democracy in the world.
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PAMPHLETEERING'S

REVOLUTIONARY

ROLE

By Stacey Evers
JOHN ADAMS agreed with Thomas Paine’s advocacy for independence but not his vision of how to set up a new republic.

"WE HAVE IT IN OUR POWER TO BEGIN THE WORLD OVER AGAIN... THE BIRTHDAY OF A NEW WORLD IS AT HAND." THOMAS PAINE DIDN'T PEN THESE ELOQUENT WORDS FROM COMMON SENSE FOR A COLONIAL NEWSPAPER OR LEATHER-BOUND LITERARY TOME. THEY EMERGED IN A MUCH HUMBLER SHOWCASE: A LOOSELY STITCHED BOOKLET THAT WAS SOLD FOR A SHILLING OR TWO. REMARKABLY, THIS WAS TYPICAL.

The most incendiary and influential pre-Revolutionary political thoughts, the bedrock of our nation’s democratic, liberty-loving character, were formed from cheaply produced, anonymously written pamphlets printed in the middle of the night.

Pamphlets were one of the most—if not the most—effective forms of expression in the years before the Revolution. In them, readers could find letters, sermons, debates and highly developed political arguments. Tory loyalists and Whig Patriots duked it out in more than 400 pamphlets printed between 1750 and 1776. More than 1,500 rebellion-related pamphlets appeared by 1783, according to Bernard Bailyn, Director of Harvard University’s International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World and the foremost U.S. authority on Revolutionary-era pamphlets. He characterizes the period before independence as the most creative in the history of American political thought and says the pamphlets published in these years show the "fullest expressions of this creative effort."

The success of Common Sense had a lot to do with timing. The plain-spoken pamphlet came out in Philadelphia in January 1776 when thoughts of independence were on the minds of almost everyone.

"There were other media of communication; but everything essential to the discussion of those years appeared, if not originally, then as reprints, in pamphlet form," Bailyn says in Ideological Origins of the American Revolution, for which he won the Pulitzer Prize. "The treatises, the sermons, the speeches, the exchanges of letters published as pamphlets—even some of the most personal polemics—all contain elements of this great, transforming debate."

A PERSUASIVE FORUM

Pamphlets allowed writers to do things that were impossible in broadsides—single sheets of paper with notices and lengthy essays—or in one of the Colonies’ 38 newspapers. Because there was no uniform size or length for the booklets, authors could argue for as long as they felt necessary to make their case. They also didn’t have to convince an editor that their opinions were worth printing, and, best of all, they could write anonymously or under a pseudonym. This last asset made the pamphlet a
"guerrilla form of publishing," says Christopher Daly, a journalism professor at Boston University.

The Crown could shut down established printers who had been instigative or offensive, but had difficulty targeting the unnamed scribes of pamphlets. "Pamphleteers would find a sympathetic printer, who would let them into their shop under cover of night, and then get the hell out, leaving no trace they'd been there," Daly says.

Common Sense is easily the most famous of the pre-Revolutionary-era pamphlets. At a time when the average booklet went through only one or two printings of a few thousand copies each—and the most popular Colonial newspapers considered themselves lucky to sell 2,000 papers a week—Common Sense merited 25 printings. Paine boasted that he’d sold at least 150,000 copies up and down the eastern seaboard, a figure most historians accept. The reach of Common Sense went well beyond this number, though; buyers passed the pamphlet to friends and colleagues and read it aloud to the illiterate in public places like taverns.

What accounts for Common Sense’s wild success? A lot of it had to do with timing. The pamphlet came out in Philadelphia in January 1776 between the opening rounds of Lexington and Concord and the signing of the Declaration of Independence later that year. Independence and whether to pursue it was on the minds of almost everyone. Shrewdly, Paine used plain, direct language to idealize previously derogatory concepts like "republicanism" and spell out the reasons for breaking with England. He mercilessly attacked England’s constitution, denounced the monarchy’s historical legitimacy and attacked hereditary rule. Many of these ideas, as John Adams went to great pains to point out, were not new, but had been debated and discussed for months at the Second Continental Congress.

What was new, and what allowed Paine to convert so many colonists to the Patriot way of thinking, was the forthright way he expressed these long-circulated ideas. Unlike other pamphleteers, who wrote with rigid formality and often quoted passages in Greek and Latin, Paine didn’t expect his readers’ literary backgrounds to include much more than the Bible. Brilliantly, he incorporated several Bible quotations into the pamphlet with the intention of proving that the monarchy didn’t reflect Christian values. He also wrote emotionally, wearing his rage and derision on his sleeve. Mocking hereditary rule, for instance, Paine wrote, “One of the strongest natural proofs of the folly of hereditary right in kings is that nature disproves it, otherwise she would not so frequently turn it into ridicule, by giving mankind an ass for a lion.” [Paine’s emphasis]
RAGING REBUTTALS

Common Sense provoked at least six rebutting pamphlets, two from loyalist Tories (most notably, Plain Truth, believed to have been penned by Maryland's James Chalmers) and four from Whig Patriots who agreed with Paine's advocacy for independence but not his vision of how to set up a new republic. Among the most prominent of these responses was John Adams' Thoughts on Government, which made the rounds among constitution-makers in several states. Adams strongly disagreed with Paine's call for the establishment of state unicameral legislatures, deeming them "so democratical, without any restraint or even an attempt at any equilibrium or counterpoise, that it must produce confusion and every evil work." He preferred more balance, calling for a bicameral Congress, with an upper house of wealthy men and a lower house of common representatives.

The most influential pamphlet penned before Common Sense was Letter From a Pennsylvania Farmer, written in 1768 by Whig leader John Dickinson. Responding to the hated Stamp Act, Dickinson pointed out that small taxes were the most dangerous, as colonists were more likely to accept minor tariffs than large ones. Dickinson argued that this was exactly what Parliament intended: "Nothing is wanted at home but a PRECEDENT, the force of which shall be established by the tacit submission of the Colonies ... If the Parliament succeeds in this attempt, other statutes will impose other duties ... and thus Parliament will levy upon us such sums of money as they choose to take, without any other LIMITATION than their PLEASURE."[Dickinson's emphasis]

Other pamphlets that issued shock waves included Thomas Jefferson's A Summary View of the Rights of British America and the anonymous The People the Best Governors. In the former, a 1774 political position paper for Virginia state delegates, Jefferson protested the many ways the British monarchy had overstepped its bounds in the Colonies and hinted that the colonists might not be compelled to remain loyal. "The God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time." The latter pamphlet, anonymously written and printed in New England in 1776, reveals the extent to which republicanism was becoming popular. "The people know best their own wants and necessities, and therefore are best able to rule themselves."

WOMEN WRITERS

The most persuasive pamphlet propaganda wasn't always a political tract or authored by a man. Mercy Otis Warren, strongly backed by John Adams, wrote a scathing play titled The Group, which was published as a pamphlet in 1775. A satire of Boston's loyalists, the play's momentum relied less on plot and more on speeches made by well-developed characters with names like Brigadier Hateall, Sir Sparrow Spendall and a loyalist Secretary of State called Dupe. The Group solidified an anti-British feeling in Boston, according to Rosemarie Zagarri, History Professor at George Mason University in Virginia.

Warren is easily the most noted pre-Revolutionary woman writer. "There were few women who published many political tracts," says Carol Berkin, author of the recently released Revolutionary Mothers. But there are unsung Revolutionary heroines, such as Esther...
MERCY OTIS WARREN'S scathing play, The Group, was published as a pamphlet and solidified anti-British sentiment in Boston.

deBerdt Reed, author of The Sentiments of an American Woman. In this broadsheet essay published in 1780, the Pennsylvania first lady made what she called "the offering of the Ladies" in response to Washington's report that serious shortages of food, clothing and pay had nearly exhausted his troops. Recalling the names of Deborah, Judith, Esther, the queens of England and other women of history who made patriotic sacrifices, Reed said the Colonial women were made of no less mettle. "Who, amongst us, will not renounce the highest pleasure, those vain ornaments, when she shall consider that the valiant defenders of America will be able to draw some advantage from the money which she may have laid out."

How effective was Reed? A door-to-door solicitation conducted after her essay's release raised more than $300,000 in paper currency.

A NEW KIND OF PAMPHLET

Today, the loosely stitched pamphlet has fallen out of favor. The last time it came into widespread use was during World War I and II when George Orwell deemed it a "one-man show." It's strange that such a persuasive and inexpensive tool would have fallen by the wayside. But many journalists and historians argue that it hasn't vanished at all, that it's just morphed into another form: the online Web log, or blog.

Like pamphlets, blogs don't have a regular length; they're generally written by an individual (although corporations are starting to include blogs in their public relations packages) and are cheap to produce. They're also proving to be as influential as the pre-Revolutionary pamphlets. The blog set up by Democrat Howard Dean in last fall's presidential campaign helped propel the Vermont governor from obscurity to a front-running party nominee, while other bloggers brought Dan Rather to early retirement by questioning the authenticity of a CBS News report about President Bush's National Guard service.

The reach of blogs is still small, relatively speaking. Sixteen percent of Americans read them. This represents about a fifth of the newspaper readership and 40 percent of the talk radio audience, according to the Pew Internet and American Life Project, a non-profit organization that studies the Internet's effect on American culture. About 11 million Americans have started a blog.

At a time when journalism has transformed into a business focused on profits more than public service, blogs put the emphasis back on original reporting and the individual expression of ideas, says Boston University's Christopher Daly. He believes that bloggers are following in Thomas Paine's footsteps.

"Blogs fit exactly into the American tradition," Daly says. "In many ways, they are more in keeping with the ideas of the framers than these giant, corporate infotainment machines."

Stacey Evers wrote the award-winning feature, "When Women Lost the Right to Vote," for American Spirit's September/October 2004 issue.
The ROMANCE of the Vine

CALIFORNIA'S TRUE GOLD RUSH
Though the discovery of gold in California in 1848 lured fortune hunters by the thousands, the real gold turned out to be the grape, which the state's blessed blend of soil and sunny climate allowed to flourish by the millions.

BY SHARON McDONNELL

THE PRE-1900 HISTORY OF WINE in California is the story of immigrants: mostly well-off Europeans who founded the wineries and poor Chinese who supplied farm and construction labor. Starting with the Spanish missionaries who planted grapevines to make wine for Mass, the history contains an improbable cast of characters, including a Hungarian nobleman known as the “Father of California Wine,” a Finnish sea captain, Italian immigrants searching for a new Tuscany, German immigrants seeking the new Rhine, a French barrel-maker and a Japanese man trained as a samurai warrior.

Despite man-made and natural disasters like Prohibition and phylloxera (a vine-eating louse), California rebounded to become America’s top wine-producing state. It currently produces 375 million gallons, more than 90 percent of all wine made in the United States.

The Founding Father: Wine for Church

In 1769, Father Junipero Serra, a Franciscan priest from Majorca, Spain, founded Mission San Diego, the first of 21 Spanish missions in California to convert the Indians and create self-sustaining settlements. A few years later, his team planted California’s first vineyard further north at Mission San Juan Capistrano to make wine for church, using vine cuttings brought from Mexico. Over time, the missions developed large vineyards, orchards, wheat fields and ranches. The last and northernmost of the missions, Mission San Francisco de Solano, was founded in the town of Sonoma in 1823. There Father Jose Altimira wrote in his diary, “We see good land for planting vines.” He was as good as his word: 1,000 vines were planted by the next year.

The black mission grapes, believed to have originated in Spain, closely resembled Spanish varietals called criolla and pais. In fact, in 1520, the conquistador Hernando Cortes wrote his father to send vines from Spain to Mexico. Early plantings in Mexico did so well, the King of Spain decreed in 1595 that no new vines could be planted, fearing its colony might become self-sufficient and ripe for revolt. The ban lasted 150 years. Ironically, mission grapes, regarded as rather crude and lacking in flavor, are planted only in small amounts in California today, long since replaced by superior-tasting European varietals.

The French in Los Angeles, the Russians in Sonoma

The first wineries, besides the Catholic missions, were established in the Los Angeles area in the 1820s and 1830s. By 1833, Jean-Louis Vignes, a French barrel-maker from Bordeaux, was a well-established winemaker here. After his nephews came from France to assist him, his vineyard (named Sainsevain Brothers after 1855) blossomed so that wine was shipped regularly to San Francisco by 1857. By that year, about 600 acres of vineyards dotted the county.

Meanwhile, the Russians were the first to plant grapevines in northern California. They planted near Fort Ross, which was established in 1812 to supply food for fur-traders in their Alaska colony. Their presence is immortalized in the region, apparent in names like the Russian River Valley and the town Sebastopol.

‘The Father of California Wine’

The man famed as the “Father of California Wine” was a Hungarian immigrant, Agoston Haraszthy. A visionary entrepreneur, he founded the state’s first premium winery, Buena Vista Winery, in Sonoma County in 1857. He tirelessly promoted winemaking by bringing back more than 131,000 vines from about 300 different European grape varietals and selling many of them. He also tried innovative methods like steam-powered crush-and-press machines. His eloquent speeches on the wine industry convinced the California government to send him to Europe to study winemaking methods and encouraged the founding of an agricultural school to conduct scientific research on improving grape-growing techniques. He also authored a book, a treatise for the state agricultural society and
an article on winemaking for Harper’s—all before disappearing forever in Nicaragua.

The colorful Haraszthy "was an Argonaut in a red sash, a silken shirt, and the velour hat of a hero in Italian opera ... He had curly black locks, a lustrous beard, an alert, dark face, and the glare of a hawk, or a conspirator," according to Idwal Jones' *Vines In the Sun* (William Morrow, 1949), a book about California vineyards.

But he wasn’t the first winemaker in California, wine wasn’t his first career and Sonoma wasn’t the site of his first vineyard. The self-proclaimed "Count" or "Colonel" Haraszthy was born in 1812 to an aristocratic family in Budapest. He left Hungary in 1842 for Wisconsin, where he owned a hotel, brickyard, sawmill and herds of sheep and pigs. Ever the businessman, he operated the first steamboat with regular service on the upper Mississippi River and founded one of Wisconsin Territory’s earliest towns, Sauk City (then called Haraszthy Town). He also planted grapevines from Europe, but they froze in the winter.

Undaunted by obstacles, Haraszthy left in 1849 and took the wagon train to San Diego, where he became its first county sheriff; town marshal and, in 1852, state assemblyman. He also planted more grapevines—the first to be semi-successful—in the north of San Diego in Mission Valley, using grape cuttings from Mission San Luis Rey. He later added European roots and cuttings.

Moving to San Francisco, the smooth-talking Hungarian landed a job smelting gold at the U.S. Mint. In the meantime, he planted his next vineyard south of San Francisco where the Crystal Springs Reservoir is now located. A scandal erupted, and he was indicted for "embezzling" (actually, exceeding the legal limit of gold wastage) more than $151,000 worth of gold. He was cleared of the charges a few years later, but started selling his property because the climate was too cool and foggy for his grapes to ripen correctly.

### Hungarian Rhapsody in Sonoma

Haraszthy was convinced he had found the ideal climate for winemaking in Sonoma County where "the vine flourishes better than in the most favored regions of Europe." He bought more than 800 acres near Sonoma, naming it "Buena Vista" to honor the beautiful view. A few vineyards were already here, but the amount of wine was tiny compared to the quantity produced in Los Angeles County.

But Haraszthy began planting vines with a vengeance. He planted 70,000 vines in 1860 alone, ordered Chinese laborers to dig tunnels in the limestone hills and won an award at a state fair for the "best exhibit of vines, with reference to the number of varieties, vintages and quality."

Haraszthy’s finest hour came in 1861. As a vice president of the state agricultural society, he persuaded California lawmakers to form a commission to study winemaking in Europe and was appointed to the commission by Governor John G. Downey. After his five-month grand tour of France, Germany, Spain, Italy, Switzerland and the Netherlands—writing articles for a San Francisco newspaper along the way—he brought back cuttings of Cabernet Sauvignon, Pinot Noir, Riesling, Sauvignon Blanc, Chenin Blanc and Semillon. He also presented the legislature with a $12,000 bill, which was never reimbursed.

But Haraszthy’s talent for staying solvent failed to equal his talent for promotion, and San Francisco investors forced him out of Buena Vista in 1867. Deciding to reinvent himself yet again as a sugar cane plantation owner, he moved to Nicaragua where he vanished in July 1869. A letter from his daughter Otelia recounts how his steps were traced to an alligator-infested stream, where his hat, jacket and a broken tree limb were found.

Thanks to him, the wine industry shifted forever from southern to northern California, and its wines won national recognition. Two stone winery buildings he built in the 1860s remain at Buena Vista today—one as an ivy-covered tasting room with many vintage photographs. A replica of the imposing Palladian-style villa he built stands nearby, where a masked ball, the first formal wine celebration in California, was held in 1864.

### The Brothers Beringer and Their German Countrymen

Charles Krug, a Prussian teacher and writer who emigrated in 1852 to edit a German-language newspaper in San Francisco, first worked for Haraszthy and planted a small vineyard near Sonoma. Then he struck out on his own and built Charles Krug Winery in St. Helena in 1861, the first winery in neighboring Napa Valley. (The Mondavi family bought it in 1943.)

Also in Napa, Jacob Schram, an immigrant from a winemaking family in Pfeddersheim, Germany, established Schramsberg in Calistoga on a steep mountainside.

Robert Louis Stevenson, who honeymooned with his wife, Fanny, in nearby Silverado, was a guest in the Schrams’ Victorian mansion and wrote evocatively about their winery in his 1880 book, *The
Silverado Squatters. Calling the wine “bottle poetry,” he likened the underground cellars dug by Chinese laborers to “a bandit’s cave.”

Jacob and Frederick Beringer, immigrants from a wine family in Mainz on the Rhine River, established the oldest continuously operating winery in Napa Valley in 1876. While Frederick emigrated to New York in 1863, his younger brother Jacob, who heard California’s warm, sunny climate was ideal for growing wine grapes, came to Napa in 1870 and found rocky, well-drained soil similar to that in the Rhine Valley. He decided to make wines comparable to those he developed in Europe. Jacob and his brother bought the 215-acre property in St. Helena, which already included a 28-acre vineyard and a two-story 1850 farmhouse. It became Beringer Brothers Winery.

In 1883, Frederick built Rhine House, a 17-room mansion with a half-timbered-style facade modeled after the family’s Rhine River home. Listed on the National Register of Historic Places, the interior features 40 rare stained glass Art Nouveau-style panels, two life-sized Shakespearean knights in the entrance doors and hand-carved German oak in the foyer, dining room and smoking room, ornately finished with mahogany and other decorative woods. In 2001, the Beringer estate, including the old winery building and the two-story farmhouse where Jacob once lived, was also listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

Under the Tuscan-like Sun

Seeking his fortune in California’s gold fields, Giuseppe Simi emigrated from Montepulciano in 1848, but ended up owning a winery in Sonoma’s rolling hills that reminded him of his native Tuscany. He and his brother, Pietro, began producing wine in San Francisco with Sonoma grapes in 1876, then planted vineyards and built a stone winery near the town of Healdsburg five years later.

After both brothers died in 1904 from influenza, Isabelle, Giuseppe’s 18-year-old...
daughter, took over the winery and ran it with her husband. A dynamo, Isabelle Simi Haigh created what is believed to be the county's first tasting room from a 25,000-gallon Champagne barrel in 1934. "She was a Barker," said Jim Ferguson, a Simi wine educator. "She'd go out to Healdsburg Avenue and stop people in their tracks or in a horse and buggy, and say, 'You have to try my Simi wine.' They saw, they tried, they bought."

She also planted a rose garden with roses to honor every American president—except President Herbert Hoover, whom she never forgave for Prohibition. Alfred Hitchcock, whose "Shadow of a Doubt" and "The Birds" were filmed in Sonoma, dined often with Isabelle and her husband during film shoots. The director's comment appears in Simi's guest registry: "This port wine is far too good for most people."

Another immigrant from Tuscany, Samuele Sebastiani, learned to make wine from monks at a monastery in Lucca. Toiling in quarries in Sonoma's Mayacamas Mountains to pave the streets of San Francisco, he sensed an opportunity and started making and selling wine by the cup to fellow quarry workers. He founded Sebastiani Vineyards Winery in 1904 near Sonoma, across the road from the original vineyard planted by the Mission San Francisco de Solano in 1825.

The Samurai Warrior Turned 'Grape King'

The California winemaker from the most unusual background is probably Kanaye Nagasawa, the son of a Japanese samurai, trained in the art of warfare by age 13. Born in 1852 in Kagoshima, Japan, he was one of 15 students dispatched to England by a local leader to study Western ways. When funds for the students dwindled, an American leader of a religious cult they met made them an offer they felt they couldn't refuse: continued schooling if they labored in his colony in upstate New York. So in the vineyards of the Brotherhood of the New Life cult led by Thomas Lake Harris in Brocton, N.Y., Nagasawa learned to make wine.

When Harris bought a 400-acre new site for his colony near Santa Rosa in Sonoma County in 1875, Nagasawa came with him. Wine grape plantings at Fountaingrove Ranch were completed a few years later, and a large stone winery was built. After Harris' departure in 1892, Nagasawa was left in charge of Fountaingrove, which he later bought, and it evolved into one of the state's 10 biggest wineries.

In Santa Rosa, residents called him a baron or prince, assuming that his samurai class signified royalty. On visits to Japan, he was honored as the Grape King of California and served on the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition Jury of Awards for his wine expertise.

President Ronald Reagan praised Nagasawa, who died in 1934, in a speech before the National Diet of Japan in 1983. An excerpt appears on a bust of the winemaker in Santa Rosa's City Council chambers: "Soon he became known as the grape king of California. Nagasawa came to California to learn, and stayed to enrich our lives. Both our countries owe much to this Japanese warrior-turned-businessman."

A Finn From the Fur Trade

Gustave Niebaum, a Finnish sea captain who became wealthy in the Alaskan fur trade, founded a winery, now called the Niebaum-Coppola Estate Winery in Napa Valley. Born Gustaf Nybom in Helsinki, he captured a ship to the then Russian-owned Alaska. There he did so well trading furs that when he sailed to San Francisco in 1868 at age 26, it was with a cargo valued at more than $600,000.

The next year, Niebaum co-founded the Alaska Commercial Company to capitalize on the new territory's natural resources. Over the next 20 years his company paid the United States $9.7 million in rentals and bonuses. Passionate about winemaking, he amassed his own collection of fine wines. In 1879, he chose to make it his profession, buying the Inglenook wine estate at the base of Mount Saint John, an extinct volcano.

He built a castle-like stone mansion there in 1887, which film director Francis Ford Coppola bought in 1975 and painstakingly restored. (It's now a museum on Inglenook history and also features memorabilia from movies like "Apocalypse Now," filmed partly on the estate, and "The Godfather.") Buying rootstocks from Europe and marketing Inglenook wines by alluding to European-made wines, such as...
CALIFORNIA CURRENTLY PRODUCES 375 MILLION GALLONS OF WINE, MORE THAN 90 PERCENT OF ALL WINE MADE IN THE UNITED STATES.

“Riesling, German type,” Niebaum won awards in the 1889 Paris World’s Fair. The exposition marked the first time France allowed American-made wines to enter the competition, and it became a coup for California. Its wines won 30 medals, 20 of which were from wineries in Napa, including Beringer.

Prohibition Pulls the Plug

The death knell for many wineries was Prohibition, which banned the sale of alcoholic beverages nationwide in 1920. Nearly 200 wineries went out of business in Sonoma County alone and more than 120 in Napa County. Some survived by making wine for sacramental use, like the Simi, Sebastiani and Beaulieu Vineyards, and Beringer, which continued making 15,000 gallons of wine a year. Others tore out quality vines and planted coarser grapes for home winemaking, which was legal.

Prohibition’s repeal in 1933 enabled some wineries to sell wine that had been aging in casks for years, but the Great Depression was under way and wine production was slowed for decades to come. Some wineries, such as Schramsberg, were revived much later. Reborn in 1965, Schramsberg’s sparkling wines have been used in several White House administrations. President Nixon toasted China’s Prime Minister Chou En-lai with a glass in Beijing in 1972.

The Coup de Grace

One of the proudest moments in the state’s wine history occurred on May 24, 1976. California wines trumped wines from France in a blind taste test in six of the 11 wines rated highest by French judges. Almost all hailed from Napa. The victory helped prick the complacency of wine snobs and turned the tide of favor worldwide. 

Sharon McDonnell’s last feature for American Spirit was on the history of the Florence Griswold House for the July/August 2005 issue.
BENEDICT ARNOLD OFTEN APPEARS AS A FOOTNOTE IN AMERICAN HISTORY BOOKS, A NAME SYNONYMOUS WITH INFAMY AND BETRAYAL FOR HIS THWARTED ATTEMPT TO HAND WEST POINT AND GEORGE WASHINGTON OVER TO THE BRITISH. BIOGRAPHER WILLARD STERNE RANDALL SENSED THERE WAS MORE TO THE STORY. DIGGING INTO THE TURNCOAT GENERAL’S PAST, RANDALL DISCOVERED A TRAGIC FIGURE, A REVOLUTIONARY WAR HERO TORN BETWEEN TWO LOYALTIES—HIS COUNTRY AND HIMSELF.
Randall's 1990 biography, Benedict Arnold: Patriot and Traitor, reveals a side of the villain that few Americans know existed—a man motivated as much by personal honor and vengeance as political ideology and greed.

“Lots of people who read the book say, ‘I don’t know what I would’ve done if it were me,’” says Randall, a Historical Scholar-in-Residence at Champlain College in Burlington, Vt. “That’s the payoff for me. I want people to look at history that way. Most only see it through the rearview mirror, and, often, that’s a distorted view.”

Patriot and Traitor does more than follow Benedict Arnold from his hardscrabble upbringing in Norwich Town, Conn., to his rise as champion of the Battle of Saratoga to his treason and death as a broken man in England in 1801. Randall explains the events leading to Arnold’s secret meeting in the woods with British Major John Andre early on September 22, 1780, as well as the reasons why the celebrated battlefield commander turned his back on soldiers he sacrificed for and on Washington, a close friend and mentor whom he idolized.

“One thing that gets lost in his story sometimes is—what if he had succeeded? What if the British had won?” Randall says. “Then Benedict Arnold would have been a duke instead of a traitor. That’s why you have to go back to the time period because it was not clear at all then that the Americans were going to win.”

Randall, a former journalist, sees himself as an investigative historian. He uses instinct to help him get into the skin of famous Americans, but relies on tenacious research to uncover insights into their lives and roles in history.

“I think, in every generation, someone should take a fresh look at all the early historical figures in light of new research,” Randall says.

His approach wins respect. Randall received an Award of Merit from New York City’s American Revolution Roundtable. Three of his five biographies have been nominated for the Pulitzer Prize. His books have garnered awards from universities and national publications like Reader’s Digest and Publisher’s Weekly.

Randall’s work on Patriot and Traitor, available in reprints at Barnes & Noble bookstores, made him a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize and a runner-up for the Los Angeles Times Book Prize.

With the 225th anniversary of Arnold’s treason and the hanging of his accomplice, Andre, approaching, American Spirit talked with Randall about his research on the Revolution’s most notorious character:

Most of your biographies explore the lives of great American heroes, such as George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson and Ben Franklin. What drew you to an infamous character like Benedict Arnold?

After I wrote the Franklin book, I wanted to know more about why people would start out on the American side and then wind up on the British side, so I chose him. Benedict Arnold was a great American hero at Saratoga and fought the greatest naval battle on Lake Champlain. That he was an American hero makes his treason even harder to understand. Why would anyone change like that?

What was your objective when you decided to write the book, and what sets it apart from other biographies on Arnold?

I had in mind a quote from William Shakespeare’s Julius Caesar: “The evil that men do lives after them; the good is oft interred with their bones.” In writing about Arnold, I wanted to show both: the good and the evil. That’s why the book is called Patriot and Traitor. First he was one, then the other.

Has history portrayed Benedict Arnold unfairly?

I think that he had been simplified to a villain. Americans are much better educated and open-minded than a lot of earlier historians have given them credit for. I thought people were ready for a much more complex figure than simply a traitor. That they would wonder, what drives a hero to betray his own men? When Arnold tried to sell...
West Point, some of the American soldiers serving there were the same ones who had marched to Canada with him in horrible conditions.

**What surprised you the most about Arnold once you began delving into his life?**

That he made such a dreadful mistake. That his deception was so personal. He was such a smart man, but he had so much personal pride that got in the way. His father was an alcoholic, a bankrupt man, and I think, because of that, Arnold exalted his personal sense of honor. If anyone insulted him, he would do something drastic. Eventually, that drastic step was treason.

With so many conflicting accounts and speculations on Arnold and his motives, how did you separate fact from fiction when researching?

The first thing I do when I write a book is put aside anything else I’ve ever read. As an investigative journalist, I go for documents and firsthand accounts from friends and enemies. If I can’t find evidence, I don’t use it. There were no archives for a traitor like Benedict Arnold, so I went where he went after the Revolution, into exile in Canada. I found hundreds of Benedict Arnold letters—not even cataloged but baled—at the New Brunswick Museum, a Loyalist museum, in Saint John. The letters weren’t even under his name, but under the name of a lawyer for his wife, Peggy Shippen, who was executrix of his will. So there was a lot of detective work. Benedict Arnold was a traitor here, but he was a founding father in Canada. There is a plaque in front of his house in Saint John, a town he helped build.

Also, I did a computer search of all the documents written by Benedict Arnold, and I looked at several private collections. I studied all of the British headquarter papers at the William Clements Library at the University of Michigan and looked at records of espionage and learned about their codes. For me, part of it is the thrill of the hunt. I found documents that no one knew had anything to do with Arnold’s treason. I found his wife’s household account book, which shows late-night visits from the spy couriers. (One of the main ones was an interior decorator.) She was encoding his messages and decoding the answers for him, using a special kind of ink only visible under lemon juice.

You devoted much of the first few chapters to Benedict Arnold’s relationship with his mother, Hannah. What influence did she have on him?

Hannah Arnold, whose first husband died young and whose second husband was a bankrupt alcoholic, taught her son to keep great pride in his more distinguished New England family origins. The first Arnold in America was, after all, William Arnold, a founder of Rhode Island with Roger Williams. His son, the first Benedict, was the longest-serving governor of that colony. Hannah taught her son courage in adversity: When the family was threadbare, she still marched them up the church aisle to the front pew on Sundays. She also taught him not to drink, using his father as an object lesson. And she taught him uncommon devotion to the women in his life, even when, like Peggy Shippen, they were dead wrong.
Despite his success as a field and naval commander, Arnold faced rejection from colleagues in the government as well as the military. How did this affect him?

He felt it keenly. Nobody short of Washington contributed more to American victories time and time again, yet he was passed over by Congress for a promotion. He was denied pay. He lost his personal fortune. He lost everything and remained an outsider to the inner circle of government. He may have been the greatest battlefield commander of the Revolution, but he was no politician.

What was the turning point that pushed Arnold from Patriot to traitor?

After he was wounded the second time and sidelined, he was in Philadelphia as military Governor and had to deal day to day with the Continental Congress. This was not the greatest Congress. Washington and Jefferson were no longer there, and he was dealing with people whom he looked down upon. He lost respect for Congress. He didn't think the people he was meeting could run the country successfully, and he wanted to end up on the winning side. His Loyalist wife also persuaded him that the Americans couldn't win.

What was surprising about Peggy Shippen's role in her husband's treason?

She ran the espionage. She was the highest paid spy in the American Revolution, on either side. While George Washington underestimated her because she was a woman, the Queen of England gave her a pension after the Revolution for "services rendered." When I found that document, it blew my mind.

Why do you think Arnold betrayed his country?

Can I completely understand his motives? Who can? As close as I can come is that he had exalted Washington as his surrogate father, the father who always understood and relied on him; the father he had always served brilliantly in battle no matter how anyone else mistreated him. But when Washington treated him coolly during the long months Arnold awaited his court-martial—which Washington believed an impartial commander had to do—Arnold felt personally betrayed and sought a very personal revenge. Had the Arnold-Andre plot succeeded, it would have been Washington who would have been tried for treason—and he who would have been hanged, drawn and quartered.

Throughout the book, you show how Arnold spent most of his life—as a boy, a young merchant and a military commander—fighting for
respect. What part did this struggle play in his downfall?

His lifelong yearning for respect was his tragic flaw. Ironically, no one in the Revolution wound up with less respect than Benedict Arnold, the great traitor. If you want to call someone untrustworthy, you say he or she is being a "Benedict Arnold."

There is a scene in the book after the Revolution where he is loading a ship in Canada, and one of the American soldiers who marched with him is there. The man hasn't told him who he is, but he thinks to himself, "How sad, that a man who was so great and so good to his men has come to this—a great traitor." I put myself in the shoes of that man on the boat. To think that you've marched through snow, battles and starvation for this commander, and now he is the most hated man in America. To me, it's just a great tragedy.

**How did your background as an investigative journalist help you sort through the complexities of Arnold and his story?**

I imagine myself in the place of the person I'm writing about. Who did they know? Who liked them and who hated them?

**Why did you choose to write the story as a narrative?**

Our generation is used to television and movies, so you have to be able to be visual. With narrative, you have description and a storyline, so you can hold the interest of the reader much better. A journalist also has to be accurate, and I tried to stay as accurate as possible. I read 775 other books. It's like assembling a mosaic piece by piece to get an overall picture. You just read, read and read. I also like to go to any place I'm writing about and find out as much as I can about what it looked like back then. I went everywhere Benedict Arnold went, in the United States, Canada and London.

**What misconceptions about Arnold do you hope this book clarifies for readers?**

That he was greedy. That he did it for the money. I don't think it's that simple. He felt that he was falsely accused of some very petty crimes. With all that he did for the country, he thought the slightest rebuke from Washington was unbearable. I wanted to show how personal the tragedy was for him, that it wasn't all about the money.

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**Historic Profiler**

Growing up in Philadelphia, a city chock-full of Revolutionary landmarks, Willard Sterne Randall, 63, developed an early passion for history.

His father, Leslie Fairbanks Randall Jr., a member of a Pennsylvania Chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution, took the family to historic sites like Valley Forge and Monticello for vacations.

"My father loved American history," Randall says. "I started reading his book collection when I was 9."

Randall worked as a journalist for 17 years, but couldn't escape his interest in history, a subject he focused on in many articles. At 40, he enrolled in graduate school at Princeton University to study history and has spent the last 20 years teaching, lecturing and writing.

Randall feels a personal connection to each figure he profiles because he always stumbles across his own family members while researching. Whether relatives surface as minor or major players, "it makes it much more interesting to me," he says.

When Randall discovered some Loyalists in his family, it sparked tension between him and his father. "He thought it was something to be ashamed of, but I thought it made it more interesting," Randall says.

That disagreement, in part, inspired Randall to write his first book, *A Little Revenge: Benjamin Franklin at War With His Son*, for which he received the Frank Luther Mott research award from the University of Missouri's journalism school.

Randall has since written about George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benedict Arnold and Alexander Hamilton and hopes to make his way "through the founding generation."

"Colonial men like James Madison and John Hancock have become household names, but we really don't know about them," says Randall, whose next book focuses on Ethan Allen, a British prisoner of war and the Revolutionary War commander of the Vermont forces.
England sowed the seeds of its American colonists' rebellion. From their arrival in the New World, the Puritans believed that their English charter gave them a degree of self-determination. They established a representative government and court system, coined money, taxed themselves and voted for representatives.

However, Edward Randolph, a frequent royal emissary, changed that. Randolph was a hardworking but tactless zealot who tried to do his duty as he saw it, but accepted no one else's point of view. He fueled the king's wrath with reports of the colony's failure to observe the Navigation Acts and other English laws, and the colonists despised him.

Shortly after the 1686 election of Simon Bradstreet as governor, Randolph arrived in Boston carrying a decree overturning the Massachusetts Bay Charter. In one day, all rights vanished. The newly elected governor and general court were gone. In their place, Randolph presented a royal order for a new government consisting of a president, deputy president and 16 counselors. Joseph Dudley, who just days before had lost the election, was appointed interim president.

Changes came rapidly. Dudley promptly replaced the county clerk with his teenage son. Randolph began confiscating vessels and their cargo. When Increase Mather was chosen to plead the colonists' case in England, Randolph tried to have him arrested.

In late 1686, Sir Edmond Andros arrived in Boston as Governor of the New Dominion of New England, which combined all of New England, New York and East and West Jersey. The union was purportedly conceived to more effectively combat French aggression. However, the colonists regarded it as an attempt to dilute the individual power of each colony.

Absolute Power

Andros exerted absolute power, making no attempt to form a representative assembly. His new laws limited town meetings, restricted public assembly, denied persons the right to emigrate without his permission and increased estate and head taxes. All records were moved to Boston, making them difficult to retrieve for those outside the city. Wills, deeds and mortgages had to be registered by Randolph, who charged unreasonably high fees.

Andros levied further excessive taxes and fees without a vote of the people or their representatives, strictly upheld the despised Navigation Acts and controlled the press. He showed disdain for civilians, while the Puritans found his soldiers unsavory. After 50 years of home rule, colonists believed New England had become little more than a province of England, only without its rights.

When John Wise, the parish pastor of Chebacco, declared that taxes should not be levied without "consent of an assembly chosen by the Freeholders," he was jailed, fined, relieved of his ministerial duties and ordered to pay a 1,000-pound bond to ensure good behavior.
Curtailing Freedoms

Although claiming to support religious freedom, Andros angered Puritan Boston with his blatant preference for the Anglican Church. When he requested the use of one of the three churches for Anglican services, the ministers politely refused. In response, Andros seized the Old South Meeting House, which was being used as a Puritan church, and eventually authorized the construction of the Anglican Kings Chapel on top of the public burial ground.

From the beginning, he failed to address Indian complaints relating to English encroachment on their land. In fact, New Englanders viewed his aggressiveness and blundering of Indian affairs as fanning the flames of Indian hatred for the British.

Andros' first hint of impending doom came in April 1689 when he learned that William of Orange had moved to topple his father-in-law, King James of England. Andros knew that once word of King James' overthrow reached the populace, he would become a governor without a colony. In an unsuccessful attempt to keep the news from the people, he jailed anyone who had a copy of the Prince of Orange's declaration.

Two weeks later, the revolution began.

The Simmering Rebellion

On April 18, 1689, 86 years to the day before Paul Revere's famous ride, reports rumbled through Boston of armed men gathering on the outskirts of the city. Boys ran through the streets with clubs in their hands. In the morning drums began beating, and a signal fire was lit on Beacon Hill.

Twenty militia companies marched through the streets, while as many as 1,000 other colonists waited in Charlestown. When Andros learned of the rebellion, the governor headed for the fort on Castle Island in Boston Harbor. From there, he asked the four ministers of Boston to come to him since it was not safe to travel. They apparently felt the same trepidation and declined to go.

Meanwhile, nearly 1,500 colonists collected at Fort Hill. At the same time, high-ranking members of Andros' government were jailed.

Andros did attempt to escape via the HMS Rose, anchored in Boston Harbor. But when word reached the colonists that a rowboat had left the Rose, the militia managed to capture it before Andros could reach it.

At noon, former magistrates read a declaration of independence of sorts signed by influential men of the colony that listed tyrannies suffered by the people since their charter had been usurped. After a group headed by John Nelson captured several cannons and pointed them directly at the fort, Andros and those with him finally surrendered.

The colonists, who had gained control of the big guns at Fort Hill, the Castle and the batteries, aimed them all at the Rose. With Capt. John George captured, the Rose was in the hands of Lt. David Condon who readied his crew to fight. Negotiators eventually persuaded Lt. Condon to turn the sails over to the council.

After the surrender, militiamen waiting in Charlestown were alerted that the rebellion was successful. Yet, just when things should have quieted down, an armed mob entered the city. When they threatened to tear down the house where Andros was being held, he was transferred to the fort, and the mob was told to disperse.

Meanwhile, Randolph landed in a Boston jail, while the rest of Andros' aides were imprisoned at the Castle. Suffering from poor health, interim president Joseph Dudley was placed under house arrest. While Andros and the rest of his aides were seen as outsiders, Dudley, a Harvard University graduate and the son of a former Colonial governor, was viewed as a traitor. Anger against him ran so high that Dudley moved to the jail for his own safety.

Justice Served

In December 1689, a group of influential citizens was selected to collect evidence against the accused. Andros, Randolph and Dudley faced more than 100 charges each. Others on trial included Andros' deputy secretary, judges, military officers, the king's attorneys and the sheriff. Charges against Andros consisted of committing "irregularities" that were not conducive to the public good, limiting basic freedoms and filling crucial governmental positions with cronies who did not own land in Massachusetts.

In all, the prisoners of the rebellion were confined for 10 months before King William ordered Andros, Randolph and their associates returned to England. Once there, the king exonerated Andros of any misconduct, and in 1692, appointed him Governor of Virginia.

At the end of the bloodless revolution, a council was organized to govern during the emergency. It was eventually concluded that the governor and magistrates chosen just before the charter was nullified in 1686 should return to their elected offices. That government served until a new charter arrived in 1692.

The ease with which the revolution was executed has left historians suspecting it had been planned well in advance, and that the instigators had been waiting for the right moment. Andros claimed his council members had conspired with officials from the previous government. He complained that they had lied to the people and that, when the rebellion began, armed soldiers showed up commanded by "officers in the sayd [sic] former popular government."

Curiously, the same loss of freedoms that precipitated the revolution of 1689—the right of self-determination, the freedom of speech and the press, the right to a representative government levying taxes and the freedom of assembly—led to the American Revolution of 1776. The difference was that in 1689, the colonists rebelled against their leaders, not England itself. Nevertheless, England did not learn its lessons and—87 years later—the colonists revolted again. Only this time, it was not bloodless.

Judith Jacobson is a member of the Daniel Mcmahon Chapter, Texas, DAR.
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