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## William Churchill: A Fractured Life

A tall, thin man, bearded and bespectacled, walked the streets of Charleston, South Carolina. His black twill diagonal suit had grown smelly after eight days of wandering. He remembered being on a ship, but that was all. None of the shop fronts or signs were familiar, nor were the faces that stared back at him with curiosity. He had neither money nor identification.

He was drawn to a bookshop. The sign above read *Hammond's*. Books were familiar to him. Did he write them? Bind them? Sell? He didn't know, but entered. On the shop counter was a copy of the *New York Times*, March 31, 1898. A headline caught his eye.

### WILLIAM CHURCHILL MISSING

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It Is Feared the ex-Consul-General to  
Samoa Has Killed Himself<sup>1</sup>

The story described a “well-known magazine writer” and former “United States Consul General at Samoa” who had left his Brooklyn home on Monday to seek work. On Sunday night, he had “attempted to end his life with laudanum.” His wife had “restrained him.”

The story concluded:

Joseph Theroux is a school administrator in Hilo.

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A general alarm for the missing man has been sent out. He is described as 6 feet 2 inches in height, has a brown beard, and at the time he left his home he wore a black diagonal suit and eye-glasses.<sup>2</sup>

The man approached the clerk behind the counter and asked the date. It was April 4. Seeing the paper in his hand, the clerk indicated a more recent copy of the paper, that of April 2. Scanning its contents, the man found another story, headlined WILLIAM CHURCHILL'S DISAPPEARANCE. The item described Mrs. Churchill's suspicion that her husband "had been lured away by enemies," copra traders from Samoa, "for the purpose of doing away with him."<sup>3</sup>

The bearded man asked the clerk if he knew of a doctor. The clerk pointed to a browser in the shop.

"I want to tell you about my case," said the bearded man. "I think I am William Churchill."

Before he had gotten very far with his story, the physician interrupted him. He had already heard the man's story, from an attorney in town, who had been a Yale classmate of Churchill's and who had read the *Times* story of March 31.

According to later accounts of this episode, the two men departed the bookshop for the attorney's nearby office. The physician noted that "there was something radically wrong with the man's condition." The attorney asked the man "how he came to be in Charleston."

Churchill replied, "I'll be hanged if I know." He went on to recall a trip on a steamer with an unnamed man, how he had disembarked and gone down to Yonge's Island on the Carolina coast "to see the grass grow." He had "heard that it was a very fine trucking region."

The attorney agreed to pay the medical expenses of his "old friend and classmate," and the physician placed Churchill in St. Francis Xavier's Infirmary, "where everything that science can suggest is being done for him."

Churchill wrote a letter to his wife in an odd, tiny script, and the physician telegraphed her the news. She recognized the unusual script and telegraphed in return, requesting that her husband "be held in the infirmary until she could send for him."

Churchill told the physician that he had "had an experience of the kind once before, and that the trouble gradually passed away. When

and how it returned this time he has no recollection.” Churchill speculated that he may be leading “a dual existence and has no recollection when in his original self of what happened to him in what may be called his second self.”<sup>4</sup>

William Churchill was a brilliant man, though flawed in those areas the world considers necessary for success: making a living and maintaining personal relationships. He supported himself through journalism but loathed the work. He was a failure as a teacher, novelist, diplomat, and businessman. The books that made his name earned him no money. He was a poor judge of character and was easily influenced by those around him. When he misjudged personnel and native chiefs during his stint as U.S. consul in Samoa, his resulting actions cost him his job. When he was wooed by a beautiful spy during World War I, his common sense and usual attention to detail failed him, and it cost him his life.

His strengths—an ability to write well and command vast amounts of linguistic data—were also his weaknesses. He had an obsessive need to file, organize, list, sort, index. This compulsion enabled him to compile dictionaries of the Malay and Samoan languages, but it paralyzed him when it came to completing his other projects, getting on with his day-to-day affairs, and maintaining his family ties. He couldn’t remember to pay his mortgage on time or order sufficient fuel for his home, but he was able to produce insightful books on Pacific pidgin and Polynesian ethnography. It was as though in the midst of his psychological problems of depression and dissociation he was able to focus one clear corner of his mind on language. It was only in this area of study, only in this quadrant of his brain, that he found success, joy, and sanity.

Mental fugues, double lives, international spy rings, suicides, literature, and romance—it all sounded like the stuff of legend, but it was all true. And yet who now remembers William Churchill?

#### CHURCHILL’S EARLY YEARS

William Churchill was born in Brooklyn, October 5, 1859, a descendant of a dozen *Mayflower* passengers and four Revolutionary fighters. His parents were William Churchill II (1825–1873) of Boston, an importer of porcelains, and his second wife, Sarah Jane Starkweather

(1835–1915) from Rhode Island. There were two other sons: Arthur Howard Churchill (1862–1955), a New York banker, and Clarence Churchill (1865–1925), a tea merchant who divided his time between New Jersey and China. A daughter by the first marriage, Mary Churchill Ripley Weisse (1849–1915), was “an authority on oriental art,” an author of two books on Chinese rugs as well as articles on textiles and ceramics. Her husband, Dr. Fanueil Weisse, was a surgeon and author of *Practical Human Anatomy* (1886) and a descendant of Peter Fanueil, who had donated Fanueil Hall to the city of Boston.<sup>5</sup>

He was five years old when he first experienced his dual personality, whom he referred to as “Aunt Louise.” It was when President Lincoln lay in state at New York’s City Hall in April 1865: “Aunt Louise . . . always had just the same opinion of things, only she had them before I did—she had them more completely.”<sup>6</sup>

As he described in “My Aunt Louise and I,” “Aunt Louise” explained the meaning of the Lincoln funeral procession, “the catafalque . . . the soldiers with reversed arms . . . that slow double column where all marched in pairs of grief. . . .”<sup>7</sup>

That evening, little William prayed to his “Aunt Louise” but refused to pray to an actual relative, his Aunt Mary, who had died in 1850, and his father beat him for it. When he expressed his belief in his “Aunt Louise,” his father beat him again, for being “a little liar.”

It is revealing that Churchill associated the beating by his father with the death of the country’s president, or father, and with the creation of “Aunt Louise.” He noted that his own father had spent much of the Civil War in France “and [he] did not approve of the war [or] of Uncle Abe.”

The abuse Churchill suffered at the hands of his father may have caused the deafness in his left ear, the father leading with a strong right during those beatings. He found solace in the comfort offered by his “Aunt Louise,” whom “he loved ever so much better than” his parents. She was his “constant companion” throughout his life. “[I]t has always been within my power to call my Aunt Louise to join me. . . .”

Why was “Aunt Louise” created?

Nancy Lynn Gooch (who graduated from Montclair High School, Churchill’s alma mater, exactly one hundred years after he did, in

1976) also suffered from multiple personalities. As she wrote in her autobiography, *Nightmare*:

The victim creates the personalities as a defence against unbearable experiences he fears may drive him mad . . . [and the personalities] “take over” whenever the patient goes into a fugue state.<sup>8</sup>

Later, probably during his stay at St. Francis, Churchill discussed his case with “a psychologist [who called it] a remarkable case of dual personality,” and certainly one of the earliest documented ones.<sup>9</sup>

When William Churchill III attended high school in Montclair, New Jersey, from 1872 to 1875, he earned high marks in all subjects, including Latin, Greek, and German. In March 1875, he withdrew from school due to illness, which may have been another “fugue” or a psoriasis condition that plagued his childhood. He reentered in September and graduated in 1876.<sup>10</sup>

In 1877, he entered Yale, but in December 1878 he again became ill and withdrew. He sailed to England to recover, then returned and wrote for the school magazine and newspaper and was a member of the Yale Society of Natural History.<sup>11</sup>

At Yale he came under the influence of professors William Dwight Whitney and James Dwight Dana. Whitney, author of *Language and the Study of Language* (1867) and *A Sanskrit Grammar* (1879) and the leading American authority on Sanskrit and comparative philology, reinforced Churchill’s love of language and linguistics. Dana, geologist on Charles Wilkes’s Pacific Expedition in 1839 and author of *Coral and Coral Islands*, “filled my head with the South Seas.”<sup>12</sup> He graduated in 1882 with a B.A. and taught school for a year in Indianapolis but found he was no teacher.

#### THE FIRST SOUTH SEAS VOYAGES AND PUBLICATIONS

In 1884, Churchill sailed for the South Seas, and over the next four years he visited Samoa, Fiji, Australia, and New Zealand. He was once shipwrecked off Ha‘apai in Tonga and lost a collection of curios that he had hoped to sell. He picked up the languages, however, and later wrote his first magazine article based on these years: “The Rods of Memory, A contribution to the study of mnemonics; From the note-

book of a Yale student during a residence among the islands of the Pacific ocean,” which appeared in the *New Englander* of January 1890. Ironically, the “rods of memory” would fail him eight years later.

Returning to the United States in 1888, he took up residence in San Francisco, working as a librarian, a reporter for the *Tribune*, and later as an assistant editor for the *Oakland Times*. He was there for two years, during which time he met the author Robert Louis Stevenson and recommended Samoa to him.<sup>13</sup> He also met the wife of a fellow newspaperman named Clough. Llewella Pierce Clough, a relative of former President Franklin Pierce, had been born in Hawai‘i in 1858.<sup>14</sup> She was thirty-one, Churchill thirty. She was married, with a son, and scandal ensued. The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* of Honolulu noted: “a divorce suit followed the elopement.”<sup>15</sup>

Churchill adopted the son, Perry Churchill, and the three moved to Washington, D.C. There, a friend from Yale, William A. Glassford, a captain in the Signal Service Bureau, got him a writing job in the communications department, where he worked for two years. During that time, in March 1891, he was seconded to the National Museum, forerunner of the Smithsonian, to organize the Polynesian collection gathered by the 1840s Wilkes Expedition. Archival work was very much to his taste, and he drew from his knowledge of Polynesian lore, his Pacific experience, and cataloguing techniques learned in the Oakland library. He later wrote an article on the experience, “The Earliest Samoan Prints,” for the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*.<sup>16</sup>

That same year, he returned to Brooklyn and became literary editor and later city desk editor for the *Brooklyn Times*. Working at night, he produced the romance, *A Princess of Fiji*, which Dodd, Mead brought out in 1892. Reviewers received it favorably, but it broke no sales records. Although it paid the bills, Churchill was never happy with newspaper work. He was looking for something better, something with status that would also return him to the South Pacific and afford him time to do research. Perhaps one incident in particular suggested his return to Samoa.

Harry Jay Moors, a Detroit-born businessman in Samoa, brought a group of dancers to the World’s Fair (the Columbian Exposition) in 1893. Later, P. T. Barnum hired them to perform at his American Museum in New York. Out of curiosity, or possibly to brush up



FIG. 1. The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* used this drawing to illustrate its June 18, 1896, story on William Churchill's appointment as U.S. consul to Samoa.

on his rusty Samoan, Churchill visited the museum. A friend later recounted:

When Barnum was exhibiting Samoans in America, Mr. Churchill talked with and befriended them here [in New York City]. One day they all ran away and, when found, they explained that they were looking for him, their friend.<sup>17</sup>

In July 1891, Harold Sewall resigned his post as U.S. consul general to Samoa. For the next two years the post was temporarily filled

by Australian-born William Blacklock, an Apia businessman who had become an American citizen.

When news that that post was still vacant reached Churchill, he wrote to President Grover Cleveland, applying for the job. He had no diplomatic experience and was no lawyer, but he emphasized his education, his Pacific travels, and his familiarity with the languages of Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, and Micronesia.<sup>18</sup>

He also asked for letters of recommendation, which reached the president from Captain William A. Glassford, a friend named Cord Meyer, *Brooklyn Eagle* editor St. Clair McKelway, novelist and *Brooklyn Times* editor Alexander Black, and Brooklyn congressmen William Coombs and Thomas Magner. McKelway included the story of Barnum's Samoans. When the post remained unfilled in the summer of 1894, Coombs and Magner again wrote to the president, saying that Churchill was the most qualified and that he was a Democrat. Instead, Cleveland appointed James Hilary Mulligan of Kentucky, who had recently lost his Senate seat.<sup>19</sup>

Thinking that he had lost out, Churchill wrote to Fanny Stevenson, the author's widow, apparently sending along two articles he had written about Stevenson for the *Review of Reviews* and *McClure's*. He also proposed a joint novel. She thought the idea "poison,"<sup>20</sup> and nothing came of it. Churchill continued his journalism, and his nightly writing and research.

But Mulligan lasted as consul just over a year, departing Apia, Samoa, on New Year's Day 1896. He was given a job in the Treasury Department, and Blacklock again became acting consul. Churchill reapplied for the post and got new letters of recommendation from Congressman Coombs. He also asked Long Island Congressman James Covert for a letter. His publishers at Dodd, Mead also contributed a recommendation.<sup>21</sup>

When rebel factions in Samoa threatened war, Cleveland decided to have an official consul in Apia. On June 2, 1896, his secretary telegraphed the State Department: "Send over right away please the nomination of Churchill for Apia Samoa."<sup>22</sup> Cleveland approved the nomination on June 4, and Churchill resigned from the *Brooklyn Times*. Churchill, "Llew," and Perry traveled by train to San Francisco, then by steamer to Honolulu. There they boarded the S.S. *Alameda* and arrived at Apia on July 10, 1896.<sup>23</sup>



## OFFICIAL CONSUL IN SAMOA

Churchill was miffed with Blacklock from the beginning. Blacklock, who hated the captain of the *Alameda*, refused to greet Churchill in the rented consular boat. Churchill was also wary of Harry Moors, the wealthiest businessman in the country, who had brought the troupe of Samoans to the World's Fair. He called Moors "an enemy" and informed Washington: "He runs after every new man who comes to the place and nine times out of ten seems to gain a hypnotic influence over them."<sup>24</sup>

Churchill further considered Moors an enemy because he had imported more than three thousand cartridges without proper permits, which Churchill promptly had impounded at customs. (Moors may also have been the "enemy from Samoa" Llewella Churchill later accused in her husband's disappearance.) Moors maintained that the ammunition was solely for "sportsmen" departing the islands. In reality, as Moors would later boast, they were supplies for the rebel forces of Mata'afa, the exiled king.<sup>25</sup>

Churchill may also have been jealous of Moors's friendship with the late Stevenson. Moors had befriended the novelist and become his financial agent, housebuilder, and memorialist. Moors had already begun to write his book, *With Stevenson in Samoa* (1910), and was also writing essays and novels about his own blackbirding days in the Gilbert Islands and running scores of island trading stations. A frequent letter writer, Moors had complained to Washington about the appointment of Blacklock, an Australian, as acting consul, while he, American-born, was overlooked for the position. Washington, meanwhile, was suspicious of Moors's support of Mata'afa. Officially, the United States supported Malietoa, while the Germans backed a third chief, Tamasese. By the terms of the 1889 Berlin Treaty, Samoa had become a tridominium, ostensibly ruled by British, German, and American consuls. So, in addition to the daily affairs of settling court disputes, officiating at marriages, resolving estate matters, and regulating imports, the consuls sought to keep the peace among the various warring factions of the Samoan clans.<sup>26</sup>

One of Churchill's first decisions was to sack Blacklock, citing his affiliations with the "Beach," the foreign businessmen and beachcombers of Apia. To replace him, Churchill nominated Stevenson's

stepson, Lloyd Osbourne, who still resided at the novelist's home at Vailima. He then hired his own stepson, Perry Churchill, now twenty, as consular clerk.<sup>27</sup>

He requested from Washington permission to purchase a consular boat of three horsepower with an awning, so he could call upon villages in style. He noted that there were few accurate island maps available and asked for a set. The flags of the office were rotten from mildew, and he needed replacements. The office files were not indexed and were disintegrating. He asked for materials for indexing the files: cards, a date stamp, and a cabinet to inventory the collection. He volunteered his spare time to do the job.<sup>28</sup> It was partly his love of tedious notetaking and archival organizing, but he had an ulterior motive: as he wrote to his "dear Mater," he intended "to write some good stories" based on the consular files: "three romances of adventure almost write themselves."<sup>29</sup> These may have become the unpublished novels, "Memoirs of a South Sea Islander," "Jack," and "An Assisted Idolater." He also boasted to her: "My time has been fully occupied in gathering into my hands the reins of government and bringing order out of the confusion in which I found the office."<sup>30</sup>

On August 3, he made his first official calls on the British and German consuls and on Malietoa. Evidently his psoriasis condition had flared up again, for Malietoa conferred upon him the title of Venivenia. If Churchill knew the meaning of the word, he told no one, but did inform his "dear Mater" and his friends he had been bestowed with "the title of Venivenia," which in Samoan means "to be bloated or puffed up with disease."<sup>31</sup>

In addition to his consular duties and novel writing, Churchill began the enormous task of creating a card file of Samoan words with a view towards writing a new Samoan dictionary, Pratt's *Samoan Dictionary and Grammar* being some thirty-five years old. He also compiled lists of genealogies and notes on Samoan legends, projects that would occupy him on and off for the next twenty years. It's not surprising, then, that he neglected the office accounts and became involved with factions, something consuls should avoid.

But his forays into "rebel" camps and his support of Mata'afa, contrary to Washington policy, did reveal hints of approaching war. By January 1897, Churchill was reporting the revival of the old stick-throwing game, *tati'a*, practiced as a prelude to war. He also noted

“that war names are now being used in the ceremony of ava drinking both among the rebels and the loyal party.” His knowledge of the language and customs had revealed this, information that would have been lost on a less knowledgeable consul, but Washington scoffed at the news.<sup>32</sup>

Perry became ill with typhus in February, and “Llew” Churchill divided her time between caring for him and acting as clerk. In April, Perry was sent back to America to recuperate. Churchill remained in Samoa, however, and in May went so far as to intervene and advise Mata’afa’s men not to participate in a particular *fono*, a political meeting. By doing so, he believed he had “won a peace,” but Washington was shocked at his impulsiveness.<sup>33</sup>

In June Assistant Secretary of State Alvey A. Adee wrote, “I don’t think Mr. Churchill was . . . discreet . . . in mixing up with this rebel conclave.”<sup>34</sup> Washington decided to recall Churchill, and the position was offered to Church Howe, who chose instead a consular post in Palermo, Italy. Another man, Civil War veteran and Nebraska lawyer Luther Wood Osborn, accepted the job. Churchill was out, but he would not know it for some time.

Osborn was named to the post July 28, only a year after Churchill’s arrival. Three days later, Lloyd Osbourne resigned from California, where he was enjoying his honeymoon. Churchill got all this news on August 22. He reappointed Blacklock, saying he had been “mised” about the man. He was also bitter about Moors’s letter-writing campaign, to which he attributed his loss of position, not that he had neglected his duties, or overspent his funds. (Osborn noted that nearly \$1,000 was owed to the main German firm in Apia and that “Churchill was a very poor business man.”) Churchill argued, “I was made a target for such abuse as has served to embitter my recollection of my tour of duty here in Samoa.”<sup>35</sup> It was also a blow to his ego. In 1917, he wrote to his brother Arthur: “Twenty years ago I held office when the dignity as well as the wages meant much to me.”<sup>36</sup>

Malietoa gave him a fine farewell address and presented him a carved ironwood war club as a remembrance of his stay in Samoa.<sup>37</sup> One year later, Churchill’s prediction came true: civil war erupted in Apia.

On November 3, he and Llew left Samoa aboard the S.S. *Mariposa*, arriving in Honolulu on November 10. They spent nearly a month

there, calling on Yale classmates and Samoan residents and visiting the Big Island to see the volcano. They planned to take a trip to Japan, but letters of recall reached them at the end of the month, telling Churchill to proceed to Washington. They left November 28.<sup>38</sup>

A week before his departure, the Hawaiian Historical Society asked him to lecture on Samoan origins at the YMCA in Honolulu. The talk was entertaining, Churchill delivering it while leaning on a *to'oto'o* staff, Samoan orator fashion. When the talk was over, he was elected an honorary member of the society. The members eyed his prized Samoan war club, Malietoa's gift, and suggested that it would make a fine contribution to the Bishop Museum. Churchill "only smiled."<sup>39</sup>

#### THE PRODUCTIVE NEW YORK YEARS

In Washington, Churchill had to explain his behavior and his accounts. He met with Rear Admiral John G. Walker about Pacific naval bases, especially at Pago Pago, and was quizzed by President William McKinley.<sup>40</sup> There was talk in the *New York Times* of December 9 that he was to be considered for another consular post, but this was only a face-saving tactic, either on the part of the State Department or Churchill himself. In fact, the State Department would later suspect him of treason.

In February, Churchill returned to Brooklyn, whence he had departed with such high hopes after college, and again after a stint on the *Brooklyn Times*. Now he was returning, unemployed, in disgrace. Llewella herself was ill after caring for Perry, who was not yet recovered.

For two months Churchill searched unsuccessfully for work. His depression increased: he had gone from a man "holding the reins of government" to a supplicant. Finally, at the end of March, he took his carved ironwood club, the gift from Malietoa, and put it in a packing case. He wrapped it and addressed it to the Smithsonian in Washington. The club that he had refused to donate four months before—when the whole world seemed open to him—he now sent away. It was a classic suicide's gesture. That Sunday night, his wife stopped him from drinking laudanum, tincture of opium.<sup>41</sup>

Samoans believe that especially bright people are prone to insanity. Their expression for it is *ua pā le poto*: “the intelligence explodes.”

Thomas Trood, Apia resident and sometime acting British consul, recalled in his memoir, *Island Reminiscences*, that Churchill was “a man of most versatile talent and a linguist . . . unfortunately after leaving here he became insane and had to be placed in an asylum.”<sup>42</sup> The brilliant mind had suffered a breakdown, possibly a return of “Aunt Louise.”

He was found wandering in South Carolina.

Anyone who reads Trood’s account assumes that that was the end of William Churchill. But the brilliant scholar was entering his most remarkable and productive period. In 1902, Charles Dana, editor of the *New York Sun*, hired him as the “Questions and Answers” editor. He would later hold several other editorial posts, including book editor and librarian. To supplement his meager income, he reviewed books for scholarly journals. “[I have] an absurd scruple,” he once wrote. “I cannot review a book until I have read it.”<sup>43</sup> During Churchill’s recuperation from the fugue, Llewella Churchill published several long travel articles about Samoa in the *New York Times*.<sup>44</sup> It’s possible that he was the real author of the pieces, just as he was almost certainly the author of the travel book *Samoa ‘Uma: Where Life is Different*, published in 1902 by Field and Stream under Llewella’s name. Apparently he wanted his name connected only with scholarly works. They bought a house in Brooklyn on East 12th Street and named it Fale ‘Ula, or “Red House,” which is also the legendary name of the Manu‘a Islands in Samoa.

He continued his linguistic researches, attempting to discover no less than the original language, “from the animal cry through the successive stages of the nasals, then the palatals, next the linguals, and last the training of the lips to precise speaking.”<sup>45</sup> He believed the study of the origins of the Polynesian languages would prove more illuminating than Whitney’s research in Sanskrit had been. “I have been able to take the step which Max Mueller and Whitney could not take along the path of their Sanskrit researches, a step that brings me within seeing distance of a genesis of human speech.”<sup>46</sup> He believed the material he had gathered during his two stays in the Pacific had given him almost enough to complete his study. There was a certain

professional rivalry at work here: Whitney had thought his student should study Sanskrit, that Polynesian was “a barren field.” Churchill thought that “my Polynesian is going to rob his Sanskrit of a whole lot of its importance.” He knew the subject, he said, “as no man alive,” but found it difficult to work on it in snatched hours: “I can’t make money because I don’t know how,” he wrote in a rare flash of humility. “I shall never be anything but a salary man.”<sup>47</sup> He was one of those scholars, a friend pointed out, who produced substantial work while in near total obscurity, his output known only to a few friends and colleagues, like the anthropologist Percy Smith in New Zealand.

Prior to his fugue, he had completed an article for *Harper’s Weekly*, “Mata’afa in Exile,” which appeared while he was institutionalized at the end of April 1898. He did not publish an article under his own name for seven years, until the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* in New Zealand brought out his “Principles of Samoan Word Composition.”<sup>48</sup> Yet he had been working intensely. He worked on his Samoan dictionary, which would grow to one hundred thousand card entries. He began a translation of the Bible into Samoan. He finally completed his manuscript of more than seven hundred pages on Samoan legends and traditions, *Samoa o le Vavau* (Ancient Samoa), and sent a copy to Percy Smith in hopes it would be published. It never was. He wanted to return to Samoa to complete his research. He wrote to friends, explaining his work, hoping someone could think of something to free him from newspaper work.

In 1905, William Chambers, former chief justice in Samoa, sent his name to the Carnegie Institute in Washington. Then president of the Spanish Treaty Claims Commission, Chambers wrote a glowing letter comparing Churchill’s intellect favorably with that of Stevenson, whom Chambers had known in Samoa, and saying that Samoan chiefs and missionaries alike acknowledged Churchill “to be the best authority in the islands” on customs, language, and genealogy.<sup>49</sup>

The president of Carnegie, engineer and physicist Dr. Robert Woodward, visited the Churchills at Fale ‘Ula and listened to the scholar’s theories on the language and migrations of the Polynesians. He was impressed and eventually recommended Churchill for association with Carnegie,<sup>50</sup> but it would be another ten years before he would become a paid associate.

Churchill continued at the newspaper, working nights with Mon-

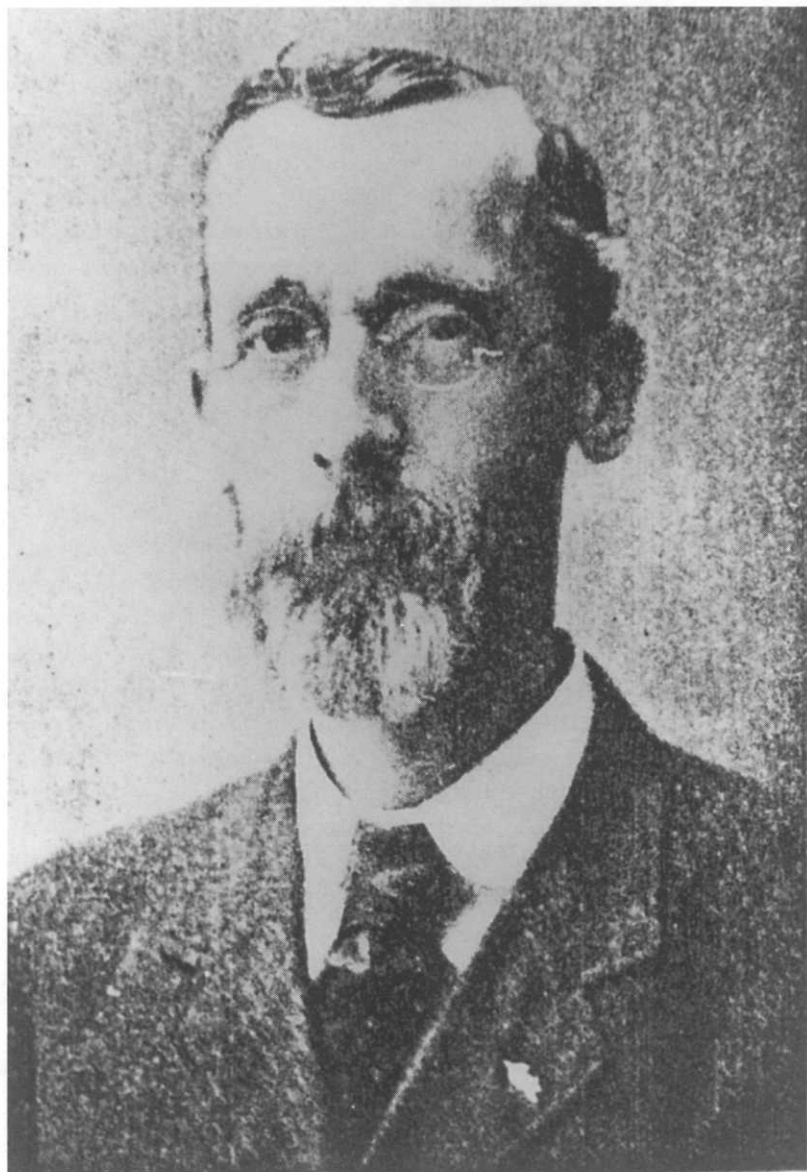


FIG. 2. William Churchill photographed about 1910, when he was fifty years old and an editor at the *New York Sun*. Photo courtesy the Yale University Alumni Office.

days off, lucky if he could steal three hours a day for what he considered his "real work." Over the next several years he became, in his own words, "a recluse."<sup>51</sup> In 1908, he was nearing completion of the manuscript when he collapsed and was rushed to the hospital. He was released but again hospitalized in February 1909. He wrote to Woodward: "No more the dream of a sojourn in the wilds. . . . [I must be near] where the meat wagon can come . . . to take me to the hospital, an incident which has several times this year rather annoyed me."<sup>52</sup> The closest he could come to a tropical sanitarium was Bermuda, where he sailed in March. He returned after several weeks and made a final push to complete the manuscript, accomplishing much during that summer. "Midsummer always gives me zest for hard work," he once wrote. "I'm sure I must have evolved from a tropical bird with a green-purple tail."<sup>53</sup>

He mailed off the manuscript in January 1910. The Carnegie Institute accepted it for publication, and it became his most famous work. *Polynesian Wanderings* was the first major study to postulate on linguistic grounds that Polynesians had migrated out of Indonesia through Melanesia, that there had been not one but successive waves of migration, and that Samoa had been a "distributing point" for Hawai'i, Tahiti, New Zealand, and the other Polynesian communities. Technical journals saw its merits, both *Science* and *Nature* reviewed it favorably, and it made a name for Churchill in these restricted circles.<sup>54</sup> Over the next five years, Carnegie brought out *Beach-la-Mar* (1911), *Easter Island* (1912), *The Subanu* (1913), and *The Sissano* (1916). Churchill was never paid for the works, receiving only author's copies as recompense.

About 1912, Churchill met Dr. Margaret Barclay Wilson, a Scots-born friend of Andrew Carnegie and a professor at Hunter College. Together they produced a collection of Carnegie's speeches and essays. He wrote to Woodward, "She is certainly the finest intelligence I ever knew."<sup>55</sup> His admiration for her was one of the causes of the breakup of his marriage. Wilson, Llewella Churchill later charged, was not only guilty of stealing him from her but also of causing his "indirect murder."<sup>56</sup>

In 1911, the New York City police department decided to erect an honor roll of fallen officers and published a tentative list. At the *Sun*, Churchill received a letter from a man who said that his policeman



father's name was not on the list but had been shot in the line of duty about 1840. He provided no other details. Churchill went to the *Sun's* files and, "after hours of search," found an account of the killing. The policeman's name became the first on the plaque. His research skills also proved the innocence of a Wisconsin man who had been convicted of murder in 1867—forty-four years earlier. Churchill was able to establish, by searching out old newspaper stories, that the man had been at sea at the time of the crime.<sup>57</sup>

In 1912, he proposed to Woodward that an Index Rerum be created, an international index of newspaper stories for the benefit of researchers, emphasizing that "today's newspaper is the history of tomorrow."<sup>58</sup> It was a proposal on a far grander scale than he had suggested in Apia. He judged he would require two assistants and an office. Understandably, Woodward rejected the "colossal undertaking."<sup>59</sup> Yet a year later the *New York Times* would begin annual publication of its famous index, an index that in 1993 helped unearth the story of Churchill's Carolina fugue.

Following the publication of *Easter Island*, Churchill again became ill, working at the *Sun* during the day and on his research at night. In December 1912, unbeknownst to her husband, Llewella wrote to Woodward requesting assistance. They were attempting to add a study to Fale 'Ula and were faced with a mortgage of \$2,500. They had "only three day's coal in the cellar to face a cold hard winter," she wrote, and she feared losing the house. Her husband was "the best and dearest man in the world and the very worst manager of business," she added. She felt that if Mr. Carnegie himself were made aware of the situation, he would help them, and her husband would "be better able to do good work and be a credit to himself and to Science."<sup>60</sup> Woodward refused, he said, "to seek out special favors from the Founder."<sup>61</sup>

#### WASHINGTON AND THE LAST YEARS

On March 20, 1915, Churchill resigned from the *Sun* and left his wife and home, this time knowingly. He moved to Washington and took up residence at the Cosmos Club, where membership is limited to published writers. He officially became an associate of the Carnegie Institute and was given a salary of \$5,000 a year, later raised to

\$5,500.<sup>62</sup> There he was free to continue his research, unencumbered by newspaper work or book reviewing.

The following year he produced *The Sissano*, a study of Melanesian migration. He also edited the Malayo-Polynesian section of the *Standard Dictionary* and contributed a history of the war to the *New International Encyclopedia* (1920). The author Ernest Poole asked him one night at the Cosmos Club how long his history for the *Encyclopedia* would be. "With a strained anxious look he replied, 'Oh, it will run to more millions of words than I care to think about.'"<sup>63</sup>

When World War I began, newspaperman George Creel, director of the Committee on Public Information, sought out Churchill to head up the Foreign Language Newspaper Division, just as he had appointed the artist Charles Dana Gibson to organize the poster division of the propaganda department. Churchill officially joined on April 17, 1917. Describing himself to the committee, he said he was "57 years, six months" and was

Robust, not a day of illness in five years, myopic, optically corrected, left ear deaf, right ear normal; Facility in French and German, reading Spanish and Italian; some success in decyphering cryptograms.<sup>64</sup>

He emphasized his newspaper experience and suggested that he could best serve in the "news department of national censorship." He had claimed he was "robust" out of bravado, for he was thin and frail and was offering the talents he did have for the war effort.

He moved from the Cosmos Club and virtually lived at the CPI offices at Jackson Place in Lafayette Square, near the White House. He gave up his research to devote himself to his new work and did not know that he would never return to it.

Though Jackson Place was far from the trenches in France, the office would prove to be a dangerous place for Churchill. Mainly he produced stories for European consumption as well as the foreign-language press in the United States. In a memo to Creel, Churchill noted:

For three years the German-American press have been cut off from their foreign exchanges, always the most important part of the papers. If we undertook to have them have a look-in they will feed out of our hands all the propaganda that we can supply.<sup>65</sup>

One project involved translating one of President Wilson's speeches, copies of which were airlifted and dropped over Germany. He later testified that reading them would make the German people "more inclined towards peace."<sup>66</sup>

He worked the night shift—called the "dog trick"—taking incoming calls, censoring cables, and doing translations. It was a lonely job for the first six months. He saw only the night watchman, James King, and occasionally worked during the day with Dr. Helen Tanzer of the City College of New York on translations. With Dr. Margaret Wilson, he organized the collection of opera glasses and lenses to be made into binoculars for the troops.<sup>67</sup>

In November, he was introduced to a woman described by the *New York Times* as "strikingly handsome."<sup>68</sup> Churchill knew her as Madame Storch, a British magazine writer who was doing a series on "Women in the War." According to the Bureau of Investigation, the forerunner of the FBI, Churchill and Storch "were seen about town together." He was alone and fifty-eight, an aging scholar, and he was beguiled by the attractive twenty-two-year-old who also spoke German, French, and Spanish. She visited him "several times" in his CPI offices during his "dog trick," and he gave her copies of his work.<sup>69</sup> He never seemed to question what the young woman saw in him.

One morning that month, the nightwatchman King left the CPI offices about 6 A.M. He returned sometime later and checked the rooms. In the foreign language office, he found Churchill sprawled on the floor, his head in a pool of blood. According to the *Washington Star*, he had "a gash several inches long in his scalp. The wound looked like it might have been made with some blunt instrument. It is believed the assailant was a German agent."<sup>70</sup>

Churchill was rushed to Garfield Hospital, where he was found to have a fractured skull. Upon regaining consciousness, he asked about the safety of his office papers and then asked about Madame Storch.

The *Sun* reported:

Mr. Churchill said he was sleeping on a cot when the man attacked him and that he and the intruder engaged in a tussle, at the conclusion of which the man fled. [Churchill had been] severely beaten.<sup>71</sup>

The bureau began an investigation. Two agents, G. L. Wallace and Frank Burke, were assigned to the case. They soon discovered that "Madame Storch" was not whom she claimed to be. She was, in reality, Despina Davidovich, of Turkish descent, born in Berlin in 1895. She had once been married to a British army officer named Hesketh, and she sometimes used his name. She was also known as Madame Nozier and Baroness de Beville. The *New York Times* reported that she "was regarded by agents of the Department of Justice as one of the ablest spies that Germany had in this country."<sup>72</sup>

In December, while Churchill was recuperating at Margaret Wilson's home, Davidovich was arrested when she returned to the CPI offices "after hours." The Department of Justice "ordered her out of Washington with a warning not to return." She went to New York City and was arrested there on March 18, carrying "a safety deposit box of codes and foreign correspondence."<sup>73</sup> President Wilson ordered her deportation.<sup>74</sup>

Eleven days later, Despina Davidovich was dead. Rumor had it that she had been executed or that she had shot herself. Officials said she had died of pneumonia at Ellis Island. She was buried at Mount Olivet Cemetery, after a five-minute service, on April Fool's Day.<sup>75</sup>

Churchill had recovered by January 30, in time to testify before a committee of the House of Representatives.<sup>76</sup> James Foster, a former CPI employee, had stated that mail had been stolen and that there were abuses in the censorship department. As part of the national "Spy Hunt," according to a *Times* headline, Churchill denied that there had been any theft of mails "or that there had been any laxity or abuses."<sup>77</sup> Foster was dismissed as a disgruntled employee, but many wondered why a foreign spy had been allowed into the CPI offices. Churchill made the same denials four days later, according to the *Washington Post*.<sup>78</sup>

Wallace and Burke continued their investigation, interviewing Churchill, the nightwatchman King, the hospital nurses, and Helen Tanzer.<sup>79</sup> Finally, at the end of January, possibly at the bureau's urging, CPI put out a statement that said no German agents were involved and that there had been no attack. They said Churchill had been injured during "an attack of vertigo." He had fallen, the *Star* reported, "his head striking a radiator."<sup>80</sup> This was a complete contradiction of the *Sun* story. It was also indicated that the investigation

was at an end. The chief of the bureau, Bruce Bielaski, said simply that there was “no case.”<sup>81</sup>

Documents acquired in 1993 under the Freedom of Information Act, however, show that these statements were not true. Agents believed that there was a case and that Churchill had indeed been attacked by a German spy.<sup>82</sup> Their belief was strengthened when the watchman King—who had discovered the bloodied Churchill—was shot and killed three days after Davidovich was buried. Investigators suspected that “German agents were behind the murder, seeking some of the [CPI’s] secret information,” said the *Times*.<sup>83</sup>

Investigators also considered the possibility that Churchill—even unwittingly—was passing information to Davidovich.<sup>84</sup> In a document recently declassified, the Department of State forwarded a report from Agent Burke, based on an informant named Orr, that stated that Churchill was “in the habit of having Madame Stork [*sic*] in his rooms at the Bureau during his ‘Trick.’” The report continued: “Now the death of King, the watchman, looks very suspicious. King may have known too much, so my informant says.”<sup>85</sup>

Agent Wallace was given a copy of the typed report, with the penciled injunction: “Wallace—work this carefully.” Wallace then interviewed Creel, Tanzer, and Churchill’s doctor, an intern named Pupski. He interviewed Tanzer on May 7, 1948, four months after the bureau chief said the investigation had ended. Wallace wanted the names of all of Churchill’s acquaintances and later professed the feeling that Tanzer’s “manner was not frank” and that “the interview was not at all satisfactory.” He instructed her to consider their “conference strictly confidential.” Yet Tanzer soon informed Churchill of the agent’s visit. Three days later, Churchill called at the bureau to question Wallace’s credentials. He wondered

if the Department [was] investigating him [and] that if the Department is investigating him, that if it would call upon him personally he would give it any information it wished concerning himself, whether it be for or against him.<sup>86</sup>

Agent Wallace was furious that Tanzer had “double-crossed” him and wrote that it “bears out his opinion of the suspicious actions of Prof. Tanzer while being interviewed.” Nevertheless, the Department

of State decided to take “no action” against her or Churchill.<sup>87</sup> His attacker was never found. A forty-year-old Black man named William Clements, a CPI boiler room worker, was charged with King’s murder.<sup>88</sup> It is not known if he was convicted.

Churchill recovered from the skull fracture, but according to his brother Arthur, he was never the same. Arthur later maintained that his brother’s death was indirectly caused by the attack.<sup>89</sup> In addition to his other problems, Churchill developed a lung infection. Yet he continued to work.

In preparation for the drafting of the Treaty of Versailles, Colonel Edward Mandell House asked Churchill to develop a report on Germany’s colonies and attend the armistice. Churchill could not attend but did return to Carnegie in December 1918 to complete the report, which was published posthumously in the *Geographical Review* as “Germany’s Lost Pacific Empire.”<sup>90</sup> (The CPI was abolished by Congress in June 1919.) Two months later, in February, he returned to Garfield Hospital with pneumonia. He was released in the spring. The Belgian government awarded him the Order of Leopold II (*Officier de l’Order Belge du Leopold II*) for his German study.<sup>91</sup>

Back at Carnegie and the Cosmos Club, he did little work on his Samoan manuscripts. He lost contact with his wife and son and his siblings, though he still wrote to Arthur in New Jersey. In the spring of 1920, his other lung failed, and he was again admitted to Garfield. He was cheered that he had been named consulting ethnologist to the Bishop Museum’s Bayard Dominick Pacific Expedition.<sup>92</sup> However, he would never return to the Pacific.

On May 22, he drafted a new will,<sup>93</sup> witnessed by his nurses. He named Arthur as executor and mentioned no one else. He left all of his manuscripts and notes to the Carnegie Institute. His wife was the beneficiary of his life insurance policy, which amounted to \$456.26. On that same day, he clarified this policy with the Teachers Annuity Association.<sup>94</sup> He died at Garfield on June 9, 1920, of pneumonia. He was cremated and buried in the family plot at Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn. No stone marks his grave.

Dr. Wilson paid part of his hospital bill, and the Carnegie made up the difference. His estate could not cover the bill of \$997.58. Wilson purchased his books and furniture. His voluminous notebooks and manuscripts were deposited at Carnegie, later at the Bishop Museum



FIG. 3. Llewella Pierce Churchill as she was pictured in the frontispiece of *Samoa 'Uma—Where Life is Different*, published in 1902, when she was forty-four. She wears a comb in her hair, Samoan-style.

in Honolulu.<sup>95</sup> Copies were sent to twenty-five-year-old Margaret Mead, newly arrived in Samoa, in 1926. She did not think much of them.<sup>96</sup> They remain unpublished.

On August 2, 1920, Llewella Churchill wrote a ranting letter to the officials at Carnegie. It was so malicious that Secretary Walter Gilbert wanted to destroy it. Woodward, however, directed that it be filed. In it, she complained that she had not been informed of her husband's illness, death, or burial. "All this is nothing short of criminal cruelty to me his widow—and his wife for more than a quarter of a century."

She continued:

I cannot forget but I do forgive Margerate [*sic*] Barclay Wilson—teacher of Physiology in Hunter's College—annex of the City College of New York for the indirect murder of my husband—with drugs and medicines she has given him for years past and up to the time of his death—to the time he was taken at last from her home to the Garfield Hospital to die there. . . .

These drugs and medicines destroyed his health and made of him a physical wreck and changed his whole nature toward me and his blind mother—and ruined his life.

I cannot forget but I do forgive Margerate Barclay Wilson—for robbing me of my husband's support and impoverishing me—and of robbing me of my beautiful home—Fale 'Ula—and its furnishings. The earnings and savings of a lifetime. . . .

I cannot forget but I do forgive Margerate Barclay Wilson for living with my husband at 2928 Upton St NW Washington D.C. and for her treachery to him—and for her vile and indecent conduct and for the drugs and medicines she gave him there and elsewhere. . . .

My husband is now where Margerate Barclay Wilson can no longer degrade him. . . . I shall always cherish the sweet memories of the William Churchill I married . . . before Margerate Barclay Wilson came to cloud and destroy—May God forgive her for I certainly do. . . .

The letter is signed "Llewella Pierce Churchill (Mrs. William Churchill)."<sup>97</sup>

Two years afterwards, Mrs. Churchill fell in a New York subway and broke her leg. Later, she was employed as a "houseworker" at the Sagamore Masonic Lodge in Oriskany, New York.<sup>98</sup> She died there of a cerebral hemorrhage in 1939<sup>99</sup> and was buried next to her husband on Valentine's Day.



## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> *New York Times* 31 Mar. 1898 (hereafter cited as *NYT*); also *Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier* 5 Apr. 1898.
- <sup>2</sup> *NYT* 31 Mar. 1898.
- <sup>3</sup> *NYT* 2 Apr. 1898.
- <sup>4</sup> *NYT* 8 Apr. 1898.
- <sup>5</sup> W. H. [Walter Hough], "William Churchill," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 2, ed. Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (New York: Charles Scribners & Sons, 1958) 106; *New England Families* (New York: American Historical Society, 1916) 441–42.
- <sup>6</sup> William Churchill, "My Aunt Louise and I," William Churchill files, 1908–1911, Basil Guildersleeve Collection, Johns Hopkins U, Baltimore, Md.
- <sup>7</sup> Churchill, "My Aunt."
- <sup>8</sup> Nancy Lynn Gooch, *Nightmare* (New York: Richardson and Steirman, 1987) 222, 49.
- <sup>9</sup> Churchill, "My Aunt."
- <sup>10</sup> Montclair High School records, Montclair, N.J.
- <sup>11</sup> Yale Univ. alumni records, New Haven, Conn.
- <sup>12</sup> William Churchill, letter to James Rice, 10 Dec. 1904, Carnegie Institute (hereafter CI).
- <sup>13</sup> Hough, "William Churchill" 106; William Churchill, "Stevenson in the South Seas," *McClure's* December 1894: 278–85.
- <sup>14</sup> Hough, "William Churchill" 106; Green-Wood Cemetery records, Brooklyn, N.Y.
- <sup>15</sup> *PCA* 18 June 1896.
- <sup>16</sup> William Churchill, "The Earliest Samoan Prints," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 94 (June 1915).
- <sup>17</sup> St. Clair McKelway, letter to Grover Cleveland, 7 May 1893, Applications and Recommendations for Public Office, 1797–1901, General Records of the Department of State (RG 59), National Archives (hereafter cited as A&R).
- <sup>18</sup> William Churchill, letter to President Grover Cleveland, 16 Dec. 1893, A&R.
- <sup>19</sup> St. Clair McKelway, letter to Grover Cleveland, 7 May 1893; W. A. Glassford, letter to secretary of state, 23 Dec. 1893; Cord Meyer, letter to Cleveland, 20 Jan. 1894; Alexander Black, letter to Cleveland, 8 Jan. 1894; William Coombs, letter to Walter Q. Gresham, 27 July 1894; Thomas Magner, letter to Gresham, 28 Dec. 1893 and 3 Aug. 1894. A&R.
- <sup>20</sup> Fanny Stevenson, letter to "Aunt Maggie" [R. L. Stevenson's mother], no. 3807, Sept. 1895, Stevenson Collection, Beinecke Library, Yale Univ.
- <sup>21</sup> William Coombs, letters to Grover Cleveland, 11 Feb. 1896 and 22 Apr. 1896; James Covert, letter to secretary of state, 11 May 1895; Dodd, Mead & Co., letter to Cleveland, 2 Jan. 1894. A&R.
- <sup>22</sup> Henry Thurber, letter to W. W. Rockhill, State Dept., 2 June 1896, A & R.
- <sup>23</sup> William Churchill, letter to State Dept., 10 July 1896, Despatches from United States Consuls in Apia, Samoa, 1843–1906, Records of Consular Posts, 1790–1949, Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State (RG 84), National Archives microfilm publication no. T-27, rolls 23 and 24 (hereafter cited as Consular Despatches).

- <sup>24</sup> William Churchill, letter to State Dept., 2 Sept. 1896, Consular Despatches.
- <sup>25</sup> Harry J. Moors, "Mr. Glover's Strategy," unpub. essay, n.d., in author's collection; Joseph Theroux, "Rediscovering 'H.J.M.,' Samoa's 'Unconquerable' Harry Moors," *Pacific Islands Monthly* 52.8 (August 1981): 51-57; Joseph Theroux, "HJM: Showman, Author, Farmer—and Crusading Politician," *Pacific Islands Monthly* 52.9 (Sept. 1981): 59-64.
- <sup>26</sup> Theroux, "Rediscovering"; Theroux, "HJM."
- <sup>27</sup> William Churchill, letter to secretary of state, 11 Aug. 1896, Consular Despatches.
- <sup>28</sup> William Churchill, letter to secretary of state, 2 Sept. 1896, Consular Despatches.
- <sup>29</sup> Margaret Titcomb, "Three Letters by William Churchill," 46th Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society, Honolulu, 1937.
- <sup>30</sup> Titcomb, "Three Letters."
- <sup>31</sup> Titcomb, "Three Letters"; George Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language* (1911; Malua, Samoa, 1862).
- <sup>32</sup> Assistant Secretary of State Adler, letter to Alvey Adee, 20 July 1897, Consular Despatches.
- <sup>33</sup> Alvey Adee, letter to Chilton, 11 June 1897, Consular Despatches.
- <sup>34</sup> Alvey A. Adee, letter to Chilton, 11 June 1897, Consular Despatches.
- <sup>35</sup> William Churchill, letter to W. W. Rockhill, 8 May 1897, Consular Despatches.
- <sup>36</sup> Titcomb, "Three Letters."
- <sup>37</sup> "Farewell Address of Malietoa," 29 Oct. 1897, trans. William Churchill, Beinecke Library, Yale Univ.
- <sup>38</sup> *PCA* 10 Nov. 1897.
- <sup>39</sup> *PCA* 23, 25, 26 Nov. 1897.
- <sup>40</sup> *NYT* 9 Dec. 1897.
- <sup>41</sup> *NYT* 31 Mar. 1898.
- <sup>42</sup> Trood, *Island Reminiscences* 107.
- <sup>43</sup> William Churchill, letter to Robert Woodward, 8 Oct. 1914, CI.
- <sup>44</sup> *NYT* 26 Feb. 1899 and 16 Apr. 1899.
- <sup>45</sup> William Churchill, letter to Robert Woodward, 30 Nov. 1909, CI.
- <sup>46</sup> William Churchill, letter to James Rice, 10 Dec. 1904, CI.
- <sup>47</sup> Churchill, letter to Rice, 10 Dec. 1904.
- <sup>48</sup> William Churchill, "Principles of Samoan Word Composition," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 53 (March 1905).
- <sup>49</sup> W. C. Chambers, letter to Robert Woodward, 16 May 1905, CI.
- <sup>50</sup> William Churchill, letter to Robert Woodward, 16 Sept. 1905, CI.
- <sup>51</sup> William Churchill, letter to Robert Woodward, 22 Jan. 1910, CI.
- <sup>52</sup> William Churchill, letter to Robert Woodward, 13 Dec. 1912, CI.
- <sup>53</sup> William Churchill, letter to William Barnum, 20 Aug. 1913, CI.
- <sup>54</sup> Review, *Nature*, 10 Aug. 1912.
- <sup>55</sup> William Churchill, letter to Robert Woodward, 14 Aug. 1912, CI.
- <sup>56</sup> Llewella Churchill, letter to Robert Woodward, 2 Aug. 1920, CI.
- <sup>57</sup> William Churchill, letter to Robert Woodward, 14 Aug. 1912, CI.
- <sup>58</sup> Churchill, letter to Woodward, 14 Aug. 1912.
- <sup>59</sup> Robert Woodward, letter to William Churchill, 16 Aug. 1912, CI.

- <sup>60</sup> Llewella Churchill, letter to Robert Woodward, 19 Dec. 1912, CI.
- <sup>61</sup> Robert Woodward, letter to Llewella Churchill, 27 Dec. 1912, CI.
- <sup>62</sup> CI file.
- <sup>63</sup> Ernest Poole, *The Bridge: My Own Story* (New York: Macmillan, 1940) 265.
- <sup>64</sup> William Churchill, letter to Robert Woodward, 12 Apr. 1917, CI.
- <sup>65</sup> Quoted in James Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words That Won the War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton UP, 1939) 228.
- <sup>66</sup> *NYT* 16 Feb. 1918.
- <sup>67</sup> William Churchill, letter to Robert Woodward, 11 Apr. 1917, CI.
- <sup>68</sup> *NYT* 19, 20, 31 Mar. 1918, 2 Apr. 1918.
- <sup>69</sup> William Churchill file, 1918, Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice, Freedom of Information Act request no. 337607 (hereafter FBI file).
- <sup>70</sup> *Evening Star* (Washington) 25 Jan. 1918.
- <sup>71</sup> *New York Sun* 10 June 1920.
- <sup>72</sup> *NYT* 31 Mar. 1918.
- <sup>73</sup> *NYT* 31 Mar. 1918.
- <sup>74</sup> *NYT* 20 Mar. 1918.
- <sup>75</sup> *NYT* 2 Apr. 1918.
- <sup>76</sup> *Evening Star* 30 Jan. and 16 Feb. 1918.
- <sup>77</sup> *NYT* 16 Feb. 1918.
- <sup>78</sup> *Washington Post* 16 Feb. 1918.
- <sup>79</sup> FBI file.
- <sup>80</sup> *Washington Post* 26 Jan. 1918; *Evening Star* 26 Jan. 1918.
- <sup>81</sup> *Washington Post* 26 Jan. 1918; *Evening Star* 26 Jan. 1918.
- <sup>82</sup> FBI file.
- <sup>83</sup> *NYT* 5 Apr. 1918.
- <sup>84</sup> FBI file.
- <sup>85</sup> FBI file.
- <sup>86</sup> FBI file.
- <sup>87</sup> FBI file.
- <sup>88</sup> *NYT* 5 Apr. 1918.
- <sup>89</sup> Titcomb, "Three Letters"; obituaries, *New York Sun* and *NYT* 10 June 1920.
- <sup>90</sup> William Churchill, "Germany's Last Pacific Empire," *Geographical Review* 10 (August 1920).
- <sup>91</sup> Yale Obituary Record, 1920, Yale Univ. Alumni Office.
- <sup>92</sup> William Churchill, letter to Robert Woodward, 27 Mar. 1920, CI.
- <sup>93</sup> Will no. 27146, filed 15 June 1920, finalized 12 Oct. 1921. CI file.
- <sup>94</sup> William Churchill, letter to Teachers Insurance and Annuity, 22 May 1922, CI.
- <sup>95</sup> Records, CI.
- <sup>96</sup> Margarett Mead, letters to E. S. Craighill Handy, 27 Dec. 1925 and 6 Jan. 1926, Mead Collection, Library of Congress.
- <sup>97</sup> Llewella Churchill, letter to Robert Woodward, 2 Aug. 1920, CI.
- <sup>98</sup> C. L. Tilley, letter to William Barnum, 13 July 1921, CI.
- <sup>99</sup> Lot no. 10534, Section 150, Green-Wood Cemetery records, Brooklyn, N.Y.

