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THE LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

JARED SPARKS

"The scholar's true life is in his works."

"It has ever been a hobby of mine, though perhaps it is a truism, not a hobby, that the true life of a man is in his letters. . . . Not only for the interest of a biographer, but for the arriving at the inside of things, the publication of letters is the true method. Biographers varnish, they assign motives, they conjecture feelings, . . . but contemporary letters are facts." — CARDINAL NEWMAN.

"By their fruits ye shall know them."

TO VISIT
AMERICA



JARED SPARKS

1831

From a painting by SULLY

THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
JARED SPARKS

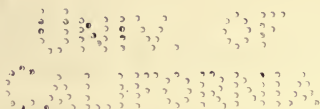
COMPRISING SELECTIONS FROM HIS JOURNALS
AND CORRESPONDENCE

BY

HERBERT B. ADAMS
PROFESSOR IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I



BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY
The Riverside Press, Cambridge
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- JARED SPARKS, from a painting by Sully (1831) . . . *Frontispiece*
JARED SPARKS, from an unfinished painting by
Stuart (1828) *Opposite page 388*



INTRODUCTION.

AT the request of the late Mrs. Jared Sparks, the preparation of these two memorial volumes was undertaken. The project was made attractive by a visit to Cambridge in the month of June, 1885; by a conference with the members of Mr. Sparks' family and with their friend Dr. Andrew P. Peabody; by a personal examination of a rich and extensive collection of unused manuscript materials of great historical interest; and finally by the consent of Mrs. Sparks to allow the papers of her husband to be removed to the Johns Hopkins University, in Baltimore, for convenient use. This heroic consent of an elderly lady to intrust an editor with even the temporary keeping of a large collection of family archives, which the owner valued as her chief literary solace, was as generous as the agreement of Judge Bushrod Washington to allow Jared Sparks to remove the Washington papers from Mount Vernon to Boston, — an historic precedent which doubtless influenced the prompt decision of Mrs. Sparks, who thus made the present editorial undertaking a possibility. The execution of the task has been long but unavoidably delayed by reason of other editorial duties and the pressure of academic work.

The Sparks collection of private papers embraces letters received by Mr. Sparks during the long period from 1809, when he entered Phillips Exeter Academy, to 1866, when he died. These letters were chronologically arranged by Mr. Sparks himself, and were kept unfolded in leather-bound, book-like cases, quarto and octavo size, bearing upon the back the years embraced in each file. This vast collection, representing Mr. Sparks' personal and literary relations throughout a long and exceptionally busy career, contains many autograph letters by distinguished men. Mr. Sparks was brought into wide circles of correspondence with eminent contemporaries in various spheres of life through his editorial connection with "The North American Review," and with other literary enterprises, such as the publication of the writings of Washington and Franklin, the Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution, and the Library of American Biography.

Besides the thousands of letters received by Mr. Sparks, there are his own letter-books, nine large quarto volumes, containing accurate copies of the most important communications sent by him from the year 1820 to the year of his death. Each letter-book has an alphabetical register of the persons addressed, with reference to the page on which each letter may be found. Accompanying the letter-books and files are several small bound volumes, recording from day to day, throughout his life, "letters received" and "letters sent." Probably no American scholar was ever more systematic in the record and preservation of his private correspondence. Few of our countrymen have had larger experience than he had in bringing scientific

order out of literary chaos. To say nothing of his editorial labors, Jared Sparks was the first president of Harvard to introduce a methodic arrangement of the widely scattered archives of that university. Doubtless he learned much in the way of orderly classification from his study of the papers and literary habits of George Washington, as well as from original investigations in the public record offices of Europe and America. But Jared Sparks had by nature and early training a genius for order. He loved mathematical precision and literary exactness. All his adjustments of relations between himself and his environment were as perfect as he could make them. Mathematical and historical talents were in him combined.

While a mere boy at Willington and Tolland, in Connecticut, he kept a careful record of his observations in astronomy and of problems in physics. At Phillips Exeter Academy and throughout his Harvard College course, he filled Commonplace Books with extensive notes on his private reading and regular accounts of his class-work. Jared Sparks' cash-books are better historical materials than are some men's diaries. From the year 1819 until 1857, there are occasional journals of travel and historical study or observation in interesting parts of this country and of Europe. For biographical and general historical purposes, Sparks' journals are by far the most interesting and important papers in the entire collection, and they are drawn upon in the present memorial volumes even more freely than are his letter-books. Sparks' observations upon what he saw in the Southern States, and of what he found in various libraries and public offices

along the Atlantic seaboard, have now a positive historical value, like the travels of President Dwight through New England at the close of the eighteenth century. Mr. Sparks' journals represent tours of historical discovery. No one can follow him in his patient itinerary and careful inquiries throughout the old Thirteen States, through Canada, England, Holland, Germany, and France, without realizing his deep devotion to his country's history. He was determined to reach the original sources. His journals contain interesting and valuable notes, not only of local manuscript collections, but also of conversations with eminent public men and with fathers of the republic, like Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. Mr. Sparks' long and laborious services, in collecting materials for American history and biography, can be best appreciated from a perusal of extracts from some of these journals of travel in this country and in Europe.

It is, then, as an original investigator, as a pioneer in American history, that Jared Sparks will chiefly interest the present generation. Probably Mr. Sparks never expected to be the final authority upon the Life and Writings of Washington and Franklin, upon Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold, La Salle, Ribault, Marquette, Pulaski, Charles Lee, Gouverneur Morris, or upon any other of the numerous historical subjects that occupied his careful attention in biographical and editorial ways. Nobody knew better than he under what limitations original and pioneer work is always done. No one would have rejoiced more heartily than he at the prospect of better facilities, better methods, better editions, better results, than his were in

his time. His labors were chiefly *bahnbrechend*, or path-finding, in the vast wilderness of American history. He first opened roads along which modern students are now easily and swiftly passing, too often without a grateful thought for the original explorer. It is time to review in a candid and reasonable spirit what our historical predecessors actually did, under obstacles that would have dismayed men of less courage. In such a retrospect Jared Sparks will appear no unworthy son of that hardy Saxon and English stock which has crossed seas and mountains, subdued forests and rivers, and made the rough ways smooth from ocean to ocean.

Dr. George E. Ellis has well said, in a sketch¹ prepared for the Massachusetts Historical Society, of which Dr. Ellis is now the honored president: "Jared Sparks is entitled to a full biography. The services he performed for so many others, who in public or private life had won distinction, or added to the wealth, the wisdom, and the happiness of humanity, might indeed secure for him, indirectly, a record on the historic page. But the story of his own career; the qualities of his character, illustrating so many noble virtues; the stations which he filled with ability, fidelity, and honor; the range of subjects covered by his investigations for literary, religious, biographical, and historical productions; his intercourse, acquaintance, and correspondence with eminent persons; and the example and influence which he has left for the guidance and encouragement of all who are benefited by the well-filled round of his years, — all these elements of interest and grounds of commemoration have provided abundant ma-

¹ Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, May, 1868.

terials for an elaborate exposition of his career, and established his claim to it.

“Such a biography of Dr. Sparks, whenever and by whomsoever it may be prepared, if consistent with his own character and course, will be a solid and severely simple rehearsal of a life and a career of an eminently laborious sort. He was neither a poet nor an enthusiast. He had no skill in fine writing. His pages are seldom kindled with any glow of fervor, or ornamented with any peculiar arts of rhetoric or wealth of imagination. He was not a man of theories. He might have easily won, as he certainly would have filled with conspicuous ability and with a rare nobleness of integrity, the highest political offices. But these had no attractions for him. The simple, modest, and quiet qualities of his nature, and the personal habits which he cultivated as the most favorable to the chosen work of his life, were happily consistent with all the occasions and positions which called him from the privacy of his study into larger intercourse with the world. Even the variety of the tasks which he performed, and the spheres and places of his professional employments, were not of a sort, or were not sufficient, to require of him any large versatility of talents or much change of habits. The work to which he chiefly gave himself was of his own choice, congenial, and worthy of the painstaking research, industry, and judicial method of treatment which his own mental and moral constitution fitted him to devote to it. With all his voluminous papers in hand, in his own strong characteristic chirography, his biographer will have an engaging and an exacting task.”

The present memorial volumes can hardly claim to

be a realization of the ideal which Dr. Ellis so clearly conceived. It was not the desire of Mrs. Sparks, or of her literary advisers, Dr. J. G. Palfrey and Dr. A. P. Peabody, that any one should prepare an elaborate personal biography of Mr. Sparks, but rather that an editor should select for publication certain materials from the extensive collection of papers for the illustration of Mr. Sparks' literary life and activity. "A scholar's life is in his works."¹ In a letter to Rufus W. Griswold, of Cambridge, April 2, 1846, Mr. Sparks, then professor of history in Harvard College, modestly said: "The events of my life are not such as can be of the least importance to the public, except as they appear in the results of my literary labors. For many years I have devoted myself almost exclusively to the examination and study of certain periods of American history, making it a rule to go to the fountain-head in every part to which I have directed my attention."

To reveal the life-work of Jared Sparks through his own writings is the primary object of these volumes. Cardinal Newman once said: "The true life of a man is in his letters. . . . Biographers varnish, they assign motives, . . . *but contemporary letters are facts.*" The wealth of literary materials placed at the disposal of the present editor has been his chief source of embarrassment. He has been obliged to make brief selections from Mr. Sparks' letters and journals, and, as far as possible, to

¹ "National Portrait Gallery, Rice & Hart, Philadelphia: Jared Sparks." This is a good biographical sketch, with a portrait, published in Mr. Sparks' lifetime, and with his sanction, as may be seen in his letter to the Rev. Hubbel Loomis, October 25, 1854.

group such materials by subjects, instead of following any strictly chronological sequence or printing *in extenso*. The editor has profited by a suggestion once made by Mr. Sparks in a letter to the Hon. Julius Rockwell, of Pittsfield: "I have not found correspondence to be the most popular form of publication. A narrative, in which the letters are interwoven, seems better suited to . . . readers."

The editor does not hesitate to say that he has profited by Mr. Sparks' editorial methods, and here and there, in preparing manuscript selections for the press, he has deliberately corrected slight mistakes and manifest slips of the pen. Contracted words have usually been printed in full. Numerals are generally written out. Capital letters or italics are retained or changed at editorial discretion. Short paragraphs or detached sentences are sometimes run together. The punctuation of the modern Riverside Press has been recognized as preferable to Mr. Sparks' earlier standard. It should, however, be said, in justice to Mr. Sparks and to his editor, that verbal corrections in these printed extracts were seldom necessary and are very rare. Omissions are often made, but are always indicated by asterisks. Dates of letters and journal extracts are carefully preserved for reference. Editorial comment and biographical matter are printed in the same type as are extracts from letters and journals, for the sake of literary and typographical unity.

It is still regarded as an open question whether the proper method of editing for publication the writings of men who have passed away should be in all cases exactly the same. The literalists, who properly insist on the ex-

act reproduction of old records and historic texts, are sometimes disposed to be over particular in cases that require editorial common-sense and some literary discretion. While it may be historically important, in our time, to restore as far as possible the exact language of public men like George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, it is still allowable to correct the trifling or verbal mistakes of authors and scholars like Jared Sparks. The present editor has scrupulously refrained from changing the style of Washington's biographer, but holds that it is an editor's right to edit and omit according to his best discretion. Standards vary in different cases, and are by no means the same in our time as they were in the days of Jared Sparks and Judge Marshall. It is hoped that an historical and dispassionate review of the Mahon controversy, regarding Mr. Sparks' mode of editing George Washington, may not be out of place in the present memorial work.

The recent criticisms of Mr. Sparks' method of editing the writings of Washington, and Lord Mahon's earlier charges, which were either withdrawn or greatly modified, originated in a total misunderstanding of certain important facts in Sparks' editorial situation. There were already in existence different texts of Washington's own letters. In a private letter, May 16, 1859, to Mr. J. Carson Brevoort, Mr. Sparks thus explains the fact: "It was Washington's habit first to write a draft of a letter, and in transcribing it he frequently altered words and phrases without inserting the alterations in the draft. These changes are almost always merely verbal, without affecting the sense or substance. The drafts were laid

aside, and copied from time to time into the letter-books. Hence the copies preserved by him differ in these particulars from the originals sent to his correspondents. Instances of this kind occur in a very large number of Washington's familiar letters. In his official correspondence there is generally an exact correspondence between the copies in the letter-books and the originals." In collecting the private correspondence of Washington, Sparks was often driven to the use of the letter-books, although he always used the revised letters that were actually sent when he was so fortunate as to recover them or to get copies.

Washington's letter-books were themselves copies of original first drafts, and Sparks found in many cases that the work was evidently that of "incompetent or very careless transcribers." He says: "Gross blunders constantly occur, which not infrequently destroy the sense, and which never could have existed in the original drafts." The editor of Washington's writings was, in short, in much the same situation as were the early editors of ancient texts, which had been badly corrupted by monkish copyists. Like those editors, Sparks attempted certain conjectures, a course not without its dangers, but one which German philologists have followed down to the present day.

Mr. Sparks distinctly says that he allowed his sense of editorial duty "to extend only to verbal and grammatical mistakes or inaccuracies, maintaining a scrupulous caution that the author's meaning and purpose should thereby in no degree be changed or affected." Mr. Sparks felt that, as editor, he was conscientiously bound to present

Washington's unrevised letters, copied by careless hands, and never originally intended for publication, in at least such form as the obvious sense and construction demanded. He may have erred upon the side of making Washington more of a grammarian and a better speller than he really was, but the situation required some discretion. It seemed unjust to hold Washington responsible for the manifest sins of a copyist. No modern literary man would like to be judged for the sins of his typewriter or of a shorthand reporter.

Mr. Sparks felt himself justified in some revision of Washington's rough drafts by the examples set by Washington himself, who, for future publication or historical use, had begun to retouch his own official correspondence during the periods of the French War and the American Revolution. Copies of this correspondence had been kept on loose sheets roughly stitched together. Washington revised the whole mass, making numerous changes, erasures, and interlineations in almost every letter, and caused the whole to be copied into bound volumes. What was Sparks to do in this editorial predicament? An attempt to restore the original text before Washington began to correct it would have led to endless embarrassments and perplexities. Loyalty to Washington's own good judgment of what he meant to say led Mr. Sparks to give the great truth-teller the benefit of his own authority. And yet the letters sent out by Washington, during the above periods of correspondence, certainly differed in many verbal respects from the copies which he had revised with his own hand. Mr. Sparks had no means of recovering and collating all these letters,

although he well knew that they might be discovered at any time and reveal striking discrepancies as compared with Washington's own revised version. This is precisely what has happened in various instances in these critical modern days. It is but fair to Mr. Sparks to say that he anticipated such discoveries, and clearly explained the facts for which he is now held responsible. Mr. Sparks made the best he could of an embarrassing editorial situation.

Mr. Sparks was severely criticised by Lord Mahon for alleged additions, corrections, and omissions in his treatment of Washington's writings. The first charge Lord Mahon speedily withdrew, for, in the one case in point, Sparks was able to show that the alleged "addition" was actually to be found in Washington's original letter to Joseph Reed, and had been carelessly omitted by the transcriber in preparing the text of the same for the "Life of Reed" which Lord Mahon used as a standard of comparison. The charges of omissions and corrections in editing Washington's text Lord Mahon continued to maintain, and Mr. Sparks never denied¹ them. He had

¹ In the "New York Tribune" for September 2, 1854, Mr. Sparks explained the necessity of material omissions from his limited edition of eleven volumes of selections, and also the discrepancies between Washington's letter-books and some of the letters which he actually sent. He wrote to the "Tribune" a letter on "Washington and Slavery," published October 10, 1854, and he rescued that journal from the charge of "having forged" and attributed to Washington, in its issue of July 21, 1854, sentiments never expressed by him upon the subject of slavery. It was shown that extraordinary variations occurred between Washington's original letters to Tobias Lear and existing copies of those letters.

stated as much in his original prefaces. Lord Mahon was altogether wrong in impeaching Mr. Sparks' motives, as was shown by him in every detail. Mr. Sparks had undertaken to edit, in eleven volumes, a convenient and popular collection of Washington's more important writings. He had materials enough for many more volumes, but no editor or publisher in the world would have dared in those days to undertake a complete edition. Guizot reduced Sparks' Washington, by discreet elimination, to six volumes; and the German Von Raumer, equally wise in his generation, reduced the work to two volumes. A London editor thought two volumes of Washington's writings quite enough for a British public. Mr. Sparks knew exactly what he was doing for his countrymen. He says: "I am certainly safe in saying that more than two thirds of the whole collection of manuscripts were necessarily omitted, in consequence of the limited extent to which it was proposed to carry the work." Mr. Sparks had no idea that what he saw fit to omit would be lost to the world. He even suggested that "such of the large mass of papers still unprinted as have any interest for the public would be brought out at some future time."

In his choice of materials Mr. Sparks was guided by a few simple principles which he himself describes in his preface. He endeavored to select such things as had a permanent historical value, and such as illustrated the personal character of Washington. Much of the latter's correspondence was full of mere repetitions, for Washington constantly had occasion to write to different persons upon the same subject. Mr. Sparks tried always to select the best letter of a series, and to supplement it by judicious

selections from other letters without giving restatements of the very same ideas. In cases where Lord Mahon charged Mr. Sparks with omissions from specific letters, it was shown that parallel passages were to be found elsewhere in the same work, often within a few pages. In fact, Lord Mahon was finally so well satisfied with Mr. Sparks' explanations that the two men, while agreeing to differ on some points of editorial duty, came to a cordial understanding, and the English historian repeatedly called upon and entertained the American, showing him every possible courtesy, upon his final visit to England in 1857.

Modern methods of editorial work are becoming more and more exacting, but during the four years' progress of the writings of Washington through the press, no friendly or unfriendly critic ever declared that the editorial principles of Mr. Sparks, clearly and frankly stated in his preface, were in any way incorrect or defective. As Mr. Sparks himself afterward said, "It must be evident that I could have no other motive than that of executing the work in such a manner as would be approved by an enlightened public opinion." It is by this relative but ever progressive standard of judgment that we must estimate the work of Jared Sparks.

Francis Lieber, writing to Jared Sparks, July 29, 1853, called his attention to a letter¹ from Mr. Justice Story, of the Supreme Court of the United States, to Richard Peters, May 7, 1836, upon the duty of a court reporter of judicial opinions. This letter does not appear to have been quoted in the discussion of editorial duty, but it cer-

¹ Story's "Life and Letters," ii. 232.

tainly should be: "As to the correction of verbal and grammatical errors in an opinion, I can only say for myself that I have always been grateful for the kindness of any reporter of my opinions for doing me this favor. Verbal and grammatical errors will occasionally occur in the most accurate writers. I have found some in my own manuscript opinions, after very careful perusal, and I have not detected them until I saw them in print. I think it would be a disgrace to all concerned to copy gross material and verbal errors and mis-recitals, because every one must know they would be at once corrected if seen. They mar the sense and they pain the author. So the occasional change of the collocation of a word often improves and clears the sense. If a reporter do no more than acts of this sort, removing mere blemishes, he does all judges a great favor. I do not believe any good reporter in England or America ever hesitated to do so. This is my opinion. . . . You will find that Lord Coke thought very much as I do on this subject, if you will look on the fourth page of his report of Calvin's case (7 Co. Rep. 4), where he states the duty of a reporter. Douglas, in his preface to his Reports (pp. 12, 13), adopts an equally correct method, yet who ever excelled him as a reporter?"

The example and experience of Mr. Sparks appear to have been in the mind of Charles Francis Adams when he wrote his preface to the "Works of John Adams." Mr. Adams had encountered much the same difficulties as did Mr. Sparks, and seems to have solved some of them in much the same sensible way, as appears from the following statement, written in 1856, only three years after the close

of Mr. Sparks' controversy with Lord Mahon and William B. Reed: "So much has been said of late upon the duties of editors in public papers committed to their care, that a few words may be necessary to explain the principles upon which this work has been conducted. In all cases the best copy has been closely adhered to, saving only the correction of obvious errors of haste or inadvertence, or negligence. Yet as a considerable number of the letters have been taken, not from the originals, of which it is not known even that they are yet extant, but from the copy-book containing the rough drafts, it is by no means improbable that, in case of a possibility of collation with the real letters, many discrepancies, not to say interpolations and even erasures, may be discovered. Should such instances be brought to light, it is proper that this explanation should stand on record, to guard against charges of alterations which already have been preferred against other editors, on grounds not altogether dissimilar."

The editor of these memorial volumes published an article on "The Pioneer Work of Jared Sparks" in "The Magazine of American History" for July, 1888. An attempt was made to present the subject from an historical point, the only true method of reviewing work done half a century ago. Some of the positions then taken are restated in this introduction, and the whole matter is treated more fully under the head of "Editorial Duty" (vol. ii. pp. 268-272), and in a special chapter on "Lord Mahon and the Reed Letters" (vol. ii. pp. 479-506).

The editor of "The Magazine of American History," Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, wrote to the author May 25, 1888,

after the receipt of his article, saying: "I have assigned your paper on Mr. Sparks to the July issue of our magazine. . . . While I was in Washington I obeyed the request of an eminent Boston scholar, and looked at the old letter-books about which so much has been said. I only had time, however, to compare a paragraph or two of one of the Bouquet letters with the originals in our magazine. There were unimportant omissions and differences, but nothing in the letter-books, as far as I went, that seemed in any way to bear the marks of Washington's hand. It appears to be clearly the work of a poor and careless copyist. The name of 'John Marshall' is cut into the volume, which suggests that it was copied under the care of John Marshall, 'Richmond, Virginia.' There is a caricature, and the name of another 'Marshall' (the initials are not by me at this moment), which suggests the boy, perhaps a son of Marshall. At least the copy seems the work of extreme youth or carelessness."

The present writer has noticed this boyish letter-book among Washington's papers in the library of the State Department, and can well understand the embarrassment of Mr. Sparks when attempting, without possession or knowledge of the original letters, to edit the work of "incompetent or very careless transcribers." The writer has also compared every one of the Bouquet letters, as given by Mr. Sparks and by Mr. W. H. Smith,¹ with revised versions of their printed texts, as corrected by a skillful copyist in the State Department from the letter-books,

¹ "Magazine of American History," February, 1888. See, also, Mr. Francis Parkman's letter in "The Nation," February 16, 1888, on the Bouquet Letters.

upon folio sheets of paper, whereon the above printed texts are pasted. Thus, almost at a glance, it is possible to see exactly what kind of trifling editorial corrections Mr. Sparks made, and exactly how the text which he was compelled to use differs from that of the letters actually sent by Washington to Colonel Bouquet.

In this connection it may be observed that all of the printed texts of Washington's letters, as given by Mr. Sparks, have been thus restored by marginal corrections to the exact form of some original text or transcript preserved in the library of the State Department, where the work of collation was done. The standard of comparison is stated in each case, so that the observer is not led into such mistaken judgments as were rashly made by Lord Mahon and later critics. These collated texts, with much fresh and valuable material relating to Washington, all belong to the admirable "Toner Collection," made by that genial, devoted, and public-spirited Washingtonian, Dr. J. M. Toner, who will ultimately deposit all his manuscripts in the library of Congress. They ought some day to be the authentic basis for a new and complete edition of Washington's papers, and to be published, under scholarly supervision, by government authority. Jared Sparks and his contemporaries, Alexander H. Everett and Edward Everett, anticipated this event (see vol. ii. pp. 267, 271, 287), which is a consummation devoutly to be wished.

In the "North American Review" for October, 1834, Mr. A. H. Everett, who was then the editor of the magazine, said: "We incline to think that the feeling of the country will ultimately call for the printing of all the

Washington manuscripts, voluminous as they are, at the public expense."

Mr. Worthington C. Ford introduces Putnam's limited and incomplete edition to the public in a preface containing some remarks on the pioneer labors of Mr. Sparks. Mr. Ford thinks it would be impossible to approach his task without some preliminary notice of his earnest, conscientious, although often injudicious, predecessor. It is but just, he says, to pay a high tribute to Mr. Sparks' indefatigable industry in gathering the materials for an edition of Washington's writings. Mr. Sparks' acquaintance with the sources of American history is commended, and his knowledge of men and things at the time of the Revolution is regarded as extensive and generally accurate. Then Mr. Ford condemns his predecessor for hero-worship, and for doing exactly what he himself has done in following the *revised* text of Washington's early letters.

In his old age, the Father of his country, as we know, undertook to correct and alter the original drafts of his correspondence with Governor Dinwiddie and other Virginians before the Revolution. In point of fact, most of Washington's ante-Revolutionary correspondence, during the period of border warfare with the French and Indians, is thus revised and transcribed in letter-books, as we have already stated. Mr. Ford has himself reprinted Washington's revised version in the first and second volumes of Putnam's *édition de luxe*, and nevertheless condemns Mr. Sparks for allowing "the young colonel of the Virginia regiment" to express himself "with the same maturity of style and thought as the President of the established re-

public." If Mr. Ford did not approve of this matured style, why did he reprint it? Simply because it was the only text he could find of most of those early letters. They have been preserved in the revised form left us by Washington in his letter-books.

After Mr. Ford had reprinted the very same matter as that used, with only slight verbal corrections, by Mr. Sparks, we are favored with the following remarks in the preface: "I have been fortunate enough to find, among the Washington manuscripts in the Department of State, the originals of two of the earlier letter-books of Washington, on which Mr. Sparks based his editorial work, and which had been mislaid for so many years that their very existence was denied. They contain the original drafts of his letters; all but a few pages are his own writing; and the changes he made at a late period of his life are so distinctive, both in the form of the letters and the colors of the ink, as to make an error of date impossible. It is to be regretted that these books were not discovered until after the first pages of this volume were printed, when it was too late to utilize this remarkable discovery." That is to say, we might now, perhaps, be reading the exact language of the young Virginia colonel, if Mr. Ford had done his editorial duty while on the premises of the State Department. He, of all men, ought not to blame Mr. Sparks for failing to restore the "few edited records" which "the patient antiquary" of our time has but recently discovered, but which Mr. Sparks knew all about more than fifty years ago. The prefatory use which Mr. Ford makes of his *late* but by no means original discovery is very extraordinary. He proceeds to print, in parallel columns,

extracts from two of Washington's early letters "as originally written" and "as corrected by Washington." Here are the two examples¹ which Mr. Ford obligingly gives as Washington's method of editing his own writings: —

TO MRS. FAIRFAX.

[As originally written.]

This I took as a gentle rebuke and polite manner of forbidding my corresponding with you and conceive this opinion is not illy founded when I reflect that I have hitherto found it impracticable to engage one moment of your attention. If I in this I hope you will excuse my present presumption and lay the imputation to elateness at my successful arrival. If on the contrary these are fearfull apprehensions only, how easy is it to remove my suspicion. 7 June, 1755.

[As corrected by Washington.]

Am I to consider the proposed mode of communication as a polite intimation of your wishes to withdraw your correspondence? To a certain degree it has that appearance; for I have not been honored with a line from you since I parted with you at Belvoir. If this was your object, in what manner shall I apologise for my present disobedience; but on the contrary, if it was the effect of your delicacy, how easy it is to remove my suspicion.

TO WILLIAM BYRD.

For I can very truly say I have no expectation of reward, but the hope of meriting the love of my country, and friendly regard of my acquaintance; and as to my prospect of obtaining a commission I have none, as I am perfectly well assured that it is not in Gen'l Braddock's power to give such an one as I would accept of. 20 April 1755.

For I can truly say I have no expectation of either [fee or reward]. To merit its esteem, and the good will of my friends, is the sum of my ambition, having no prospect of obtaining a commission, being perfectly well assured, etc.

¹ There are errors of transcription in both of Mr. Ford's chosen examples. In fact, literal exactness is not characteristic of all of Mr. Ford's editorial work, as textual collations clearly show.

After giving these two excellent examples of what "General" Washington could do in the way of revising the style of "Colonel" Washington, Mr. Ford intimates that Mr. Sparks applied the above methods of literary reconstruction to Washington's later correspondence. No suggestion could be more unwarranted. Mr. Sparks never made such changes in the text of Washington's letters as did the original writer, whose *revised* version has been copied by Mr. Ford. This editor, who professes to return to originals, "omitting of course the rough drafts," as did Mr. Sparks, says, "A casual comparison between his [Sparks'] collection and the present volumes will demonstrate the extent of the liberties taken with the text." The present writer has carefully compared many of Washington's letters, as given by Sparks, with those reprinted by Ford, and finds, indeed, many trifling verbal discrepancies, but never any such reconstruction of sentences as Washington undertook, never a deliberate perversion of the original sense or meaning. A comparison has also been made between Mr. Ford's work and more exact copies from original sources.

If Mr. Ford had spent one tenth of the time and pains given by Mr. Sparks to his first great collection of the letters, the American public would now have a tolerably satisfactory edition of the writings of Washington. As the matter stands, we have for the most part a poorly revised and incomplete version of Sparks, supplemented by many newly discovered letters, and some unimportant matter which Mr. Sparks intentionally omitted on account of the necessary limits of a popular work. Mr. Sparks pro-

posed a work for the American people,¹ instead of a costly and limited *édition de luxe*, at five dollars a volume, for a few privileged book-buyers. Mr. Ford and his publishers have shown, however, some regard for the public in issuing only fourteen volumes. But in order to accomplish this laudable object, and at the same time to introduce new matter into the edition, Ford has left out many valuable letters which are to be found in Sparks. The poor student must now buy or borrow both sets of Washington's writings, in order to see what Ford has omitted.

The "Boston Post," in a review of Ford's eighth volume, says the publication of this edition is very fortunate for Mr. Sparks' reputation. "An examination of the text affords cumulative evidence of the general fidelity of that gentleman as an editor. The parts of letters omitted by him, and the verbal variations, are all of the most trivial character; and if their insignificance had been known, his explanation that there are differences between the copies kept in the letter-books and the letters or other documents actually sent would have been regarded as fully adequate to account for the differences between the printed page and some supposed original."

After attempting to discredit the work of his predecessor, Mr. Ford proceeds to reproduce, with only slight emendations, not only the great body of texts first organized by Mr. Sparks, but even to appropriate, to a most extraordinary extent, Mr. Sparks' original footnotes, or historical comments on the men and events alluded to in Washington's letters. In some few cases, Ford has the

¹ Harper's edition of "The Life and Writings of Washington" was sold at \$1.50 per volume.

courtesy to append the name "Sparks" to an unusually long footnote or especially valuable comment; but even in such cases, rarely if ever does he deign to employ quotation marks, although he freely uses them when quoting other authors, living or dead. The reader might easily infer that Sparks was possibly the original authority for this note or comment, but that the industrious editor, Mr. Ford, had rewritten a summary of the whole matter in his own style.

After a careful examination of Mr. Ford's volumes, the writer feels it his duty to charge him with extensive copying from the historical notes of Mr. Sparks. This runs throughout Mr. Ford's work. Some idea of its frequent recurrence may be derived from an examination of the numerous cases below.¹ They succeed one an-

¹ For the convenience of the reader who is disposed to examine for himself the substantial identity of the historical footnotes in Ford's and Sparks' editions, the following parallel columns of corresponding references have been prepared. Lack of space prevents the publication of more of these deadly parallels, but a careful collation of the notes on letters bearing the same dates will show conclusively that Mr. Ford's system of borrowing extends throughout his entire work. References like the following might be multiplied:—

FORD. vol. i.	SPARKS. vol. ii.	FORD. vol. ii.	SPARKS. vol. ii.	FORD. vol. v.	SPARKS. vol. iv.
131	58	5	275	130	244
132	59	31	288	136	250
137	64	110	316	164	271
141	68	125	327	165	273
162	78	171	333	168	276
171	85	179	335	176	279
176	89	192	340	178	280
181	94	218	346	202	298

other as closely as do the following references to Ford's volumes, which the reader may consult for himself, and compare with the corresponding letters and footnotes in Sparks' edition.

None of the cases cited are followed by the name of Sparks, nor are any of them printed as quotations; they appear as Ford's annotations to Washington, and yet they are reprinted, for the most part, in the exact words of Mr. Sparks. Sometimes Mr. Ford weaves in one or two original remarks, or appends some new information; but usually he reprints Mr. Sparks' language precisely

FORD. vol. vii.	SPARKS. vol. v.	FORD. vol. viii.	SPARKS. vol. vi.	FORD. vol. x.	SPARKS. vol. viii.
2	353	41	341	2	281
4	357	43	343	42	317
8	360	45	345	47	322
9	361	46	346	49	323
14	367	57	354	63	330
16	370	61	358	67	334
18	371	64	361	73	340
19	373	65	362	75	342
34	383	71	367	77	343
35	384	73	368	78	345
36	385	89	388	89	352
43	395	93	391	93	356
52	395	102	396	98	360
53	396	107	400	133	372
58	401	121	407	146	376
63	407	124	409	150	379
66	408	140	421	152	381
67	410	144	426	157	384
69	412	155	436	160	385
77	420	174	450	163	388
88	430	180	452	175	394
92	435	205	476	180	398
96	438	213	482	184	402
97	440	220	487	197	407

as it appears in the original "Life and Writings of Washington."

Mr. Ford will probably never be open to the charge of tampering extensively with the literary style of his editorial predecessor. Ford is indeed a literalist. He copies *verbatim et literatim*. The only fault in this respect to be found with Mr. Ford is, that he omits some of Mr. Sparks' most valuable notes. Some are shortened, for no sufficient reason, and some contain a few modest addenda by Mr. Ford; but, whatever matter he appropriates from Mr. Sparks, it is generally a faithful transcript from the original editor of Washington.

In a letter published in the "New York Evening Post," December 4, 1889, Mr. Edward C. Towne writes as follows concerning the relation of Ford's edition of Washington's writings to Mr. Sparks' edition: "This new edition purports to be an accurate and faithful reproduction of originals, where these exist, and in particular to contrast with the edition of Sparks in this respect. I have very carefully compared some of the new pages with those of Sparks and with the originals, and find that the originals are not followed, and that a great deal has been conveyed from Sparks without any indication of the borrowing. The last hundred pages of vol. ii., for example, show thirteen important notes taken bodily from Sparks, and only one of them with credit given. The other twelve appear as the editor's, with the references attached, implying that the present editor has consulted these authorities and made these notes, when they are *verbatim*, references and all, as in Sparks. As to following the originals, the first lines on p. 1, vol. i., break the promise."

The "Boston Post," January 29, 1890, in a review of Ford's fifth volume, says: "In this volume, as in those which have preceded it, he constantly transfers to his own pages, without credit, the footnotes which Mr. Sparks laboriously prepared and inserted in his edition. In not more than half a dozen instances, in the volume before us, is any credit given to Mr. Sparks for the footnotes which illuminate Mr. Ford's pages. Why credit should be given in these instances, and omitted in the many scores of instances where no credit is given, is not apparent. Mr. Ford's own notes add to the value of his edition; but this circumstance affords no justification for a wholesale appropriation of the labors of his distinguished and learned predecessor. Even if Mr. Ford had avowed his purpose to be the publication of a new and revised edition of Sparks' Washington, his course would have afforded ample ground for unfavorable criticism. But there is no intimation on his title-page or elsewhere that this is other than a new edition of Washington's writings 'collected and edited' by Mr. Ford. It is true that in the preface to his first volume he says: 'No small part of the results of his [Mr. Sparks'] labors has been embodied in these volumes.' So general a statement as this ought not, however, to supply the place of specific acknowledgments, which could have been easily made."

The student of American history will still need to consult the historical commentaries of Jared Sparks, for one can never know what Ford has left out, or, for that matter, what Ford has put in, unless the two editors are carefully collated. Instead of simplifying the Washington problem by showing the world exactly how Mr. Sparks' text

varies from the original, and how extensively Washington revised Washington, Ford has introduced a new element of confusion and discord. Students will now be compelled to investigate the modern editor, and ascertain to what extent Ford varies from Sparks. When Ford makes a statement about any historical question, the faithful reader must always inquire whether it is really Mr. Ford who opines something, or whether Ford is echoing a statement of Jared Sparks.

The earlier editor undoubtedly corrected certain mistakes and phrases in Washington's letters. Sometimes Mr. Sparks ventured to substitute or insert a word or two. There is one case which Mr. Ford himself approves in a brief and conscientious footnote.¹ Whatever his corrections, whether good or bad, Jared Sparks never pretended to annotate the writings of Washington by means of borrowed footnotes. If there was any special merit upon which Mr. Sparks justly prided himself in all historical work, it was that of getting his information at first hand from original sources.

The "Boston Post," in its critical review of Ford's eighth volume, expressed the view that an injury had been done to Mr. Sparks' reputation "by the continued use of his illustrative notes without proper acknowledgment. . . . If Mr. Ford had avoided the rocks on which he has run deliberately, by so largely ignoring the great predecessor in whose steps he has followed, he would have won for himself a much higher reputation as an editor than he seems now likely to acquire, and we have no doubt

¹ "Sparks very properly suggests that this word ['military'] should be *militia*." Ford, vol. i. p. 421.

that he would have given us an edition of Washington's writings deserving of nothing but praise."

It remains to be seen whether the new congressional edition of the "Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution," edited by the late Dr. Francis Wharton, will satisfy in all respects the demands of critics. An article on this subject by Professor J. B. Moore, of Columbia College, in the "Political Science Quarterly," March, 1893, attempts to point out "the defects in the text of Sparks, as they have been revealed by an examination of the whole correspondence." This article is based upon the preface and labors of Dr. Wharton, as his work was based upon that of Mr. Sparks. Dr. Wharton's edition of the "Diplomatic Correspondence," and his final judgment concerning the limitations placed upon his predecessor by the congressional resolution of March 27, 1818, are described in the second volume of the present work, pp. 154-160. Whatever may have been the defects in the edition of Mr. Sparks, they were not due to a spirit of subserviency to Great Britain, as Professor Moore candidly admits. "Nor should they be permitted," he adds, "to blind us to the lasting obligations under which we stand for his timely, unceasing, and fruitful exertions in the cause of American history."

In a paper¹ read before the American Historical Association, at its meeting in Boston, Judge Mellen Chamberlain, formerly of the Boston Public Library, pronounced the following just verdict concerning the services of Jared Sparks to American history: "Sparks was a careful in-

¹ Papers of the American Historical Association, vol. iii. pp. 52, 53.

investigator, as any one finds who enters fields which he has reaped with expectation of profitable gleaning; but if to learn his methods and to catch his spirit, no time so spent ought to be regarded as time lost. An American in every fibre of his constitution, Sparks believed in the justice of the Revolutionary cause, and was loyal to the memory of those whose lives he wrote; but he never exalted his heroes by belittling their associates,¹ or by maligning their opponents. He placed the American cause in the most favorable light, and did not indulge in that urbane condescension toward opponents which sometimes marks the meritorious work of Lord Mahon; and he never imperiled his case, as Lecky, an abler writer than Lord Mahon, sometimes has done by inattention to facts essential to its support. Nor, on the other hand, did Sparks conceal ugly facts,² or change their import by artful and disin-

¹ In a letter, May 14, 1827, to Alexander H. Everett, Mr. Sparks said: "We are apt to ascribe too much to prominent individuals in our Revolutionary history. A nearer inspection will show that these owed much, very much, to their fellow-laborers, who were not afterwards so much favored by circumstances, or prompted by ambition, as their more fortunate compeers." Mr. James Schouler, the American historian, has developed the same idea in a paper on "Historical Grouping," printed by the Historical Association, vol. iii. pp. 48-52.

² "Lord Mahon charged him with doing so, but I think Sparks' vindication of his *integrity* is complete. The strongest case against him is that of suppressing Washington's reiteration of an opinion unfavorable to New England. There is no doubt that Washington entertained such an opinion. That constitutes an historical fact; but if he has recorded that opinion in a letter to Brown, does it make it any more a fact that he has also recorded it in letters to Jones and Robinson? Sparks gives the first record, but to save space omits the paragraphs in which similar opinions are given in letters to two other

genuous arrangement of them. He arrayed all the forces, friendly and hostile, although, as it sometimes happened, his flank was turned or his front disordered by mutinous auxiliaries which he had brought into the field. History was regarded by Sparks, as it ought to be by every one, as the record of impartial judgment concerning the motives and conduct of men, of parties, and of nations, set forth in their best light; and he was incapable of attempting to pervert that judgment by doubtful testimony, or by unscrupulous advocacy, which represents one party as altogether wise and patriotic, and the other as altogether unwise and malignant, — an attempt which must ultimately fail, since it finds no support in the nature of man, in intelligent observation, or in common sense. He had a healthy contempt for demagogues — historical demagogues in particular — as corrupters of youth.”

Something of the earnest character and independent spirit of Washington are to be recognized in the historian of the American Revolution, who sacrificed many years of patient labor in constructing from original records one of the first great works of American history. As a Mary-

correspondents. That, I think, states the case fairly. It may be said that Sparks should have given all such passages, or indicated their omission by stars or otherwise. Why those opinions more than others? To have given a résumé of all omitted passages would have swelled his volumes unduly. If proper editing would require such notice of repetitious passages, why not, on the same grounds, the omission of all repetitious or unimportant letters? It may be admitted, however, that Sparks' editorial rules are not those now in vogue; but in fairness it ought not to be forgotten that, in dealing with such a mass as the Washington papers, Sparks was confronted with a new and very difficult problem.” — M. C.

land biographer of Sparks has well said: "Considering the difference of their fields, there is a singular concord between the virtues and common sense of Washington and Sparks, and hence the sympathetic veneration of the author for the hero." "No scholar," says one who knew him well, "in this country has presented a more praiseworthy example of industry, perseverance, and faithful endeavor. No degree of labor could divert him from the execution of his task. With no morbid passion for fame, he was content to apply his fine powers to the performance of duties which gave him no brilliant prominence in the public eye. Amid the glare and rush of American life, his career of quiet energy and faithful working deserves to be held in grateful and honorable remembrance."¹

Special attention has been given in this memorial to Mr. Sparks' editorial labors upon the "North American Review." Professor George Washington Greene, in a biographical sketch of Jared Sparks published in the

¹ "Historical Magazine," May, 1806. It appears from this article and a subsequent note in July by the author, Mr. W. R. Deane, that, among other valuable services to American historical literature, Mr. Sparks gave encouragement to the project of John Ward Dean, of Boston, and of his publisher, Charles B. Richardson, for an historical magazine in this country. Mr. Sparks furnished the following title for the periodical: "The Historical Magazine, and Notes and Queries concerning the Antiquities, History, and Biography of America," begun in January, and edited successively by John Ward Dean, Hon. George Folsom, John Gilmary Shea, and Henry B. Dawson. "The Historical Magazine," vol. x. p. 222, gives the very best authority for the statement that more than six hundred thousand individual volumes have borne Sparks' name as author or editor.

“Cornell Era,” November 17, 1871, said: “When the life of Dr. Sparks is written with the fullness of detail which his important services to American literature demand, no part of it will bring out the sound judgment and admirable method, which were distinguished traits of his character, in a more interesting light than the history of his connection with the ‘North American Review.’¹ The impression of it in our own mind is very deep, for we once heard it from the lips of his early friend, Charles Folsom, exactest of scholars, most genial of companions, whose name is intimately connected with the history of some of the best works in our literature, and to whom we have but one reproach to make, — that he should not have perpetuated by the pen those reminiscences of a laborious life which impart such a charm to his conversation.”

Mr. Sparks' relation to the Unitarian movement southwards is a subject in which the editor, as an adopted Baltimorean, has taken a special historical interest. The educational career of Mr. Sparks is no less distinguished than his ministerial and editorial services. He was the first Professor of History at Harvard College. He early set the example of giving academic and popular instruction in American history based upon original sources of information. His presidency of Harvard College was marked by a reform in administrative methods, and by a vigorous defense of the chartered rights of the institution, which were endangered by legislative aggression. He at-

¹ The history of American literature, as an independent growth, may be traced in such magazines as “The North American Review.” A rapid survey of the periodical literature of the United States was published by A. H. Everett in that “Review,” October, 1834.

tacked the elective system, which in his time was beginning to transform college education. Some of his arguments are as strong to-day as they were in 1850.

In the preparation of the present work the editor had the helpful coöperation of the late Dr. Andrew P. Peabody,¹ and of members of the Sparks family. A collection of Jared Sparks' letters addressed to different members of the family of Amos A. Williams, Esq., of Baltimore., was lent the editor by Miss Burnap, of Baltimore. Her mother, Nancy Williams, was the wife of the Rev. George Washington Burnap, one of Mr. Sparks' successors as pastor of the First Independent Church of Baltimore. To the Rev. Charles R. Weld, D. D., the present pastor of the First Independent Church of Baltimore, the editor is grateful for the privilege of consulting, at his leisure, the records of that society, kept for four years in Mr. Sparks' own handwriting. Through Nelson J. Robinson, Esq., Canton, New York, a former pupil of Professor Torrey, of Cambridge, information was received that a collection of Jared Sparks' letters to his friend Davis Hurd had been preserved by his grandson, Professor Gaines, of St. Lawrence University, Canton, St. Lawrence County, New York. These letters were kindly lent to the editor. Attention to the possible biographical interest of the Hurd collection of Sparks' letters was first suggested by Mr. Max Cohen's article on Jared Sparks, published in the "New York Evening Post," May 10, 1889, the centenary

¹ Dr. Peabody died March 10, 1893.

of Sparks' birth. To Mr. Cohen, of the Maimonides Library, New York, Mr. Justin Winsor, of Cambridge, Dr. J. M. Toner, of Washington, D. C., and to all others who have lent him any aid, the editor of this work expresses his grateful obligations.

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
JARED SPARKS.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY LIFE OF JARED SPARKS.

1789-1809.

BIRTH AT WILLINGTON, CONNECTICUT.

JARED SPARKS was born May 10, 1789, the year George Washington was inaugurated President of the United States. In the little town of Willington, on the Willimantic River, in Tolland County, Connecticut, Washington's coming biographer first saw the light. No star of destiny shone over the child's cradle in that lowly rural home; but a favoring combination of heredity, environment, and discipline was to give wonderful strength of character to the boy's life.

The maiden name of Sparks' mother was Eleanor Orcutt. She had a fondness for good books, and was especially given to the study of history. In her old age she enjoyed such works as Locke's "Essay on the Human Understanding." His grandmother, too, on his mother's side, Bethiah Parker, had a passion for good literature and occasionally indulged herself in religious verse-making, with attempts at prophecy in days before

the American Revolution. That great event, which her family really believed to have been foretold by Bethiah Parker in 1757, was to have been the final object of her grandson's historical studies, in the evening of a serene old age.

Jared Sparks' life extended from the year 1789 to the year 1866, from the inauguration of the American Union to its final preservation after a civil war. A single human life, even if thus extended, is but a thread shot across a great gulf of time; but such individual threads are sometimes of service in constructing the bridges which men call history. Sparks was born in one of those thrifty, hardy, energetic village communities of New England. Those towns of northern Connecticut struggled into existence under difficulties which only a strong and courageous people could have overcome. In the historic development of the steadfast character and indomitable will-power of New England men and women, we must consider the influence not alone of Puritan creed and Anglo-Saxon blood but also of human contact with stubborn soil and bracing climate.

NEW ENGLAND CHARACTER.

The life of the forefathers of Massachusetts and of Connecticut was a long and unwearied struggle with opposing forces of nature, which, like the angel wrestling with Jacob, yielded at last their blessing. Increase of strength always results from such conflicts with the powers of earth or air. As the men of Holland derived through the ages more and more energy from their perpetual battle with the ever-threatening sea, so the men of New England renewed the ancient Saxon vigor by pioneer work in field and forest, by exposure to winter's cold and summer's heat.

Our early English forefathers grew stronger by waging

an exterminating warfare with their Celtic neighbors. In newer Englands, whether in Northern or Southern climes, the sons of Englishmen have everywhere grown mightier by conflict with savage races and savage lands. Something of Cromwell's iron nature passed into the blood of every common man in New England during those old wars with the French and Indians. The English struggle for religious liberty was but the historic prelude of the American struggle for the mastery of a New World, where English liberty found a new home, and has asserted itself anew from generation to generation.

The very grit of New England soil became characteristic of her sons. They had little wealth or learning in the farming town of Willington, where Jared Sparks was born, but a noble inheritance of native vigor came to him by contact with that resolute, practical, frugal, and laborious community of stern men and patient women. The natural endowment of many a country boy is never fully appreciated until the strength of his so-called "constitution," his staying power, begins to tell in the long struggle of business or professional life in a large city. There is vastly more of real education upon a farm, or in a mill, or in a country store, than modern educators and schoolmen dream. A country lad sometimes accumulates, perhaps unconsciously, considerable mental capital and a vast amount of what is called "common sense," — a quality which often proves the best stock in life even of college men. As Emerson said of the New Hampshire farmers living around Monadnock: —

"I can spare the college-bell,
And the learned lecture well;
Spare the clergy and libraries,
Institutes and dictionaries,
For what hardy Saxon root
Thrives here, unvalued, underfoot."

SPARKS' BOYHOOD.

Manuscript materials for an account of the early years of Jared Sparks were prepared by his wife, Mary Crowninshield Sparks, and, before her death, were placed in the hands of the editor for discretionary use. From these and other materials has been constructed the following narrative of Sparks' boyhood, before he went to Phillips Exeter Academy. At the age of six he left for a time his Connecticut home, where the family was increasing, to dwell with his mother's childless sister, Chloe Eldridge. She is described as a refined and sensitive woman, who had early married a somewhat clever and handsome man, but greatly her inferior. Ebenezer Eldridge made some pretensions to learning and to a knowledge of architecture, but lacked the energy and resolution necessary for a substantial success in life.

When Sparks was ten or eleven years old, his uncle moved with his family from Willington, Connecticut, to Camden, in the township of Salem, Washington County, New York. The long journey of one hundred and thirty miles was hurriedly made in an open sleigh, in the month of February, through Hartford, Granby, Lenox, and Pittsfield, towards the New York State line. During one part of the journey, the boy Sparks was put out of the sleigh by his thoughtless uncle, and told to "hold on behind." Overcome with numbness from cold, he fell off the runner, and was left unnoticed in the snow by the roadside, where he would have perished if he had not been rescued by another traveler, following in the track of the first, to whose careless keeping the lad was restored.

Mr. Eldridge led a somewhat unsettled and roving life after acquiring a new home in eastern New York. We find him making long journeys into the interior of the

State, evidently prospecting for a better place than Salem. On one occasion, in 1804, he took young Sparks with him on a journey up the Mohawk Valley to Utica, thence through Oneida and Onondaga to Cayuga Lake, a circuit of three hundred and fifty miles before reaching home. The man indulged in various occupations, from that of a pioneer farmer and builder to keeping a tavern and running a grist-mill and a saw-mill. In the latter, while attending to tasks set him by his uncle, while waiting for the saw to make its long course through the logs, young Sparks took the opportunity of studying "Morse's Geography" in the warm sunshine upon the south side of the mill. The kindness and affectionate care of Chloe Eldridge¹ for the boy was never forgotten. In later days he made every effort to find her burial place, but in vain. It was discovered, however, and marked, after Jared Sparks had passed away, by his wife, who made a pilgrimage to Salem and its surroundings.

A letter written by Mr. Sparks, from Cambridge, Massachusetts, January 2, 1864, to Mr. Elijah Harris, of Camden, New York, contains interesting information regarding the beginning of Jared's education at Camden: "Your letter . . . gave much pleasure as reviving remembrances of Camden Valley. I was particularly glad to learn that your grandmother's health continues good. It will be sixty-four years next February since I first saw her. I was then a small boy. Soon afterwards I went to school to your grandfather, who taught me to read, read, write, and cypher. I have a vivid recollection of the school, and of many of the boys around me, — your

¹ Chloe Eldridge, who died in 1813, is buried in Shushan, N. Y., and her monument bears this inscription: "In memory of Chloe Eldridge, a most sweet, pure, and loving woman, who was affectionate to my childhood. J. S. Placed by M. C. S. in Shushan, N. Y., J. S. having sought her place of burial in vain."

father and uncle among them. I was sorry to find, when in Camden several years ago, that the old school-house had been demolished. But we must not expect old school-houses to resist the tide of time, since great cities and monuments and the memorable works of man have sunk under it. The hills and the valley and the small river that ran through it are there, and I shall not forget them."

INFLUENCE OF FRANKLIN.

Jared Sparks once ascribed the first awakening of his energies to the stimulus received from Benjamin Franklin's autobiography. In a letter written to his friend, Miss Storrow, of Bolton, Massachusetts, October 16, 1817, when he was a tutor of mathematics in Harvard College, Sparks said: "I send you 'Franklin' with the fullest belief that you will be pleased with it; and I shall be exceedingly disappointed if it proves otherwise. I am sure you are enough like me to warrant this opinion. I refer particularly to the life written by himself, though the essays are some of them excellent. I am willing to acknowledge, however, that I am not a very impartial judge in this case. The book fell very early into my hands. It delighted me so much that I read it several times over. I have not seen it till to-day for eleven years. I have been looking it over a little with a very strange combination of thoughts and feelings. It revived most vividly a train of associations which, though melancholy, were not entirely unpleasant. It was this book which first roused my mental energies, such as they are, and directed them to nobler objects than they seemed destined by fortune and the fates to be engaged in. It prompted me to resolutions, and gave me strength to adhere to them. It inspired me with an ardor, which I had not felt before, and which never afterwards forsook me. It taught me that circumstances have not a sovereign control over the

mind. But I have not time to say more about Franklin, or the effect it had on my character and destiny. I know you will like it."

During the period from his eleventh to his sixteenth year, in the State of New York, Jared Sparks enjoyed each winter hardly more than two months' schooling; but so well did he improve his meagre advantages, and so strong were the influences of New England heredity, and his good aunt's training, upon his development, that he rose superior to his unfavorable surroundings.

TOWN SCHOOL IN TOLLAND, CONNECTICUT.

Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Sparks in Connecticut appear to have become dissatisfied with the reports from Salem and demanded the return of young Jared. In 1805, therefore, he was back again in Willington, attending a school kept by Oliver Holt. Here the pupil made such rapid progress that he soon excelled his master. One night after school the honest pedagogue frankly told Jared that he had learned all that could be taught him in Willington. Young Sparks then turned his attention to the neighboring town school of Tolland and quickly mastered all that could be taught him there. At Tolland he lived with another uncle whose home was near the school-house. The boy probably learned more outside than in the school, for he formed a private class among the boys for a study of practical problems in mathematics. One friendship formed in Tolland proved of great worth to him, and that was with Ansel Young, one of the friends of his youth with whom Mr. Sparks kept up a correspondence throughout a long and busy life. He and his young friend used to meet in a bush-pasture north of the school-house and take turns in reading aloud from such good books as they could borrow.

LOVE OF ASTRONOMY.

For mathematics and astronomy Sparks early developed a remarkable fondness. Such books as Pike's Arithmetic and Atkinson's "Epitome of Navigation" fell into his hands, and were doubtless the foundations of his subsequent special knowledge of astronomical subjects. The youth watched the stars and marked out the different constellations upon oiled paper. He constructed a globe and marked upon it the stars as he had mapped them. On the 25th of September, 1807, he discovered a "comet"¹ and upon his globe he traced the comet's track. He kept a careful record of all his observations and cited them in his old age.

In the Sparks collection there is a bound volume of letters addressed to Ansel Young.² These letters were returned by the latter to Mrs. Sparks, at her request, in order that they might ultimately be preserved among the manuscript collections of Harvard University. Although written from 1822 to 1864, at various times in the course of Mr. Sparks' busy life as a minister, editor, college professor, and college president, these letters are full of

¹ It was possibly this same "comet" that Mr. Sparks referred to, by way of comparison, years afterwards, January 25, 1820, in a letter from Baltimore, answering the inquiry of Nathaniel Bowditch concerning a remarkable meteor which had burst over the northern part of Kent County, Maryland. "A moment before it disappeared, a lucid ring separated itself from the body of the meteor, and became as large as the moon. . . . No tail was seen, and it looked through its whole course precisely like an uncommonly large star. It was so brilliant as to throw a strong light into the houses in the city. . . . The famous Connecticut meteor of 1807 threw out a tail of several degrees, and I have never before heard of one that did not."

² A letter from Mr. George F. Marshall to Mrs. Sparks, dated Cleveland, July 31, 1866, indicates that Mr. Young, then visiting Mr. Marshall, was an "octogenarian" at the time when he generously returned his valued collection of Sparks' letters.

allusions to astronomical matters and show that his interest in the subject never died out. Writing from Washington, April 24, 1822, when he was chaplain of Congress, Mr. Sparks calls Young's attention to the recent discovery of the periodicity of Encke's comet, which appeared in 1819 and was coming again in 1822. Sparks says: "My passion for astronomy has never subsided, but my occupation has necessarily turned my studies wholly into another direction." Young afterwards became an almanac maker, and Sparks lent him much valuable assistance, supplying books, tables, etc. April 11, 1826, Sparks writes Young from Charleston, South Carolina: "Amidst other numerous pursuits my astronomical days are gone by; but I reflect with sincere delight on the time when we first studied the stars and the great firmament together. I love the science still, and sometimes regret that my fortune did not lead me to pursue it. But a man cannot study all things. I shall look through your Almanac, and tell you what I think of it. When I get home [Cambridge, Mass.] I shall send you a piece which Mr. Bowditch has recently written on astronomy.

"I intend to visit Tolland on my return; and, when walking over the ground that we have so often walked together, I shall think more of the stars than I have thought for many years. I wish you could be with me, and for a short time at least we would live over some of our younger years. What put the stars first into our heads is more than I can tell; but so it was; and if we had been favored with common facilities of study, we should have made much progress by ourselves."

Again, September 30, 1858, writing to Ansel Young, Mr. Sparks refers to the astronomical studies of his youth: "You doubtless gaze with admiration upon the brilliant comet which is now looking down upon us from the heavens. You remember the comet of 1807, and you

will recollect that I observed it with a cross-staff of my own manufacture. The record of my observations is now before me. The comet was first seen about 22° from Arcturus, not far from the place of the present comet. Its motion was about one and a half degrees a day. It passed almost in contact with Lyra. It disappeared in the constellation of the Swan, about 30° N. W. of Lyra, December 24th."

Mr. Ansel Young, speaking in later life of these early astronomical observations, said: "We had neither sextant nor quadrant to take altitudes, but Jared, by the directions which he found in a book, made a cross-staff. It was, perhaps, a rude instrument; but Columbus had no better." Sparks' nightly watches with the stars made a somewhat uncanny impression upon his superstitious neighbors. He had always been spoken of as "the genius;" but now men began to believe that he was an evil genius. Young's father solemnly adjured his son, who had been to sea and earned a little money, not to lend a penny of it to that young Sparks, who plainly was dealing with evil spirits. The country folk began to be a little cautious about lending him books; but his grandmother, Bethiah Parker, came nobly to his relief. She was famous among all her neighbors for her excellent spinning; and, with the proceeds of her art, she provided her grandson with money. In his cash account for December 5, 1807, is entered the sum of \$11.89, "borrowed for the purchase of books." He rode on horseback to Hartford and bought "Webster's Spelling Book" and "Murray's Grammar" (for he was going to keep school in Tolland), also "Ferguson's Astronomy" and "Flint's Surveying."

After his return from New York to Connecticut, Sparks attended school for two winters. He was for some time apprenticed to a carpenter, and worked dili-

gently at his trade during the summer months. Finding that Jared's mind was more strongly inclined towards books and school-keeping than towards carpentering, his master generously released the young apprentice from the articles which bound him. In the winter of 1807-1808, Sparks succeeded in getting from the selectmen of Tolland a chance to teach for four months at eight dollars a month.

REMINISCENCES OF TOLLAND.

In later life Mr. Sparks occasionally visited the scene of his early labors as a schoolmaster. Writing from Cambridge, August 28, 1852, when he was president of Harvard College, Mr. Sparks said to Ansel Young: "I have been to Tolland, and only regretted that you could not be with me. My first visit was to Buff Cap Hill and other places in that region. The little school-house in which I first taught school is still standing in its primitive simplicity, the same oak benches for the urchins, and planks around the wall for writing tables. Norris's bush-pasture is a bush-pasture still, or rather a tangled wood. In fact the bush-pastures all over the town seemed to me much more numerous and extensive than in our time. The whole of Buff Cap looked like a great bush-pasture as far as the eye could reach. Tolland has been stationary for the last forty years. Scarcely a house has been added, although several old ones have given place to new. . . . On the whole, however, there is a marked appearance of comfort and plenty for all the wants of life throughout the town. . . .

"I went from Hartford to Willimantic (in Windham) by the railroad, and then took the cars on the Norwich and Palmer road, which runs along the bank of the river between Tolland and Willington, on the Willington side. The station is near the bridge on the old road from Tol-

land to Willington. From that point the railroad runs to Stafford Springs, Munson, and Palmer. I was surprised to find at Stafford Springs a large manufacturing village, and much stir of business. . . . I have been much gratified with my tour."

Writing again from Cambridge to Mr. Young, July 26, 1859, he says: "What you say of the Rev. N. Williams, and his teaching you the Westminster Catechism, revives many associations. How deeply impressed on my mind is the image of his white, flowing locks, his cocked hat, and venerable form. In a room in his house I was examined for my first school at Buff Cap, Nov. 30, 1807. I have the certificate now before me, signed by Nathan Williams, Tim J. Benton, Wm. Cogswell, Simon Chapman, John Bliss, Ichabod Hinckley. Squire Stearns and Squire Barnes were also of the committee who examined the school. Do not these names revive some of your youthful recollections? When I was in Tolland, seven years ago, I was shocked to find that they had turned Doctor Williams's spacious yellow house into a barn, with the hay sticking out at the windows." . . .

Again, February 6, 1861, he reminds Mr. Young of that school in Tolland: "You know I boarded round in the different families, according to the fashion of the day. One morning I awoke and found my bed covered with a coating of snow, which had blown in through the cracks in the roof of the house. But the people were kind, and they had as good a house as they could afford."

In the summer of 1864, less than two years before his death, Mr. Sparks visited Tolland for the last time. He wrote to Mr. Young from Cambridge, August 31, 1864: "I looked for the old school-house on Buff Cap, but it was gone, and a new one has taken its place looking very much like it." Perfect loyalty to the friends and associations of his youth was one of the most enduring charac-

teristics of Mr. Sparks. This trait marks the best sons of New England and of Old England; it was inherited from our Germanic forefathers, whose village, *Tun*, or *Heim*, was the historic origin of all our *towns* and *homes*.

WORK IN ARLINGTON, VERMONT.

Encouraged by the success of his first attempt as a schoolmaster, Jared Sparks, in the spring of 1808, made on foot a long trip of over three hundred miles through eastern New York, seeking better opportunities for teaching. His numerous inquiries met everywhere with disappointment. He visited old friends and relatives in Salem, New York, and over the State line in Arlington, Vermont. He remained in the latter town until the autumn, supporting himself by his trade as a carpenter, "planing boards," etc., for thirteen dollars a month. In after years Mrs. Sparks visited Arlington, in Bennington County, Vermont, and saw specimens of her husband's early handiwork, for example, oval ornaments upon doors, etc. Mr. Sparks never regarded himself as a successful carpenter, but used to say that his geometry was of some service in decoration.

More remarkable was his educational work among the young men of Arlington. He had brought his books with him, all the way from Connecticut, with the exception of Ferguson's "Astronomy," which he had mastered and left with Ansel Young. Now he began reading his books anew with the young men of the village. He even organized an "Arlington Philosophical Society," the proceedings of which, from July 16 to October 1, 1808, were recorded by Jared Sparks, and were preserved in his family library. The subjects discussed by the young philosophers were such as these: the action upon each other of crystal globes; on following a compass; on the rise of northeast storms; the comparative swiftness of different

parts of a wagon wheel; wheel and cycloid drawn by Jared Sparks; the effect of the earth's shape on the motion of the pendulum. Of course the work was done principally by Jared Sparks and amounted to popular talks on physics; but it was a remarkable sort of recreation for a self-educated young carpenter of nineteen years. Mr. Sparks has left us the following reminiscences of his life at Arlington in a letter to Davis Hurd, dated Cambridge, January 30, 1860, only six years before Mr. Sparks' death: "Last August I took a turn among the Green Mountains in Vermont, and on my way down to Albany I stopped in Salem. Here I procured a chaise and rode over the hills to Camden Valley, and thence up the Batten Kill to Arlington. You will easily imagine that many recollections flowed into my mind as I crossed the bridge and the square in front of the church. There was the peaceful Batten Kill flowing along as it did fifty years ago, and the beautiful mountain scenery, every part of which seemed familiar to me. . . . [Mr. Turner] went with me into the house which my labor had contributed somewhat to finish, and in which I had enjoyed [during a college vacation in 1814] for two or three months the kind hospitality of yourself and Mrs. Hurd.

"The old school-house attracted my special attention. There it stands in its primitive form and simplicity, and there were held the meetings of our Philosophical Society. Do you remember what important topics we discussed and how many profound points we established in the operations of the laws that govern the natural world? At the time I kept a brief journal of the proceedings of the Society. That journal is now before me and I have been amused in looking it over. One of the questions was, 'Is there sensation in vegetation?' The society decided in the affirmative, relying much on the sensitive plant for proof. We discussed also the pendulum, the

mariners' compass, the rotation of wheels, the causes of northeast storms, and many other subjects of high import, relating both to the works of creation and the inventions of man."

After this interesting experience at Arlington, the wandering scholar returned to Connecticut on foot and succeeded in getting another school in Tolland near the main road to Stafford, with his salary increased from eight to ten dollars a month for a period of twelve weeks. He closed his school February 17, 1809, and took an account of his property. He found that in thirteen months he had received \$122, and had paid out \$50.59. Besides a snug little balance in his favor, the young man estimated that he had on hand \$15 worth of books, which he had bought during the past thirteen months.

VIRGIL WITH THE MINISTER.

One week after closing his school Sparks began the study of algebra and Latin with the Rev. Hubbell Loomis, the parish minister in Willington, afterwards president of Shurtleff College, at Altoona, Illinois. Sparks, always manly and independent, insisted upon paying the good parson for his lessons. The rate of one dollar a week was agreed upon. Mr. Loomis gave his industrious pupil a chance to earn something towards the payment of his modest tuition by shingling the barn of the parsonage. It is said that the parson and the young carpenter worked together in the morning upon the roof, and then dined together in their shirt sleeves. With such Arcadian¹

¹ In a letter written to Miss Storrow from New York, December 17, 1827, Mr. Sparks makes this pleasant allusion to his life at the Willington parsonage. His fondness for little children, revealed in the following reminiscence, was very characteristic of the man: "You must know the good clergyman who taught me the Latin Grammar when I was more than a boy had a sweet little daughter, three years old, who was fond of climbing upon my knee, run-

simplicity of manners and with such profitable companionship did young Sparks learn his Latin declensions and conjugations, passing rapidly forward to the reading of Virgil. The kindly tutorial relation between the Connecticut parson and his young parishioner was much like that which subsisted between the early clergymen of Massachusetts and a few choice young men preparing for college in bucolic fashion in those farming towns about Cambridge. Indeed, this old method of collegiate preparation has by no means died out in the rural parishes of New England. Many are our college graduates who owe their first progress in Latin and the higher mathematics to the instruction and friendly encouragement lent by a country minister. Not a few "rusticated" students have recovered ground lost in "hazing," "rushing," or loafing at college, by a period of earnest study with some scholarly country parson.

REV. ABIEL ABBOT.

One day when Jared Sparks was at the house of the minister, the latter called his pupil into the study and introduced him to a clerical visitor, the Rev. Abiel Abbot, from Coventry, Connecticut, who wished to hear the young carpenter translate Virgil. Although Sparks had studied Latin only eight weeks he was now reading at the rate of two hundred lines a day. Such an interesting phenomenon might well serve to divert the mind of the Rev. Mr. Abbot from theological questions which

ning in and out of my room when she pleased, and following me in the fields. . . . She would go with me also after strawberries and blackberries in their season. In short I was charmed with the little creature, for she was pretty, gentle, and docile. . . . Her father was devoted to her education ; she grew up with a mind and manners well improved, and she was lately married to a young merchant in this smoky city. I have not seen her for several years. To-morrow I shall find her out."

he had perhaps come to discuss with his friend and neighbor. Unitarian ideas, spreading from Massachusetts, were then just beginning to find scattered converts in Connecticut. Rev. Mr. Abbot was one of the earliest sympathizers with and advocates of the new doctrines. For his alleged heresy the neighboring clergy and the orthodox party in his own church afterwards, in 1811, proposed to discipline him and force his withdrawal from the pastoral office, although the parish at large was strongly in favor of retaining him.

Mr. Abbot had perhaps come to exchange views in a fraternal spirit with Mr. Loomis. It is a pleasant picture to see these worthy men turning away from grave theological questions, which in the end cost Mr. Abbot¹ his parish at Coventry, to examine a country youth in Latin.

¹ Abiel Abbot (1765-1859) was settled at Coventry in 1795, and for fifteen years continued to preach acceptably to his people. In 1810 some members of his congregation began to suspect him of entertaining Unitarian sentiments. The case was referred to the consociation of ministers in the county of Tolland, although neither Mr. Abbot nor his church had ever joined that body. A council of ministers was called, and assumed to dissolve the ministerial relation between Mr. Abbot and the First Church at Coventry. The majority of the congregation was on Mr. Abbot's side, and he continued for two months longer to officiate as pastor, until by his consent a mutual council consisting of Massachusetts and Connecticut divines was convened at Coventry. This council decided that "the consociation had no right to dissolve the connection between the pastor and society, the great majority of whom manifest a warm attachment to his person and ministry, but that from considerations of expediency they do dissolve it, and declare that it is dissolved accordingly." Mr. Abbot afterwards published a full statement of the proceedings which had resulted in his dismissal. He became for a time principal of Dummer Academy at Byfield, Mass., but in 1819 removed to Andover, the old home of the Abbot family. He there wrote and published a history of Andover. In 1827 he became pastor of the Congregational Society (Unitarian) of Peterborough, N. H., where he remained until 1848, when he resigned. While living in Peterborough he was instrumental in founding in 1833 the first free pub-

Jared Sparks passed such a creditable examination that the visiting parson, who was a cousin of the famous Dr. Benjamin Abbot of Phillips Exeter Academy, said the young man ought to go to that celebrated preparatory school in New Hampshire and fit for Harvard College. Mr. Abbot knew that at Exeter special provision had been made for good students whose means were limited, and he promised to see what could be done towards securing an education for the ambitious young carpenter from Connecticut. This promise was faithfully kept, and the way was finally opened for Jared Sparks to go to Exeter.

lic library, supported by taxation, in the United States. See Smith's "Peterborough," i., 117, 118, where this matter is discussed at length. He also founded (1838) the Ministerial Library of Peterborough. Dr. Abbot removed to West Cambridge, where he was frequently visited by Mr. Sparks. Dr. Ellis, in his "Memoir of Jared Sparks," says: "During his presidency of the college, and after his retirement from it, I was in the habit, after the performance of certain official duties at Cambridge, of occasionally calling at his door on a pleasant afternoon, and inviting him to a drive around the neighborhood. If I had no special direction in view, I would leave the choice to him. More than once he said, 'If you have no choice, I should prefer, above all things, to call on good old Dr. Abbot.' He was then living in extreme old age with his grandson, the late Rev. Samuel Abbot Smith, minister of the First Church in West Cambridge, now Arlington. The venerable divine had served a long professional course in two parishes after his removal from Coventry. On the way, Mr. Sparks said of him, 'To that venerable and dear old man I owe more than to any of the many good friends I have had all my life.'"

Dr. Abiel Abbot and Dr. Benjamin Abbot were double cousins, their fathers being brothers, and their mothers sisters. They were also brothers-in-law, for Mrs. Abiel Abbot was the sister of Dr. Benjamin Abbot. Dr. Abbot died at the age of ninety-three and was buried in Peterborough. For further details regarding his life, see Smith's "Peterborough," i., 95, ii., 4, which contains a portrait of the man in his old age. For his ecclesiastical experience in Connecticut, see Belsham's "Memoirs of Theophilus Lindsey," ch. ix., and Sparks' "Unitarian Miscellany," vol. ii., 99.

It was arranged that Mr. Abbot and his wife, who were about to visit the principal of Phillips Exeter Academy, should take with them Sparks' trunk. This was fastened between the wheels, beneath the parson's chaise, and was thus transported all the way from Connecticut to New Hampshire. Sparks himself trudged thither on foot. He started on the fourth of September, 1809, and reached Exeter in four days, a journey of one hundred and twenty miles. The good parson had naturally arrived before him, but the first thing that greeted the eyes of young Sparks, in the hall of Dr. Abbot, was the little trunk there safely deposited.

REV. HUBBEL LOOMIS'S REMINISCENCES.

The following pleasant reminiscences of the boyhood of Jared Sparks were sent to Mrs. M. C. Sparks, May 15, 1866, after the death of her husband, from Upper Alton, Illinois, by the Rev. Hubbel Loomis, then ninety-one years old: "Previous to that period [1809] I merely knew him by sight, without ever having spoken to him, but I had heard him spoken of as a marked boy, well behaved, of close application, and very rapid in learning. . . . On entering my door, I was simply able to recognize him as the youth of whom I had heard favorable things. He immediately informed me that he came to see if I would teach him six weeks in geometry. I needed not a moment of deliberation. I put into his hands Playfair, and [at] the same time handed him an Algebra into which he might occasionally look. He boarded with his mother, a mile and a half distant, and came about every other day to recite. In the compass of a few days I learned that he had unmistakably a mathematical genius. I also learned that he had the offer of a school in Vermont, and that his confident calculation was at the expiration of six weeks to go and take charge of that school. From this I soon

made up my mind that it was my duty to dissuade him. I advised him to take the Latin Grammar and try a hand at the language. The suggestion brightened his countenance, but with heaviness he replied that he had no money, that his whole heart was upon obtaining the best education within his reach, but if he could be trusted he could not bear to be in debt. I explained, and advised him to study as long as he could find anybody to board and teach him. He finally consented and became a member of my family. Within a few weeks I became satisfied that he had a well balanced mind, as well adapted to literature and mental science as to mathematics, and I determined to patronize him as far as my limited means and influence would admit. I accordingly embraced opportunities of inquiring of my ministerial brothers for some charitable establishment upon which he might be placed. This preceded the foundation of educational societies, or any general movement for aiding indigent and promising youths.

“A few weeks previous to the commencement of the fall term of our literary institutions, Rev. Abiel Abbot, a brother in the Congregational ministry, called on me. He was pastor of Coventry Church, twelve miles south of me. Two years after he was dismissed on account of sentiment. He died an old man, but not long before his death I wrote to him in Cambridge, Mass.,¹ and he, at

¹ Writing from Cambridge to Mr. Loomis, Oct. 25, 1854, Mr. Sparks said: “Your old friend, Dr. Abbot of Peterborough, has a grandson settled in the ministry in West Cambridge. As he is now left nearly alone, it is expected that he will soon come down and live with his grandson.” Again, April 28, 1855, Mr. Sparks wrote: “I mentioned to you that Dr. Abbot was about to take up his residence in this neighborhood. He is now with his grandson, Samuel Abbot Smith, who is settled as a clergyman in West Cambridge, about three miles from me. I read to him a portion of your letter, and he

the age of 95, returned an answer in his own handwriting. To brother Abbot I stated the case of Mr. Sparks, expressing my opinion that he was worthy of patronage. Brother Abbot heard him recite in Latin, and asked him various questions. After Mr. Sparks retired brother Abbot expressed a favorable opinion of him as a charity student, and that he would cast about and see whether he could do anything to help him. A few days after I received a letter from brother Abbot, stating that he had written to Dr. Benjamin Abbot, the head of Phillips Academy in Exeter, New Hampshire, and received answer that a charity establishment was vacant, and that Mr. Sparks could be placed upon it. Upon obtaining this information, Mr. Sparks started on horseback to Coventry to learn particulars of brother Abbot. . . . He learned that Mr. Abbot was about starting on a journey through Exeter, and that he could strap a trunk on to his chaise and carry it to Exeter, and he actually carried the trunk. Mr. Abbot also gave him a letter of introduction to his father living on the road, writing that any favor shown Mr. Sparks would be considered as bestowed on his son."

These reminiscences of Mr. Loomis are undoubtedly an authentic source of information concerning the beginnings of Sparks' educational career. Another and equally valuable source is an article on Jared Sparks published in "The National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Ameri-

was very much gratified with the kind manner in which you spoke of him. He was animated in conversing about Coventry and Willington, and it evidently gave him great pleasure to revive his recollections of his former acquaintance and connection with you. He alluded to the Coventry Council, but in the mildest terms, not doubting, as he said, that the members were actuated by what they considered a sense of duty. Dr. Abbot is now over ninety years old, but his faculties are unimpaired, though the feebleness of age is somewhat indicated by his bodily movements."

cans, with Biographical Sketches" (Rice and Hart, Philadelphia). The writer of that sketch obtained his information directly from Mr. Sparks, as will appear in the following extract from one of his letters to Mr. Loomis, dated October 25, 1854: "It gave me great pleasure to receive your letter, and to know that you approved the manner in which you were mentioned in the Memoir prepared for the Portrait Gallery. I endeavored to communicate the facts correctly to the writer of the Memoir.¹ Be assured I retain a lively and grateful recollection of your many kindnesses to me in Willington."

WILLINGTON AND ITS PASTOR.

Mr. Sparks then describes with manifest affection his native town: "Two years ago I made a visit to that place after an absence of twenty years. There were the same hills and valleys, brooks and woods, which I had looked upon in my infancy and childhood, but in the works of man there were changes. On the whole the good old town exhibited marks of improvement. The houses, old and new, wore an air of comfort, and indicated industrious people within them. The bush-pastures seemed to me more numerous than formerly, showing less attention to agriculture than one would expect, but I found that many of the men had betaken themselves to some kind of manufactures; and the women, instead of spinning wool, flax, and tow, as my grandmother used to do, and weaving it into cloth, were braiding straw for hats, stitching the upper leather of shoes, and engaged in other like occupations, so that they are as industrious as ever, although their industry takes a different direction.

"The most attractive object in the town is the avenue of maple trees which you planted by the side of the road

¹ "I was glad the [Loomis] boys were pleased with the pamphlet."
Extract from Mr. Sparks' letter to Mr. Loomis, April 28, 1855.

near your house. They have grown large and uniform, and make a beautiful appearance. I understood the people had a sort of festival under those trees the year before I was there, at which you were duly remembered. The outside of the old meeting-house looks as it did when Captain Fellows used to set the tune for the singers, but I was sorry to find that they had made a town hall of the lower part of it."

A flourishing industrial town, a noble avenue of maples, a village festival under trees of the good man's own planting, — these are in some respects living monuments of the influence of this faithful Congregational minister, the Rev. Hubbel Loomis; but infinitely wider-reaching was the work of this excellent pastor and father in the education of that eager youth, whom he delighted to call "Son Jared," and of that other son who afterwards became a distinguished professor of natural philosophy in Yale College, Elias Loomis. "Your son, the professor, I see occasionally," wrote Mr. Sparks from Cambridge, June 20, 1863. "I passed a day with him last summer at New Haven. He stands high in the scientific world. You must have been highly gratified with his attainments, success, and character." Beyond all estimate is the educational value of such a life as that of Professor Loomis, the personal instructor and stimulator of thousands of Yale students, and, indirectly through his text-books, the mental awakener of thousands of men in other colleges. Transcending all present limits of human knowledge is the possible reach of that noble benefaction¹ for the

¹ "By the will of Professor Elias Loomis, who died in August, 1889, the Observatory [of Yale University] is to receive at once one third of the income, and will ultimately receive the entire income, of a fund established by him and called *the Loomis Fund*. The income received is to be applied to all, or one or more, of the following objects only, namely, the payment of the salaries of observers whose

encouragement of science which was made at death by this devoted, self-sacrificing son of the faithful pastor of Willington. "What would have been my destiny in life, if I had not known you there" [wrote Jared Sparks, June 20, 1863], "cannot be told; but such as it has been, I have always considered myself mainly indebted to you for the course it has taken, and the success attending it. I hope you have no reason to regret your kind agency in setting me forward to fulfill the destiny then awaiting me."

There is something very touching in the following answer of the venerable Mr. Loomis, then (September 22, 1863) eighty-eight years old: "Son Jared, for so I wish to address you, your letter of June 13 I received in due course of mail, but to answer I waited and waited, hoping to be able to write with my own hand a long letter that would show the fullness of my heart. But my inability to write continues and probably will continue to the end; so I do the best I can at dictating a few words. . . . If for twenty years after you left me, a young man of equal promise had annually presented himself to me for instruction¹ and counsel, I should have felt under un-

time is exclusively devoted to the making of observations for the promotion of the science of Astronomy, or to the reduction of astronomical observations and their discussion in papers prepared for publication, or to defray the expense of publishing these observations and of publishing investigations based upon astronomical observations. The principal of the Loomis Fund is about three hundred thousand dollars."—*Extract from Catalogue of Yale University.*

¹ In 1817, the Rev. Hubbel Loomis endeavored to secure the benefit of "the establishment," or charity foundation, for another of his Willington pupils. Mr. Sparks, then a tutor at Harvard College, interested himself in behalf of his young townsman and wrote to Dr. Abbot, who replied, November 6, 1817: "I can very safely assure you, if we can be satisfied he possesses a good portion of the spirit and character of him who solicits for him, we should need no further inducement to receive him as soon as a vacancy occurs."

speaking obligations to God for giving me such an opportunity for efficient labor in aiding young men aspiring to distinction and usefulness. Your ample remuneration of me will be seen and felt in Shurtleff College, to which I donate my small library, particularly Trommius's Concordance, Schleusner and Biel's Lexicons, etc., the first copies of the kind brought into Illinois."

Like fathers, like sons. Such were the Puritan up-builders of colleges in New England and the West. Such were the educators of men like Elias Loomis and Jared Sparks, the one to become a professor and benefactor of Yale, the other to become professor and president of Harvard University.

CHAPTER II.

STUDENT AT PHILLIPS EXETER ACADEMY.

1809-1811.

THE FOUNDER OF PHILLIPS ACADEMY.

WITHOUT disputing claims to priority with the Boston Latin School (1635), with Dummer Academy at Byfield, Massachusetts, or with Phillips Andover Academy, which owes its material endowment largely to John Phillips,¹ the academy at Exeter has a history all its own, and does not need any English prototype to explain its excellence. Phillips Exeter Academy had an established reputation before ever Rugby and Doctor Arnold were heard of as educational models. The historic germ of the New Hampshire institution may, perhaps, be found in that "private classical school" established at Exeter in 1741 by John Phillips (1720-1795), son of the Rev. Samuel Phillips of Andover. The founder was graduated from Harvard in 1735, studied medicine and theology, taught in both Andover and Exeter, married, in the latter town, Mrs. Sarah, "relict" of Nathaniel Gilman, Esq., known as "Gentleman Nat," who left three children and a fortune of seventy-five thousand pounds, old tenor. Mr. Phillips entered business and politics, aided Dartmouth, Princeton, and Harvard Colleges, became very wealthy, and endowed Andover and Exeter academies. "With-

¹ The brothers, John and Samuel Phillips, jointly endowed Phillips Andover Academy in 1778. It was chartered in 1780, one year before Exeter.

out natural issue he made posterity his heir." ¹ In 1789, the very year Jared Sparks was born, Mr. Phillips made very generous provision for the aid of Exeter students, of "such as may be of excelling genius and of good moral character." This was the foundation which made it possible for Jared Sparks to obtain the necessary preparation for Harvard College.

DR. BENJAMIN ABBOT.

Dr. Abbot (1762-1849) was the son of Captain Abbot of Andover, Massachusetts. He was graduated at Harvard in 1788, and that year became the principal of Phillips Exeter Academy. Descended from ancestors who were either deacons in the church or captains of militia, he was a remarkable combination of gentleness with authority. *Suaviter in modo, fortiter in re* was his avowed method of dealing with boys. The Rev. Dr. John H. Morison says "no admiral on the quarter-deck of his flag-ship was, more than he in his school, the impersonation of decision, firmness, and authority." He ruled quietly, firmly, without intimidation, always treating the students with courtesy and kindness. His reprimands never rankled. He knew when to overlook a fault. He used to say "it was a great accomplishment to know how to wink!"

Dr. Soule, who, like Dr. Abbot, taught in Phillips Exe-

¹ The above was an epitaph proposed for Mr. Phillips. "His academy has given him a name better than of sons and daughters" (see Rev. Abiel Abbot's "Andover," 143). The best authorities on Phillips Exeter Academy are Charles H. Bell's "Historical Sketch," Exeter, 1883, and Frank H. Cunningham's "Familiar Sketches of the Phillips Exeter Academy," Boston, 1883.

² The first principal was William Woodbridge (1755-1836), a graduate of Yale College in 1780. He was in charge of the academy for five years, 1783-1788, when he resigned on account of his health, although he afterwards lived to complete a record of fifty years as a teacher.

ter Academy for fifty years, once spoke of his predecessor, in a letter to Dr. Peabody, as "the second founder of the institution, not *scriptis legibus*, but by the wisdom and consistency of his government. His dignity was unsurpassed; but it was always adorned and rendered attractive by his sweet affability. He was always a gentleman, even to the youngest of his pupils, inspiring them with high-mindedness and courage to do right. Indeed, the whole history of his connection with the academy is a comment on the necessity of good manners, not only for the proper government of the school, but for the best development and culture of the youthful mind."

PHILLIPS EXETER ACADEMY.

Any graduate of Exeter who remembers his first interview with the principal of Phillips Academy, under the old *régime* established by Dr. Benjamin Abbot and perpetuated by Dr. Gideon L. Soule, can imagine the profound impression which admission to that famous academy must have made upon the mind of the country lad from Connecticut. A sense of exalted privilege dawns upon every youthful student, and withal a consciousness of great personal responsibility. The character and traditions of Phillips Exeter Academy usually take strong hold upon earnest lads. The standard of scholarship is so high, the spirit of the students is so honorable and manly, the *esprit de corps* so pronounced, the discipline so perfect, and the habits of self-government are so well developed, that every Exeter boy soon learns to feel that he has an individual duty to discharge in maintaining the honor of that far-famed school. An endowed and self-sustaining institution, Phillips Exeter Academy has never had the slightest interest in keeping poor scholars or bad boys simply for the sake of swelling the list of names in the catalogue. Consequently a standard of real merit

has always been recognized. The survival of the fittest is a rule rigidly enforced at the end of every school year.

Speaking of Jared Sparks' career at this famous public school, Dr. Ellis remarks: "Exeter has been the training-school of a large number of the scholars of New England during the last two generations, affording them preparation for college. Webster, Cass, Buckminster, and the Everetts have been only more conspicuous among a multitude of its distinguished pupils who are no longer living. Sparks reached there on the same day with his life-long friend, Palfrey. Bancroft joined them in 1811. But, while he shared the privileges of the Academy, Sparks's circumstances compelled him to use the vacations and even to encroach on term-time to obtain a slight but needful emolument from teaching. From the 11th of December, 1810, to the 8th of March, 1811, when he returned to Exeter, he was engaged in a school at Rochester, N. H. Indeed, as it had been in the school years of his childhood, and was in his course at Exeter, so as we shall see, after he had entered college, a good part, perhaps the best part, of his own training and acquisitions was attained through the stimulus of a necessity to turn them at once to account, as the condition of his own continued progress. He certainly had a fair opportunity to test the assertion, so reasonable in itself, that no one learns to the best purpose unless with a view to impart, with the most facility and satisfaction to himself, whatever he knows."

SPARKS' COMMONPLACE BOOKS.

The commonplace books, begun by Jared Sparks at Exeter, January 10, 1810, and continued systematically at school and college for six years, are the best original sources of information concerning his studies and mental development. These jottings from day to day are an

unconscious autobiography. They show that he was interested in many things outside the immediate line of his school work. His natural fondness for physics and astronomy seemed to increase even in such an unfavorable environment as a classical school. We find him sending articles to New Hampshire newspapers upon scientific subjects. He kept a record of local calculations of the eclipse of the sun in 1811 and watched the comet in that year. He made careful notes concerning the historical development of the various natural sciences, such as hydraulics, pneumatics, optics, chemistry, geology, etc. He recorded the landmarks of progress in astronomy, mathematics, and navigation. No less interesting to him was the history of literary and political journals and of learned societies.

His powers of observation as regards natural phenomena seem to have been practiced anew at Exeter. On the 9th of November, 1810, he makes this entry in his commonplace book: "At ten minutes past nine in the evening, a shock of an earthquake was experienced at this place. It was so severe as to jar crockery from the shelves in some parts of the town, to cause the falling of stone walls, etc. The report was first heard in the west, about 40 seconds before the shock was felt; the shock itself continued about 15 seconds, after which the report continued moving with a very heavy rumbling noise towards the east, for about one minute, making in all a continuation of about two minutes. The agitation caused on this occasion was such as to give people a very sensible vibrating motion, who were sitting in their chairs, for about 10 or 15 seconds. The sensations produced upon the mind were very different from the effects of heavy thunder. It is said by aged people to be the heaviest shock they have ever known in these parts. Some are so fanciful as to give it the appellation of an *air-quake*; but as for myself

I cannot discover in what an *air-quake* differs from common thunder, nor indeed do I consider an *air-quake* to be a proper term to express any operation of nature."

CONTRIBUTIONS TO NEWSPAPERS.

Sparks, from the beginning of his course at Exeter, was deeply interested in educational topics and occasionally wrote articles upon them for the "New Hampshire Patriot," published weekly in Concord, the capital of that State. Noteworthy is a plea for the higher education of women, published May 15, 1810. He urged that history (civil, natural, and ecclesiastical), geography, poetry, moral philosophy, and the fine arts are studies at once useful and entertaining for women, studies in which they might attain great proficiency without any evil consequences.

On the 10th of June, 1810, the Concord paper published an article by Jared Sparks, which attempted to prove, from the history of Greek philosophy and English literature, the following thesis: "Intense application to study, not detrimental to health." He said it appeared from research that, of thirty Greek philosophers, four lived to be over one hundred years old; eight to about ninety; eleven to about eighty; and seven to about sixty. Of thirty-one English authors, three were above ninety when they died; eight, above eighty; six, above seventy; ten, above sixty: "That country [he says] is esteemed very healthy, in which fifteen persons to an hundred born arrive to 70 years of age; but it appears from the above statement, that among those who have been distinguished for their learning and intense application, this calculation has been greatly exceeded. . . . These results do not justify the popular opinion that persevering application serves to abridge human life. . . . Equally as erroneous are those absurd notions which prevail in the minds of our

modern students respecting genius. Many at the present day profess to believe, or rather dissemble a belief, that assiduous application indicates a man of inferior talents and a mind dull of apprehension, and seem to consider everything that bears a resemblance to close study as incompatible with true genius and genuine abilities. . . . It is necessary for every scholar who has a desire or intention to excel in literature, duly to appreciate the inestimable importance of a judicious improvement of his time, as his future success must, in a great measure, depend on this particular. Idleness and dissipation will never obtain him a seat in the temple of fame; if this be his object, persevering industry and intense application are the most essential requisites."

This quotation fairly reveals Jared Sparks at the age of twenty-one, towards the close of his first year at Phillips Exeter Academy. We see already what manner of man he was. Great natural energy, moral earnestness, high purpose, and true dignity were his dominant characteristics. With strong powers of application, he believed that his genius lay in a capacity for hard work. Upon a good physical basis, the result of heredity and self-discipline, was built up a strong and noble character.

COURSE OF STUDY AND PRIVATE READING.

While at Exeter, Sparks pursued the customary classical and mathematical studies, for which the school has always been deservedly famous. He completed, as does every boy at Exeter, all the poems of Virgil. He read Sallust, four books of Livy, Ovid's "Metamorphoses," and six comedies of Terence. One of his notebooks, bearing the date "Exeter Academy, 1810," is filled with choice extracts from the odes and satires of Horace, which, in his day, as now, are read by Exeter boys before they go to Harvard. He read his Greek in the well known collections called

"Graeca Minora," containing extracts from Xenophon, Plutarch, Anacreon, Bion, Moschus, and others; and parts of the "Graeca Majora," namely, extracts from Herodotus, Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, and Homer's *Odyssey*. It may be seriously questioned whether the old method of reading a variety of classical authors did not conduce to a better classical scholarship than does the narrower curriculum of our present preparatory schools. Besides all this advanced work in Greek and Latin, Sparks also studied at Exeter Hebrew grammar and Praxis, and Wells' "Geography of the Old and New Testaments." His notes and memoranda contain very good materials for an historical reconstruction of the old-fashioned course of study preparatory to Harvard College in days before Harvard catalogues began.

One of his notebooks, marked "Exeter, 1809, 1810, 1811," contains observations upon various books, read at different times as a relaxation from classical studies. Beginning in September, 1809, he read Milton's "Paradise Lost" twice through. Then follows a long and miscellaneous list of books, showing the literary taste as well as the remarkable industry of the young man. It used to be thought rather extraordinary at Exeter for a lad to accomplish much in the way of private reading; the regular lessons were usually quite enough work for the boys. And yet the following books are by no means all of those read there by Jared Sparks: Gibbon's "Mahomet;" "Paul and Virginia;" Goldsmith's "Rome;" Miller's "Review of the Eighteenth Century," two volumes; Rolin's "Ancient History;" "Goldsmith's Poems;" the "Tatler;" Cowper's "Task;" Pope's "Dunciad," "Temple of Fame," "Eloise and Abelard," "Sappho," "Windsor Forest," and others. Of course he read Thomson's "Seasons" and Young's "Night Thoughts."

Considerable attention was paid to religious reading,

such as Addison's "Evidences of the Christian Religion" and "Wesley's Sermons." There are decided indications of an early theological bent of mind, but no evidences of any Unitarian or liberal bias at this period of Sparks' development. He collected passages of Scripture which seemed to serve as proofs of the doctrine of election; but withal, it is interesting to see that he enjoyed, now and then, a novel, like the "Lovers of the Vendée," although in a temperate and measured way, highly characteristic of the man as well as of the gradually mellowing nature of New England Puritanism.

Upon each book that he read Sparks was accustomed to make brief comments, evidently to settle the whole matter in his own mind and memory. For example, concerning Jonathan Trumbull's "McFingal," a poem in four cantos, he wrote: "This book displays much wit, genius, and political spirit, and no small fund of learning. Its subject is a general description of the American war with England; and the inconsistent proceedings of the English government, and the conduct of a number of their officers in America, are very wittily represented in the ridiculous light they justly deserved. The style is Hudibrastic, and admirably well adapted to the subject. An almost perfect picture of the manners and customs of New England is exhibited."

Horne Tooke's "Diversions of Purley" made a deep impression upon Sparks. He copied into his commonplace book many curious etymologies and philological illustrations in which this quaint author abounds. Sparks makes this general comment: "The author traces to their sources many English words, in a very ingenious, and a very clear manner, particularly the English particles. These words, which before had been considered as mere connectives to join language together, and containing no meaning in themselves, he makes to be the most significant parts of language."

Sparks' commonplace books, kept while he was a student at Exeter, show conclusively that here, in this excellent classical school, were confirmed all good habits of private reading which characterized his boyhood, and which had been inherited from his mother, and cultivated by his aunt. While constantly enlarging his own horizon of interest and study, he kept up a grateful correspondence with his old friends, Ansel Young and the Rev. Hubbell Loomis, in Tolland, Connecticut, to one of whom he owed much of his practical interest in mathematics, and to the other, his first classical training.

There was not much chance in those days at Exeter for the development of the historical, literary, or scientific spirit. It is all the more creditable that this young fellow from Connecticut, who was compelled by poverty to work his way through the academy, should in two years, 1809-1811, have made really commendable progress along certain modern lines of history, literature, and science, besides doing all the required work in Latin, Greek, and mathematics, which subjects at Exeter were taught to an extent that many colleges hardly surpass even now. He did all this, besides keeping school for three months, in the winter of 1810-1811.

One cannot but admire the iron will and sturdy constitution which enabled Jared Sparks to fit for Harvard College in two years, with slight previous preparation in the classics. Bodily maturity might seem to have been an element in his favor. Sparks was twenty-one years old when he went to Exeter, and he was doubtless able to work harder and longer than could the more juvenile members of his class. Men who start late in the race for academic honors are, however, by no means unknown in these modern days at Exeter; but it takes a man of rare talent or extraordinary industry to cope with the swiftness and cleverness of youth, with the skill and precision

of scholarship resulting from good training in early years. Jared Sparks came into intellectual competition with some of the quickest and brightest minds in New England in that old Phillips Academy. To win their respect and confidence, as well as a high rank among them, was a noble triumph of sterling worth and untiring diligence.

STUDENT LIFE AT EXETER.

We know but little of student life and amusements at Exeter in the days of Jared Sparks. It is not, however, difficult to imagine what school-boys and "chums" and "class spirit" must have been in that famous public school. With the same old playground for field sports, with the same exuberant nature among boys let loose from recitation, with the same walks to town, and fields, and river, with sailboats dancing on "the Salt" and with rowboats for pulling up "the Fresh," with the same old highways leading down to Hampton and the sea, life for Exeter school-boys in the first half of the present century must have been simply a forecast of what it was to be and still is. The history of a great public school is, after all, like a current academic year. Boys' sports and studies vary somewhat from spring to fall and from fall to spring; but the main stream of school life is much the same from generation to generation. Boys and their teachers are among the most conservative of mortals.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH DAVIS HURD.

There are several letters written by Sparks at Exeter to Davis Hurd, one of his old friends at Arlington, Vermont, a member of that local philosophical society for which Sparks, to the end of his days, cherished a peculiar fondness, as, indeed, he did for all the friends and associations of his youth. With Davis Hurd he kept up an occasional correspondence from 1810 until 1862. The

seventeen letters that have been carefully preserved by Professor Charles K. Gaines, of St. Lawrence University, Canton, New York, a grandson of Davis Hurd, afford much interesting information concerning Jared Sparks' career.

In a letter to Davis Hurd, dated Exeter Academy, June 25, 1810, Sparks says: "It is now nearly two years since I saw you, and since that time I have experienced very few changes of life, having been almost without interruption involved in study. I was for some length of time upon mathematical and philosophical studies. It is now a little more than a year since I commenced the study of the Latin and Greek languages. To acquire these languages is a very desirable object, and particularly to those who are solicitous of making any reasonable proficiency in literature. . . . I have attended some, for a few months past, to the French language; I find it infinitely more easy than either the Latin or Greek, and may be obtained so as to read with facility in a short time. . . . I am resolved at present upon a collegiate education; but my pecuniary resources are very small, and consequently, as you will naturally suppose, am apprehensive of meeting with many difficulties before I shall be able to accomplish my design.

"The situation in which I now am is very favorable. This academy is universally considered by those who are acquainted with it among the first of the U. S., and, indeed, it is by some supposed to be the best. It is founded on a very liberal plan. Its funds are extensive. The academy edifice is a handsome building, situate in a very healthy and salubrious place. It contains a good library and philosophical apparatus. The rooms are commodious. It is furnished with three good instructors, principal, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, and an assistant in the languages."

In a second letter to Davis Hurd, dated Exeter Academy, August 22, 1810, Jared Sparks gives his friend some good suggestions regarding a proposed Western tour, which Sparks says he would have been the first to join, if it had been suggested two years earlier; but now all his energy is bent upon securing an education. Sparks had a strong natural inclination towards travel. He recommends his friend to read Harris' "Tour to the Northwestern Territory in 1803," and says it contains all necessary information concerning the State of Ohio. Sparks, with the confidence of an old and experienced traveler, observes: "In my excursions, I have roamed over the principal part of New England and York State. The people of New England are very nearly uniform in their customs and manners. New Hampshire, though, I think, differs considerably from the other states. York State differs very much from any of the New England states. The manners of the inhabitants are not so refined nor attracting; their customs are more rough and dissolute."

Speaking of his own plans and purposes, Sparks, in this same letter to Hurd, writes: "You seem desirous of knowing what my intention is respecting my future profession or employment, and in what part of the world I expect to spend my days. As to the first, I am in no wise determined, nor, indeed, do I think proper to form any resolution, until I have taken a range through the various departments of literature, to know which will be the most agreeable to my inclination. If I might venture to prophesy, I should be apt to conclude that philosophy and mathematics would be my favorite studies.

"I think I shall continue here but one year longer, and then enter college if possible. Nothing will be wanting but a supply of money. My continuation in college will be three years. I must either keep school for money before I enter, or I must hire it till I get through. The

latter method would be greatly to my advantage could it be done, as I can get at least two hundred dollars a year more after I come out of college than I can now. . . .

“I expect to enter Harvard College or New Haven. Should you go to New Orleans and return by Boston, it will be well for you to call at the college, which is only three miles from Boston. A passage from the West Indies to Boston, with all things found, is between thirty and forty dollars. But if one is disposed he may work his passage without any difficulty.”

The third and last of Sparks' letters from Exeter to Davis Hurd is dated December 12, 1810, was posted December 15, and was received at Marietta, Ohio, January 21, 1811. Here, on the educational frontier, Hurd had tarried in his western journey, and had taken a school, although he had originally thought of earning his way by land surveying. A New England man or woman, moving westward or southward, takes as naturally to school-keeping as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob took to stock raising, or as our English forefathers took to palisading their villages and fighting the natives, whether Celtic or Indian. After some literary and historical skirmishing over the antiquity and original purpose of the great mounds near Marietta, Ohio, Sparks adds: “I am much pleased that you have engaged in school-keeping in Marietta. I think a more favorable opportunity could not have presented itself, as you naturally wanted a little rest from your journey, and also an opportunity of forming acquaintance and obtaining verbal information respecting the country. And in this employment you not only enjoy all these advantages, but receive a remuneration for your time besides.”

This naïve remark is very characteristic of a thrifty New Englander, and indeed of Englishmen throughout the world; our Anglo-Saxon race has always shown a

remarkable faculty for obtaining substantial remuneration for precisely what it chooses to do.

Sparks expresses some regret that his friend Hurd had not chosen to secure a liberal education, although he admits that the undertaking is a very serious one: "The time it requires, even to lay a foundation, is sufficient to discourage any one who is not firmly bent upon the object. To me, prospects forward have a gloomy aspect. In accomplishing the object I have undertaken, a considerable quantity of ready money is absolutely necessary, nor indeed can it in any measure be accomplished without it. I am destitute — nor do I know of any method of obtaining it — my own exertions, industry, and perseverance only can assure me success. When I compare my own condition with that of multitudes of those at this institution, whose pockets are filled with as much money as their inclination leads them to desire, I am sometimes almost constrained to exclaim against *Fortune*, who has made so unequal a distribution of her bounties among mankind. But a second reflection corrects my erring thoughts. When I consider the pernicious consequences this overflow of money produces, in corrupting their morals, vitiating their tastes, and rendering them wholly incapable of making any valuable progress in study, far from envying their condition, I consider myself thrice happy that I have not been exposed to these enticements. It is an undeniable truth, and is manifest not only in this institution but in all others, that those students who are furnished with the most money are the poorest scholars; and indeed many of them disgrace the appellation. . . . I have engaged a school for ten or twelve weeks in Rochester, a handsome village near Maine — private school — twenty scholars — boarded and \$16 a month — five or six Latin scholars, etc. — am going immediately — return to this place again in twelve weeks to continue the year."

From these letters to Davis Hurd we discover fresh evidence of the energetic, earnest, practical character of Jared Sparks. Steadfastly bent upon a college education, without money, without friends to help him, this courageous young man was deterred by no obstacles, and made his own heroic way through Phillips Exeter Academy and afterwards through Harvard College. He was a conspicuous type in that educational process which is still going on among sons of the people in all the great fitting schools and colleges of New England, and also in the West and at the South, where the struggle for intellectual existence is to-day quite as remarkable as ever it was at the North. Doubtless some young fellows at Exeter nowadays, as in days gone by, have more money to spend than is good for them, and others, like Jared Sparks, still have hardly enough. But this was always so; and to the end of time extravagant sons of the rich will sometimes waste their substance in riotous living, while thrifty, industrious sons of the poor will win the reward which they deserve.

UNCONSCIOUS AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

In this connection it seems not unfitting to quote a passage from a biographical sketch of Robert Robinson, an English Baptist divine of the last century, one of whose tracts Jared Sparks took occasion to edit in his "Collection of Essays and Tracts in Theology" (vol. iii., p. 3). The following words are an unconscious autobiography, although written by Jared Sparks in honor of Robert Robinson, who began life as a barber's apprentice, like Clement Morgan, the class orator who was chosen by the class of 1890 in Harvard University for his recognized ability, and not on account of the color of his skin: "That one should go out triumphantly on the tide of life, who is blessed with all the advantages of family, wealth, powerful friends, facilities of education, and incitements to em-

ploy them, is no cause of wonder. It would indeed be strange if it were otherwise. But when the sons of obscurity and indigence break from the cloud that surrounds and the weight that oppresses them; when they enter on the world's wide ocean without a parent's voice to counsel, or a parent's hand to protect; when the allurements of vice besiege them on the one side, and the spectres of despondency assault them on the other, without shaking their firmness, or turning them from the steady purpose of uprightness and perseverance; and when, in defiance of every other obstacle, they ascend to a proud station among the wise, the learned, and the good, — it is then that they may justly claim the respect and admiration of their fellow men, and call on them to behold an example worthy to be praised and emulated. Among the few who are to be revered for self-acquired eminence, the subject of the memoir stands in an honorable place.”

CORRESPONDENCE WITH EXETER FRIENDS.

While at Exeter, Sparks was occasionally compelled to borrow small sums of money, which he always scrupulously repaid. On one occasion, August 21, 1811, just before going to Harvard, he borrowed sixteen dollars from Mr. Nathan Lord, one of the ushers in the academy and afterwards a president of Dartmouth College. The following letter from Mr. Lord, written in Bath, October 20, 1811, to Sparks, then a freshman at Harvard, is an interesting token of the kindly relations that subsisted between the student and his teacher at Exeter: “I yesterday received your catalogue, for which I am very much obliged. I am much pleased to hear of your good success in obtaining extra assistance from the Government of College. I hope you will continue to meet whatever aid may be found necessary for the accomplishment of your education. Concerning the small sum you received

from me give yourself no uneasiness. I shall never want it. If it has been of any service to you I am repaid. Remember me to all our Exeter scholars, with assurances of my regard. Your friend, N. LORD."

Upon the margin of this generous letter Sparks noted: "Since *paid* with interest."

Duly filed in the Sparks correspondence is the following acknowledgment from the Reverend Nathan Lord to Jared Sparks, dated at Dartmouth College, March 9, 1831: "Your favor of the 16th December, covering fifty dollars, was duly received. The small sum which I put into your hand at Exeter, and which you have rolled up to a magnitude almost alarming, was not so intended as you have regarded it. I thought not of a loan, and it has been more oppressive to me in receiving it, especially so accumulated, than it could ever have been serviceable to yourself. I cannot look upon this money as my own, but can I offend your good feeling by returning it? It shall still be used as originally designed. There are necessitous young men about me to whom it may afford essential relief, and I will hope that it may still be an encouragement to true worth, and an occasion of many further exhibitions of magnanimity. I rejoice, dear sir, in the success with which it has pleased Divine Providence to attend you, and in the utility and honorableness of your public labors."

There are still preserved among the Sparks papers several letters addressed to him when at Exeter by students who had left the old academy and had entered either Harvard or Yale. One is from his life-long friend, Charles Folsom (Harvard College, 1813), who, July 21, 1811, reproaches Sparks for not accepting the honor of delivering the principal oration at the public exhibition of the academy: "Though I have the greatest opinion of your good sense, correct judgment, and prudent foresight

in general, yet in this instance I cannot but think you miserably deficient in generous ambition, a proper estimation of your own abilities, and a suitable regard for the reputation of the institution of which you are a member. Palfrey, I expected, would have the Salutatory."

After discussing the merits of Briggs, who was to deliver the oration, Folsom adds, "Sparks, every eye was turned upon you. You ought to have accepted it." Folsom then proceeds to give Sparks a graphic account of a remarkable student rebellion at Brown University. The orator chosen by the students for the Fourth of July was a Federalist, but the president of the university was a Democrat, and declined to allow the orator to speak in the chapel. The students, however, marched thither in procession with their Federalist speaker, and he delivered his oration, in the presence of two tutors and the whole body of collegians. The college authorities then began to inquire into the matter. Folsom said: "All the students, except two, signed an agreement to quit college rather than suffer the orator to be punished. . . . I suppose our friends, Allen and Gilman,¹ were among the rebels. . . . Give my best respects to the little boy with the green coat [Palfrey]. . . . I conclude by subscribing myself one who from the time he knew you has entertained towards you a high respect and warm esteem, one who now is proud to call you his friend, one who anticipates with joy the period when we shall enjoy daily converse with you."

The following extracts written to Sparks by Stephen Farrar Jones, an Exeter boy who had entered Yale College, class of 1812, are interesting bits of educational his-

¹ Zachariah Allen, of Providence, R. I., and Benjamin Ives Gilman, of Marietta (afterwards of Monticello, Ohio). Both entered Phillips Exeter Academy in 1807, and both were graduated at Brown University in 1813.

tory: "New Haven College, January 30, 1811. . . . On my arrival here I presented my letters of recommendation to Dr. Dwight. He advised me, on making more particular enquiries into my studies, to enter the junior class, if my circumstances were easy, if not to enter the senior class. Though my circumstances were far from easy, I concluded to be examined only for two years advanced" [standing].

This is striking evidence of the relation of Phillips Exeter Academy to college requirements for admission in those days. Jones then describes to Sparks the attractions of Yale and her various professors: "Our professor of languages, Mr. Kingsley, for elegance and style in English composition, is called by Dr. Dwight 'the Addison of America.' . . . I have hopes that all my quondam friends, now at Captain Halliburton's, will be at New Haven next commencement." Sparks evidently boarded at Captain Halliburton's, together with Palfrey, Briggs, Bartlett, Crooker, Underwood,¹ all of whom Jones of Yale takes special pains to mention.

In a second letter, May 28, 1811, Jones describes the entire course of study at Yale in every class. It is noteworthy that the Sophomores had Priestley's "Lectures on History" and the Juniors studied Tytler's "History:" "The President and Professors are perfectly united in their sentiments, with regard to Politics and Religion. These are very nearly the same with those of Calvin and Washington. . . . If we compare the two Institutions,

¹ Palfrey, Briggs, and Underwood all went to Harvard with Sparks in the same class, leaving Exeter in 1811 and graduating at Cambridge in 1815. It is interesting to look over the catalogue of Phillips Exeter Academy, 1783-1883, and to note the friends and contemporaries of Jared Sparks. John Adams Dix, afterwards U. S. Secretary of the Treasury, entered the Academy the same year as did Sparks, 1809.

which hold the first rank in the United States, we must without hesitation pronounce Cambridge superior to Yale in regard to the number of its Professors, while the President and the Professors of Philosophy and the Languages at Harvard must undoubtedly yield to the Professors in the same branches at New Haven in point of talent. Perhaps Harvard studies rather more Greek than Yale. At present, Cambridge has the preference in Anatomy, New Haven in Chemistry. But the scholars at Yale have a decided superiority over those of Cambridge in Philosophy and Mathematics."

Jones further avers that few men can bear any comparison with President Dwight, "as a private Christian, a polite gentleman, a general scholar, a historian, an extemporaneous lecturer, a politician, or divine."

Sparks was at one time almost persuaded to go to Yale College; but the Exeter current, which has always set strongly towards Harvard, bore him with Palfrey and Briggs to that institution. And yet President Dwight and Stephen Farrar Jones of Yale, who afterwards became a schoolmaster at Beaufort, South Carolina, unconsciously determined Sparks' destiny, as will appear in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III.

HARVARD STUDENT AT HAVRE DE GRACE.

1811-1813.

ADMISSION TO HARVARD.

JARED SPARKS was examined and admitted to Harvard College on the 26th of August, 1811. A student of such excellent attainments in mathematics and classics, entering a Freshman class in his twenty-third year, must have impressed the authorities at Cambridge as a man of maturity and character. The average Harvard collegian is ready to graduate at the age of twenty-three. Dr. Ellis notes the fact that Edward Everett had not only completed his college course but also his professional studies before reaching the age at which Sparks entered Harvard. Jared Sparks' habits of study and private reading for their own sake had given him a singular breadth of scholarship in spite of his late start in academic life and his loss of time in school-keeping. He was not only well versed in preparatory classics, but had at the very beginning of his Freshman year a far better acquaintance with mathematics, especially astronomy and physics, than most men acquire in four years at college. Indeed, Sparks excelled all his classmates at Harvard in mathematics, a subject for which the great majority of college men have little talent or appreciation. Before Sparks went to Phillips Exeter Academy, he had mastered many mathematical and physical problems which would puzzle most college graduates even now. President Kirkland was fond of

saying: "Sparks is not only a man, but a man and a half."

PRESIDENT KIRKLAND.

Dr. Ellis, in his memoir of Sparks, says: "He found, from the first and always, a most devoted and helpful friend in President Kirkland, whose benignant beauty and grace of feature, and whose lovable qualities of character, won the warm affections alike of those of his pupils who shared the benefits of his sound wisdom, or felt the influence of his gentle discipline. It seems to those of us who saw Dr. Kirkland only in the milder radiance of his declining days, and know of his administration only through the relations and fond memories of those whose undergraduate and professional course he fostered, that he stands on the roll of college presidents as the most beloved and revered. Childless himself, he was a father in interest and affection to all who came under his mild control. His personal qualities and the love which attended him are now becoming traditions in the college halls. Any memorial of Mr. Sparks which omitted a hearty recognition of his obligation and gratitude to President Kirkland, would pain him more than an oversight which should leave some of his own highest services unnoticed."

PRIVATE READING.

One of the first books read by Jared Sparks after entering Harvard College indicates the natural bent of his mind as well as the maturity of his taste. His commonplace books contain careful notes from Adam Smith's "History of Astronomy," a work now comparatively unknown even to students of "The Wealth of Nations." Astronomy was a favorite study of Jared Sparks from his boyhood, and it is interesting to find him reverting to it even through the medium of such ancient text-books as "Theill's Astronomy."

Early in his Freshman year he appears to have read Cicero's "Academica," and Lucretius' "De Natura Deorum," which latter he carefully analyzed, and of which he said: "Though this poem advocates principles the most erroneous and impious, namely, *atheism* and *the mortality of the soul*, yet it may be read without the least apprehension of danger, by any person who is firmly established in his principles. For no arguments here adduced, though they are the most powerful that could possibly be adduced, will have any effect upon the mind of a Christian whose views are extended beyond the narrow limits of sense, and whose sentiments are founded on a basis too firm to be shaken by the cavils and arguments of human invention. . . . Although the general tenor of the poem is as has been above stated, yet there are many just conclusions and sound arguments, many poetical allusions and beautiful episodes; and I believe it is acknowledged on all hands to be a specimen of the purest Latinity extant."

Even in his school-days at Exeter, Sparks showed some predilection for theological studies, and one might easily fancy from his early reading at Harvard that this young man was foreordained to be a liberal clergyman, if not an astronomer or a mathematician. Among his earliest notes taken at college in 1811 are extracts from Hugo Grotius' "De Veritate Religionis Christianae;" and observations on "Contested Passages of Scripture," taken from an Improved Version of the New Testament, lately published, he says, in London.

THE PENNOYER SCHOLARSHIP.

In consideration of his merit and need of assistance, Sparks was appointed to the Pennoyer scholarship, one of the oldest benefactions of the kind in New England, made to Harvard College in the latter part of the seventeenth

century by William Pennoyer, an English merchant. In a letter to his old friend, Davis Hurd, written at Havre de Grace, September 15, 1812, Sparks speaks in a most grateful manner of the generosity shown him by Harvard College: —

“I cannot withhold from you the statement of a particular circumstance, as it reflects the highest honor upon certain gentlemen, who have merited, and shall forever receive, the highest sentiments of gratitude and respect that I can bestow. As my situation was well known to a few gentlemen at Boston and Exeter, who had condescended to become my friends while I resided at the latter place, it was by them represented to the corporation of the college, and to my agreeable surprise, after I had entered, the President informed me that the corporation had assigned me one hundred dollars from the college funds, to assist in defraying my expenses for the first year, and that, should my future behavior and proficiency answer the expectations they had formed from the recommendations of my friends, it would be continued yearly while I remained in college. This was peculiarly pleasing, you may well suppose, as it assured me I was not without friends, although two years before I had not known one of them, not even by name. I could also obtain fifty dollars during vacation for school-keeping. After this, one hundred dollars a year remained, for which I had no resources.”

SCHOOL-TEACHING.

Teaching was and is about the only means of self-help open to poor students. To this work Sparks had long been accustomed. He had made his way through Phillips Exeter Academy by keeping school a portion of the year, and to this device he was repeatedly driven when a college student. “From the 17th of December, 1811, to the 26th of February, 1812, when he returned to college,” says

Dr. Ellis, "he taught a country school in Bolton, Mass." This place was twenty-six miles from Cambridge, and Sparks on one occasion records a walk from Harvard to Bolton in six hours and a half. There is little of special interest connected with this experience as a school-teacher beyond the fact of his continuing his college studies and private reading in such hours of leisure as he could command. Not long after his return to college he was induced to accept a situation as private tutor in the family of a Maryland gentleman, Mark Pringle, Esq., of Havre de Grace.

LETTER FROM DR. ABBOT.

Upon the announcement of his intention of going South as a teacher, Sparks received the following letter, dated March 16, 1812, from his good friend and adviser, Dr. Benjamin Abbot, the Principal of Phillips Exeter Academy: —

"MY YOUNG FRIEND, — Your letter of 11th instant received last evening. I very much regret that you should feel yourself under the necessity of leaving college at this time and interrupting the regular course of your studies. As you have made up your mind on the subject, I shall offer no reasons to induce you to alter your determination. I had hoped, with the favor you would receive, and some little indulgence in the winter to take a school, you would be able to keep your ground without much embarrassment to yourself. But of this you must be better able to judge, after the experiment you have made. You are resolved, you say (and I think justly), at all events to return to Cambridge, and the question seems to be into which class you shall enter. It is not easy to decide this point at present, until it can be ascertained what interruptions you must meet with, and how much time will be at your own disposal. It would be an agreeable and very desir-

able circumstance to return to your class, if it can be effected without a sacrifice of health and some peculiar advantages, which 't is probable the situation may afford. I should by no means neglect classic studies. It is far from certain how the climate may agree with your health. Should it prove unfavorable, you should not hold yourself bound to remain the term for which you engage. You will probably find yourself in a new scene, habits and manners of the people different from what you have been accustomed to. Your own good sense will point out to you the propriety of conforming yourself as far as can be done *innocently*. Beyond this you ought not, and I am persuaded you will not, go. After you shall have ascertained on the spot your real situation, I will answer any enquiries you may wish to make: it will give me pleasure to receive a line from you. The enclosed you will deliver to Dr. Dwight; he will make what use of it he may think proper. Wishing you may find your situation both agreeable and advantageous to you, I am very affectionately yours,

BENJ. ABBOT."

Sparks left Cambridge not long after the receipt of this letter, and seems to have enjoyed a spring vacation before going South.

TUTOR AT HAVRE DE GRACE.

The following letter from Mark Pringle was dated Baltimore, May 16, 1812, and was that day received by Sparks in Havre de Grace, where he arrived before Mr. Pringle's family: "MR. JARED SPARKS. *Dear Sir,*—Your favor of yesterday is received, and I note that you have concluded to accept my offer of five hundred dollars per annum as tutor to my children, you finding your own board and lodging. I admit there may be some difficulty in procuring a suitable house for this purpose, as Mrs. Boyce, for good reasons no doubt, declines to board one

gentleman alone ; nevertheless, I trust the difficulty may be surmounted when we have time to look round. In the interim, I suppose you can put up with a temporary inconvenience of boarding at Mr. Mansfield's or Mr. Dutton's.

“ I observe it is your wish to have the privilege, if you should be disposed, at the end of six months, to obtain an approved instructor to occupy your place, but should this not be the case, you consider yourself obligated to continue with me one year, to which condition I conform, and consider your salary to commence from this date. My family being large, I prefer, for the present, your boarding at Havre de Grace, but should I hereafter find it convenient to board you in my house, and it meets your approbation, I shall propose a deduction of two hundred dollars from your salary. I expect to move my family in the course of ten days. Meanwhile I am respectfully, dear sir, your most obedient servant, MARK PRINGLE.”

Interesting accounts of his first residence in Maryland have lately been found in letters from Jared Sparks to his old friend, Davis Hurd, then at home again in Arlington, Vermont, from his Western wanderings and school-keeping at Marietta. The first letter, from which extracts will be quoted, is dated at Havre de Grace, Maryland, May 23, 1812: “ When I wrote you last, and indeed when I wrote your brother,¹ I supposed that, instead of being here now, I should be in Harvard College, where I then was. But you remember, I presume, that in my last letter to your brother, I intimated the impossibility of prosecuting my design at college without some addition to my resources.

“ The purpose of making this addition is the cause of my being here at this time. I accepted an application²

¹ In Sparks' list of letters sent, is one to Phineas Hurd, dated November 22, 1811.

² The way in which the application came to Jared Sparks is ex-

made by a gentleman of Baltimore for a private tutor to his family. It is nearly two months since I left Boston. The gentleman in whose family I am engaged is a man of great wealth, and has vast possessions both at Baltimore and at this place. His family is small, and I have to attend to only three girls, at particular hours, five days a week; the youngest about ten, and the eldest about fifteen years of age. Thus situated, you will doubtless see that I shall have much time to prosecute my studies, and, indeed, this was a very material consideration with me when I accepted the proposals. Nor shall I, while it can possibly be avoided, ever put myself in a situation in which this important privilege is denied. . . .

“The place at which I now am is a small village, very pleasantly situated at the confluence of the Susquehanna with the Chesapeake. It is a port of entry, and a place of little trade. Six stages pass daily through it,—three from Philadelphia to Baltimore, and three from Baltimore to Philadelphia, one of which is the U. S. mail stage. . . . I find very little similarity between the manners of the people of Maryland and those of New England. That industry and spirit of enterprise, which everywhere prevails in the latter, is nowhere to be seen in the former. The farmers here are styled planters. They own vast tracts of land, . . . are gentlemen, . . . never labor

plained in the following extract from a subsequent letter to Davis Hurd, dated Havre de Grace, September 15, 1812: “A letter from a friend at Yale College [Stephen F. Jones, January 10, 1812] informed me that application had been made to Dr. Dwight by a gentleman at Baltimore for a private tutor, and that if I was disposed I could have the situation. I accepted it, and after calling on Dr. Dwight for a letter of introduction, I proceeded immediately to Baltimore, where I arrived about the first of May, a few weeks after which the gentleman removed to this place, where I have been ever since, and where I shall probably continue eight or ten months longer.”

themselves, but cultivate their plantations by means of slaves. In short, there are but two classes of people here. The first consists of landholders, who consequently monopolize all the property; the other are tenants, dependents, slaves. The window at which I am sitting is within half a dozen rods of the Susquehanna, and from it the views of two or three well-cultivated plantations on the opposite shore frequently bring to my mind the delightful farms of New England. But when I reflect for a moment that they are made to exhibit this appearance, not by industry and cheerful toil, as in New England, but by oppression and slavery, these pleasing sensations rush instantly from my mind, nor can I endure to dwell on the comparison. . . .

“I expect to continue here about one year, when I shall return to college. . . . Shall spend two or three weeks in Washington in the course of the year. . . . You wished to know the expenses of college. . . . See the following. . . . There are 250 students. . . . Every student has a bill made out against him by the college steward once in three months, called ‘*Quarter Bill*,’ being four a year. This is for board, tuition, room-rent, etc., and will generally average about \$45.00 a quarter (\$180.00 a year). . . . Some other contingencies will make college expenses about \$200 a year, and, considering clothes, a person may be considered very economical if his yearly expenses do not exceed \$250. There are more who spend \$500 than there are who fall short of \$250.¹ . . . I have a fine

¹ These facts are not without interest to a student of American educational history, in view of the recent discussion of college expenses at Harvard and elsewhere.

A letter from Charles Folsom to Jared Sparks, July 17, 1829, throws additional historical light upon this general subject: “I endeavored to get access yesterday to the sources of information on the subject of college expenses, but was unsuccessful. To-day I have ascertained that about \$1,000 was distributed to beneficiaries last

opportunity here of seeing almost all the *great men* on the continent, as they generally call at my boarding place in passing from Washington to Philadelphia." . . .

INTERVIEW WITH QUINCY AND CHANNING.

Sparks had been boarding at the village tavern in Havre de Grace, and doubtless had seen many distinguished American politicians of the day, United States senators, and members of the House of Representatives, on their way to and from the national capital. In the memorial sermon preached March 18, 1866, by the Rev. Dr. Newell, Mr. Sparks' Cambridge pastor, there is a pleasing account of Sparks meeting two "great men" from Massachusetts, who passed through Havre de Grace en route for Washington: "Soon after his arrival¹ at

year (this being the amount of the proceeds of all the funds for the object), of which the largest portion given to any individual was about \$60 and the least \$15; this without any service on the part of the receivers. There are five offices held by Freshmen, viz.: *College* Freshmen (formerly called *Regents*), receiving \$120; and four, who have charge of recitation rooms, receiving \$60 each. Freshmen in general are candidates for gratuities, as well as others, but do not commonly receive so much the first year as afterwards, the offices meeting the case of four or five of the most necessitous. In distribution great regard is paid to scholarship and moral character, more than formerly perhaps. Every person entering *advanced* pays \$15 a term, or \$45 a year, as *advance money*, without any reference to his circumstances or his standing. This is much less than the least in former times. The steward estimates every necessary expense of a student (supposing him to have a chum) at \$190, *i. e.* exclusive of clothes, washing, and pocket money. Call it \$200. Diminish this by the average of the benefactions stated above, and you have what I suppose you want. For a distinguished scholar (not *College* Freshman) I suppose the average to be about \$150 per annum."

¹ Sparks arrived at Havre de Grace before Mark Pringle had removed his family to that place from Baltimore, as appears from Mr. Pringle's letter, dated Baltimore, May 16, 1812, and received that day in Havre de Grace.

Havre de Grace, while he was staying at the public house in that place, in a dejected state of mind, occasioned by some disappointment of his expectations and the loneliness of his situation among people of a quite different spirit and training from his own, two gentlemen, travelers on their way to Washington, came to the inn. A beautiful island¹ in the Susquehanna attracted their attention, and one of them procured a boat, and invited Mr. Sparks, whom they had met on the piazza, a stranger to them both, to accompany him to the place. After a delightful excursion, and a walk around the island, intensely enjoyed by Mr. Sparks in the pleasant society and conversation of the new-comer, who treated him with double cordiality on finding that the young man was a student of Harvard, as he was himself a graduate of the college, the Hon. Josiah Quincy, then representative in Congress, as the stranger proved to be, returned to the inn, and introduced Mr. Sparks to his companion, the Rev. Dr. Channing. The interview gave the forlorn and struggling student new life and spirit. Dr. Channing, who had himself had a similar experience² in teaching in Virginia, refreshed and strengthened him by words of sympathy, counsel, and good cheer. And his new friends were his warm friends ever after. The imagination dwells with interest on the picture of this first meeting of his, at the Southern inn, on the road to Baltimore and Washington, with those two distinguished men, little dreaming of the after-events which were to connect them so intimately with the youthful scholar, the one as the famous preacher of his ordina-

¹ This island was once selected for the site of the *Academia Virginiensis et Oxoniensis*, and is now the mid-river support of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad bridge. See H. B. Adams' "William and Mary College," Circulars of Information of the Bureau of Education, No. 1, 1887, p. 12.

² Dr. Channing taught for two years in Richmond, Virginia.

tion sermon, the other as his predecessor in the presidency of Harvard University, as well as his neighbor and associate for many years in Cambridge, where Mr. Sparks lived and died, in the street called by the name of his honored friend."

INTERVIEW WITH GENERAL CLARKE AND INDIAN CHIEFS.

Very different from this pleasant interview with Channing and Quincy (the one representing a liberal faith in the church, and the other the scholar and statesman in politics) was Sparks' curious rencontre with representatives of ten tribes of North American Indians at that same village inn of Havre de Grace. The following interesting account is taken from Sparks' letter to Davis Hurd, September 15, 1812: "A very curious assemblage of Indians passed through here a few days ago. The company consisted of thirty-eight. They were the chiefs, princes, and some queens, of ten different tribes, principally from the neighborhood of the Missouri. They spoke amongst them seven different languages, and had an interpreter for each. They had been for some time before at Washington visiting the President, and were now returning home through Philadelphia, Pittsburg, and down the Ohio. They came from Washington in eight coaches, in which they were going to Pittsburg. As I lodged one night in a house with them, I had a fine opportunity of observing them. It was indeed a pleasing thought to consider one's self in the midst of such an assemblage of kings, queens, and princes. They were very differently dressed, according to their tribes. They were conducted by General Clarke, the companion of Lewis on the famous Northwestern Expedition. As he was a free, sociable man, I gained much information from him. . . .

"From the mouth of the Missouri to its source is 3,120 miles, navigable for canoes nearly to its source, except a

portage of eighteen miles. . . . They struck the Columbia 1,000 miles from the Pacific; navigable all the way down, except one portage of 1,200 yards, which is one hundred and ninety miles from the mouth. . . . The Columbia empties into the Pacific, lat. $46\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, is three miles and six hundred and sixty yards broad at its mouth. . . . They were more than a year ascending the Missouri, and six months more before they arrived at the Pacific. From the time they started from St. Louis till they returned, were two years, four months, ten days, viz., from May 14, 1804, to September 23, 1806. The whole length of the voyage, from St. Louis to the Pacific, 4,133 miles. General Clarke has just returned from the Missouri, three hundred miles up which he has been building a fort. This is the substance of his information." . . .

This method of deriving knowledge at first hand from original sources of information was characteristic of Jared Sparks from his very boyhood, when he began independent observations of nature. His notes upon a talk with a French student, Bideau, at Exeter, concerning a French *lycée*, and his interview with General Clarke, are youthful foreshadowings of more important attempts in after-life to derive authentic information from eye-witnesses of historic events, or actual participants in the making of history.

PRIVATE READING.

During his sojourn at Havre de Grace, Sparks diligently improved his leisure time by private reading, a complete record of which was kept in his commonplace books, which are to some extent journals of his education during both the school and college periods. Under the date of June, 1812, he writes: "I began the first of June to read Homer's Iliad, Clark's edition. I at the same time read an elegant edition of Pope's Homer, and compared them

carefully. This edition of Pope had all his notes at large, his life of Homer, and essay on his writings. . . . Six weeks of my leisure time, which was generally three or four hours a day, carried me through the thirteenth book. Here I left Homer, with an intention to complete it at some future period. . . . While reading Homer I was much occupied at intervals in reading Pope's correspondence with Wycherley, Gay, Swift, and others. I know not that I ever took more pleasure in reading any book than these letters. . . . I used to read these in my school between the recitations of my pupils, and also while walking to and from my boarding-house, a distance of half a mile, pleasant and quite retired."

He managed to read daily from fifty to one hundred pages. Every evening before retiring it was his custom to write out a short sketch, or abstract, of what he had read during the day. This practice he believed to be of considerable advantage. "It caused me to read with attention, and to reflect carefully and minutely upon what I had read, and it was also a means by which I might acquire a facility in descriptive composition."

Under the date of July 15 he writes: "Leaving Homer at the end of the thirteenth book, I took up Horace, and devoted the same time to it that I had before done to Homer. I had read Horace before, and therefore I now reviewed him with much pleasure. . . . After Horace, I devoted the same time to the Hebrew Psalms. I read the first twenty Psalms, and translated into English prose the first ten. This I did for my amusement, and improvement in the Hebrew Language, and also to determine with what fidelity the old translation was executed. For this purpose I collated my translation with the old, and wrote such observations as occurred to me at the time by way of notes. In the new translation I aimed to give the Hebrew construction of sentences as nearly as the idioms of the two

languages would possibly allow. When the literal construction could not be preserved and convey the sense clearly, I always gave it in the margin. . . . The new translation collated with the old, the notes and marginal references, occupy fourteen sheets."

Sparks had begun Hebrew at Phillips Exeter Academy, and it is interesting to see him, a college Sophomore, turning to the choicest part of Old Testament literature in a spirit of scholarly inquiry, and making an independent translation. In February, 1813, after much other profitable and varied reading, he returned to his Homer. "In the last eleven books I used to read about five hundred lines a day in the leisure time I had, in which I was not engaged in the management of my school. . . . No Greek book, perhaps, is read with more ease and pleasure by the student in Greek than the Iliad. Homer's vocabulary is by no means extensive. It may be learned in five or six of the first books. Nearly one half of the whole poem is taken up in describing battles, and in these descriptions a similarity of expression must necessarily obtain. He who makes himself thoroughly acquainted with two or three of the first engagements will find very little need of a lexicon in reading the descriptions of the others." While noting the limited vocabulary of Homer, Sparks does not fail to recognize the infinite variety of Homeric description. He is especially impressed with the exactness with which Homer delineates character, and with the consistency sustained throughout by each individual type. He confesses to more pleasure in reading the Odyssey than the Iliad, and thinks the fact due to the wider range of human interest suggested by the wanderings of Ulysses. "It has been remarked, that it is the judicious enumeration of *little circumstances* that gives the greatest beauty and the greatest interest to composition. This is the reigning excellence in the Odyssey.

The poet seems to know perfectly what circumstances will have the best effect upon his readers, and such he has selected with admirable judgment, and described them with the most beautiful simplicity imaginable."

While reading the Iliad, Sparks took pains to compare with it Pope's translation, and discovered for himself that Pope's work bears little resemblance to the original, and "is at best nothing more than a loose paraphrase. . . . We are not unfrequently struck with beauties in Pope which we look in vain for in the original. But this is no recommendation, for it was *the duty of the translator to give Homer in every instance as he was, and not as he would have him to be.*" This passage, here italicized for emphasis, is noteworthy as indicating Sparks' ideal of the duty of a translator, and as foreshadowing the duty of a modern editor. Jared Sparks was now unconsciously in training for his life work as a collector and editor of materials for American history, revolutionary, diplomatic, and biographical. Any conception of that literary office as a personal departure from original sources of information and from the essential truth of historical documents, is utterly foreign to the man's mental and moral constitution. From his youth up, whether in the study of astronomy, or the Bible, or Homer, or the writings of the Fathers of the American Republic, there is always a conspicuous desire to get at the exact truth and the true meaning of things. Any verbal changes in his editorial work were merely verbal, and never with the remotest thought of altering the original sense of his authorities. He would have admitted different verbal renderings of Homer and the Psalms, but never a wanton departure from the spirit of the text. Herein, however, there is sometimes considerable room for scholarly conjecture and revised versions, as the history of all literature, sacred and profane, has conclusively shown.

It is worth while to note the beginning of Sparks' manifest interest in the reading of history, and especially that of his own country, while he was pursuing his college studies and earning money as a tutor at Havre de Grace. Almost the first work of history which he mentioned at this time is Ramsay's *Life of Washington*, the greater part of which he says he read in his school-room. Then came Priestley's *Lectures on History*; Snowdon's *History of North and South America*, from the first discovery to the death of George Washington; Goldsmith's *Histories of England and Greece*; Dr. Ramsey's *History of South Carolina*; Henry Lee's *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States*. Of most of these works Sparks wrote critiques, showing that he was already beginning to develop original and independent views upon matters of literary taste or historical judgment.

Besides the historical and classical works already mentioned, Sparks read, during the fifteen months when he was away from college, many books of general literary and scientific interest. Among them it is pleasant to note a few novels and considerable poetry, especially Scott's. He also read *Hudibras*; Johnson's *Rasselas*; *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*; Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides*; Voltaire's *Henriade*, in translation; Sophocles, in translation; some of Shakespeare's plays; Burke on the *Beautiful and Sublime*; Beattie's *Essay on Truth*; a life of Beattie; and various works of biography. He read more or less every week in the *Spectator*, *Rambler*, Goldsmith, and other British classics. Ferguson's *Astronomy* and Simpson's *Algebra*, with a long article on *Optics* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, represent his work in mathematics and physics.

For geography and travels Sparks always had a strong passion, and he gratified it to the fullest extent during his sojourn at Havre de Grace. He had constantly before

him Pinkerton's, Morse's, and Guthrie's Geographies, together with Crutwell's Gazetteer, four volumes, with atlas, Morse's Gazetteer and atlas, Wilkinson's Atlas, and various sheet maps on rollers. From that little port of entry on the Susquehanna, this eager student seems to have taken a wide survey over the earth's surface, and to have learned that it is really round and full of interesting people. Many college students nowadays seem to fancy that the world is *flat*, and think there is nothing on the face of the earth worth knowing or doing. Sparks became greatly interested in Mungo Park's Travels in Africa, a work which prepared his mind for his first great literary enthusiasm, — the Life of Ledyard, the African traveler. What intense interest Jared Sparks would have taken in the more recent discoveries by Livingstone and Stanley, in their opening of the Congo and Western Africa to commerce, and in the attempts of Gordon, Drummond, and England to suppress the East African slave trade! Sparks read also Campbell's Journey to India and Buchanan's Christian Researches in Asia. He followed Chateaubriand in his travels through Greece, Palestine, Egypt, and Barbary, and made extracts from Addison's Remarks on Italy. Carver's Travels in North America and the Report of Lewis and Clarke's Expedition were doubtless suggested to him by that memorable interview with the great explorer himself, and the sight of his caravan of Indian chiefs, halting at the little inn at Havre de Grace.

The general impression which one derives from all these details is that Jared Sparks, in his enforced retirement from the college world, was nevertheless acquiring in his own way a very liberal education, at least for an absentee Sophomore. His commonplace books enumerate over one hundred different works, some of them in two volumes, read there at Havre de Grace during his *leisure* time, "that is, in which I have not been engaged in the

management of my school and the prosecution of my regular college studies." What these latter were he does not state (probably Greek, Latin, and mathematics); but we may be very sure that Sparks always learned more from voluntary private reading than from required textbooks. He unconsciously foreshadowed the modern university spirit.

DESTRUCTION OF HAVRE DE GRACE.

While at Havre de Grace he had a vivid glimpse of the war then going on between England and the United States. "He was there," says Brantz Mayer, "when the British, under Admiral Cockburn, plundered and partly destroyed the village (May 3, 1813); and here, probably, he enjoyed the only military experience of his life, by serving as a private in the Maryland militia, called out to guard the neighborhood. The inhabitants, it is related, generally fled to the woods, and but a few, among whom was Sparks, remained to witness the barbarous behavior of the enemy."

Sparks wrote for the "North American Review," July, 1817, an account of the "Conflagration of Havre de Grace," which he had himself witnessed. After picturing the alarm of the inhabitants living along the upper waters of Chesapeake Bay at the approach of the British, and after describing the collapse of all preparations for defending the town, the desertion of the battery, and the flight of the militia, Sparks narrates the extraordinary barbarity of the enemy in destroying a defenseless and unoffending village: "General orders had been given to burn every house, and these were rigorously executed, till they were at length countermanded by the admiral. Immediately after he came on shore, which was not till some time after the landing of the forces, two or three ladies, who had courageously remained in their houses during the

whole commotion, endeavored by all the powers of female eloquence to dissuade him from his rash purposes. He was unmoved at first; but when they represented to him the misery he was causing, and pointed to the smoking ruins, under which was buried all that could keep their proprietors from want and wretchedness, he relented and countermanded his original orders.

“This was not done till more than half of the town had been consumed. It has been said, in a very respectable history of the times, that *one house* only escaped the flames; but this is a mistake. Havre de Grace consisted of about sixty houses, and of these not more than forty were burnt. Many others were plundered and much injured, and scarcely one remained which was not perforated with balls, or defaced by the explosion of shells. . . . The conduct of the sailors while on shore was exceedingly rude and wanton. The officers gave such of the inhabitants as remained behind liberty to carry out such articles of furniture as they chose, while the sailors were plundering their houses; but the sailors, not content with pillaging and burning, broke and defaced these also, as they were standing in the streets. Elegant looking-glasses were dashed into pieces, and beds were ripped open for the sport of scattering the feathers in the wind. These outrages, to be sure, were not commanded by the officers, but they were not restrained by them.

“Little can be said, indeed, in favor of the officers’ conduct in this particular. They selected tables and bureaus for their private use, and, after writing their names on them, sent them on board the barges. The admiral himself was pleased with an elegant coach which fell in his way, and commanded it to be put on board a boat which belonged to the proprietor of the ferry, and taken to his ship.”

Thus in graphic style Sparks made his first original

contribution to American history. His sketch of facts that came under his own observation embraces seven printed pages, and preserves interesting historical materials for the illustration of English modes of naval warfare, in the period when our national Capitol at Washington¹ and the records of our War Department were ruthlessly destroyed by the British.

The following testimony to the accuracy of Mr. Sparks' narrative of the conflagration at Havre de Grace was given September 13, 1817, by leading citizens of that place, Mark Pringle, Samuel Hughes, Paca Smith, and William B. Stokes, and was published in the "North American Review," November, 1817. The original manuscript, with signatures, is still preserved among the letters to Sparks: "We have read your account of the conflagration of Havre de Grace in the 14th number of the 'North American Review.' The impression of a scene in which we were so deeply interested, and which has been productive of injury to some of us, cannot easily be eradicated, and we have no hesitation in saying that your account is calculated to give a very fair and impartial view of that transaction."

Some doubt as to Sparks' statement of certain particulars had been expressed to Mr. Willard Phillips, the chief proprietor of the "North American Review," by a Baltimore publisher, Mr. Edward J. Coale, who, in a letter to Mr. Sparks, September 25, 1817, acknowledged himself mistaken. Mr. Coale was the first American publisher of "Tooke's Pantheon of the Heathen Gods and Illustrious Heroes," a book which Mr. Sparks generously introduced to Northern educators through the "North American Review," September, 1817. Through Sparks' recommenda-

¹ Upon "The Attack on Washington City in 1814," there is a paper by Major-General George W. Cullum in the "Papers of the American Historical Association," vol. ii., 54-68.

tion, "Tooke's Pantheon" first became known to Dr. Abbot, of Exeter, and other classical instructors in New England.

LETTERS FROM CHARLES FOLSOM.

During Sparks' sojourn at Havre de Grace, he received various letters from his college friends, which show in what high esteem he continued to be held in Cambridge. Charles Folsom, whom Sparks had known at Exeter, wrote July 14, 1812: "I regret exceedingly that you will not return until I graduate. However, if my present hopes do not prove fallacious, I shall be employed as instructor in some form, either in public seminary or private family, for first year after graduation; after this I shall reside a graduate at Cambridge during your senior year. . . . Let your letters, Sparks, be frequent and full. I promise on my sacred honor, I bind myself by the obligations of an ardent and sincere friend, to sustain a correspondence with him whose intrinsic worth first gained my esteem, and whose goodness of heart and indescribable excellencies of character soon ripened esteem into a friendship so pure and warm that I esteem it one of my greatest and most refined sources of pleasure." . . .

Again writing to Sparks, November 18, 1812, Folsom said: "Briggs and Palfrey say you speak as if doubtful whether you return at all, at least for the present. I hope you will take it into due consideration, upon which I think you must conclude to return. You are still held in precious and lively remembrance by all who knew you here, and, by returning, would gratify their wishes. . . . College thrives nobly. Corporation is busy, improving and beautifying the grounds. . . . By a most excellent regulation, they keep the library open six hours every day for graduates, and, I believe, for undergraduates, too.

Librarian's¹ salary is increased to one thousand dollars, being a perfect sinecure to a single man. You may easily conceive with what solid satisfaction I have ranged uncontrolled through the alcoves, sought and examined whatever books I pleased, books which before I had only known by description, but now by toiling hands and admiring eyes. . . . Dr. Ware is delivering on Saturdays, to the two upper classes, a course of Biblical lectures, which (to me) are uncommonly interesting. Mr. Channing in the spring is to deliver a course of lectures on Biblical criticism, instead of Mr. Buckminster. . . . All your friends are well. Palfrey and Davis [Sparks' "little chum"²] are steady, studious, promising lads. The former is accounted one of the first in his class, and John is very respectable indeed, and as ambitious as you can well conceive. In mathematics they have persevered understandingly."

Folsom proceeds to inform Sparks that he had been elected to membership in a very ancient and honorable secret society, or club, founded as early as 1770 at Harvard College. Sparks was assured that this club had numbered among its members almost all the first characters in New England. "You were the first admitted from your class, and others in proper order. Davis was last admitted, being the fifteenth. . . . I was appointed to invite you to become a member." Sparks

¹ Charles Folsom was the librarian of Harvard College from 1823 to 1826.

² Palfrey wrote to Sparks, July 12, 1812, "Your little chum is quite dejected that you do not write to him, and says he does not know what to make of it." October 18, 1812, Palfrey says: "Your little chum and I live along finely together, and study pretty tolerably hard, for the studies of this year require almost all our time." Sparks' chum, whom Palfrey adopted, was John Brazer Davis (H. U. 1815). He was only eleven years old when he came to Exeter in 1810, and Sparks appears to have been a kind of elder brother to him.

must have been highly gratified at this mark of signal favor shown him by upper-classmen at Harvard. In the estimation of a man's real worth, the judgment of students is oftentimes quite as correct and impartial as that of the faculty. In Sparks' case, professors and students at Harvard College were of one mind.

LETTERS FROM J. G. PALFREY.

It is very interesting to read the student letters of John Gorham Palfrey, the future historian of New England, to the coming biographer of Washington. Among other entertaining bits of college news, Palfrey writes the following, July 7, 1812: "Randolph, a nephew and heir of the celebrated John Randolph, has just come here from Virginia and is studying with Mr. Everett. He did mean to enter our class, but Everett has advised him, and I believe he now intends, to enter Junior next commencement. He is a very smart fellow, very studious, and has read almost all the Greek and Latin that was ever written. He has been here only a week, and in that time has been over Minora and the Testament, which he never studied before. He has been over none of the Freshmen or Sophomore studies, Livy and Horace, except part of the mathematics, some of the authors from which there are selections in Excerpta and Graeca Majora, and four books of Euclid. He intends to review all the studies required to enter, and has apportioned his time so as to allow only eight days to Locke and Logic! I hope, however, he will be discouraged and enter our class, for he would be an honor to it."

This brilliant Southerner, who made such a decided impression upon young Palfrey, had been trained in the classics by John Randolph himself, as appears from a conversation in a stage-coach between him and Jared Sparks, recorded by the latter in his journal in the year 1827.

The youth lost his health, left college, and died abroad.¹ In the above letter, Palfrey speaks of Mr. Channing's visit to Havre de Grace: "I was very glad indeed that you met with Mr. Channing on his way; he gave me a particular account of your situation, and expressed a good deal of satisfaction at having seen you; but he said it appeared to him you had a dejected look; he feared you were discontented. I endeavoured to convince him that he was in a mistake, for that where there were books and time to study, you could scarcely be unhappy. I beg you will tell me in your next whether you are as happy as I hope you are, or not, for I am anxious to know particularly, and whether you intend to enter our class again, as the whole class hope you will." . . .

Palfrey's letter to Sparks, dated October 18, 1812, contains the following loyal allusions to the birthplace and old home of his school and college friend: "I went to

¹"Freeman . . . saw your classmate Randolph in London, very much emaciated, pale, and enfeebled in body and voice. He had just returned from Cheltenham Springs, from which he thought he had derived some benefit; but Freeman speaks of him as manifestly past recovery, connected to this world only by hope." (Charles Folsom to Jared Sparks, October 20, 1815.) "You have heard, doubtless, of Randolph's death. He was never very friendly to me, but the grave should conceal the failings as soon as it buries the virtues of our associates in oblivion. His character was very peculiar, but we have every reason to believe that he would have been a great man." (William H. Eliot to Jared Sparks, November 15, 1815.) "You have doubtless heard of the death of poor Randolph. He died in London, August 5, and his name consequently, as I am told, will not appear again on the catalogue. His death has not been noticed in the public papers, because the president undertook to do it himself as soon as he should obtain some additional particulars, and as usual has neglected it. It took place after a gradual and I believe uninterrupted decline. He received some trifling benefit from the springs, but not so much that Dana, who saw him soon after his return from there, thought there was any room for hope." (J. G. Palfrey to Jared Sparks, November 19, 1815.)

Middletown last vacation to spend some time with an aunt of mine; as I passed through Willington, I looked out very sharp to see if I could see anybody who looked like you, but it was early in the morning, and I could see no one who bore sufficient resemblance to you for me to imagine them to be your relations; but my emotions, as I passed over the ground between Tolland and Willington, which I imagined you in your younger days had so often trod, were the strangest I ever felt. I could . . . admire every tree, and imagine you had admired it before me, that it might, perhaps, at some time, have shaded you in the heat, or sheltered you in the shower."

The last of Palfrey's letters belonging to this chapter of Sparks' life, and dated December 11, 1812, brings the Harvard boy of that time very near to the hearts of the present generation of football players: "I have been confined almost to my bed for this week past by a bruise received in kicking football. A whole gang of my classmates have been keeping me from writing all the afternoon. I can scarcely yet sit up to a table, so that I can only write till my leg pains me too much, or till Tayloe comes in about fifteen minutes. I received your affectionate letter. Shall send Mr. Channing's sermon if I can get it — very hard to procure — lost mine."

Tayloe¹ was a Virginian who was going home to Richmond to spend Christmas. He took Palfrey's letter and stopped at Havre de Grace, both going and returning, to see Sparks, the good friend he had known so well at Exeter and Cambridge. Thus the house tutor in the family of Mark Pringle was not absolutely isolated from either academic connections or from the world at large. He was kept in touch with college affairs by the visits and

¹ Benjamin Ogle Tayloe (Harvard University, 1815), of Richmond, Virginia, afterwards of Washington, D. C., where Sparks visited him in 1819. Many boys from the South were trained in New England.

letters of Cambridge men; he saw every day the great current of travel to and from the capital of these United States, and the War of 1812 was brought before his very door.

Sparks' successor as tutor in the Pringle family, William W. Fuller, wrote March 16, 1814, from Havre de Grace, saying, "I believe your administration gave perfect satisfaction both to Mr. Pringle and to the pupils. When I go to make any innovation they frequently appeal to what Mr. Sparks used to do. The family often speak of you, and ask when I have heard from you, and Mrs. Pringle expresses great regard for you."¹ Fuller was drafted into the local militia to repel British depredations along the shore of Chesapeake Bay, but Mr. Pringle arranged for his return to Massachusetts.

¹ Letter of Mark Pringle to Jared Sparks, August 6, 1814.

CHAPTER IV.

HARVARD STUDENT IN BOLTON AND LANCASTER.

1813-1816.

SCHOOL-TEACHING IN BOLTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

SPARKS returned to college in June, 1813, and diligently resumed academic work. We find him pursuing philosophy, chemistry, conic sections, fluxions, Chaucer, and Italian. On the 30th of November he was off again to Bolton, Massachusetts, to keep school, in which he had about thirty scholars. His excellent habit of improving his spare time in the reading of good books was cultivated wherever he went. This was the self-education of the man. His commonplace books were his only journal, and they contain but few items of biographical interest beyond a brief running comment on things read and done. The following extracts are suggestive touches for a sketch of the schoolmaster's life at Bolton, and are doubtless typical of similar work elsewhere: "Dec. 3. Condorcet's Progress of the Human Mind, 70 pages. . . . Dec. 7. School visited by the Minister and Selectmen of Bolton. . . . Dec. 11. Sat. No school — visited friend Briggs at his boarding-house, 3 miles distant — read part of Burke's Essay on Taste. . . . Dec. 25. Alison (on Taste). Composition — Rode to the Post-office, 2 miles — friend B. called on me at sunset and tarried through the night. . . . Jan. 6, 1814. Newspaper — visit in the evening in company with five schoolmasters at Gen. Gardner's. — ball. . . . Jan. 16. Sund. At meeting forenoon — snow very

fast all day — Bible, 10 chap. II Kings — De Officiis, 3d book, 47 p. (in translation). . . . Jan. 18. College studies — Mathematics — Enfield on Mechanics. . . . Jan. 19. College studies — Locke — Quintilian — on a visit in the evening at Dea. Nurse's. Jan. 20. College studies — Locke on Language. . . . visited B. — staid all night — at home $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 next morning. . . . Jan. 23. Sund. At meeting — Bible, 5 chap. II Kings — Millot's History, 4 chap. of 3d Epoch, Mod. Hist. . . . Jan. 30. Sund. At meeting — Mr. Thayer of Lancaster preached. Bible, 10 chap. I Chron. — Blair on Taste — figures of speech — evening, Webber's Mathematics — one half of surveying — visit at Mr. C. Nurse's. Feb. 1. Company in the evening. Quintilian. . . . Feb. 3. Plato, Death of Socrates — Aristotle's Ethics: concerning the humble and the vain man, and also concerning *friendship*. . . . Feb. 5. Went to Mr. Mellen's school in the morning, then with him to Harvard — called at Carlton's school — and went together to Groton — called on Wood and Dalton — returned to Harvard, where M. and myself staid all night — *read nothing*. . . . Feb. 7. Preparing compositions of my scholars for examination — visit in the eve. . . . Feb. 8. School examined in the forenoon — very good satisfaction appeared to be given. Visit in the eve. at Maj. Nurse's. — staid all night at Mr. C. Nurse's. — Two newspapers. . . . Feb. 12. Dine with Mr. S. Holman — brought my trunk, etc., to Mr. A. Holman's, expecting to take the stage to-morrow. — Locke. . . . Feb. 14. Locke — called at Mr. Weatherstay's to engage a horse and sleigh — visit in the eve. at Mr. A. Holman's. Feb. 15. Sleigh-ride to Sterling with Mellen . . . Miss B. and Miss W. — started from Bolton at 2 P. M. — Sterling at sunset — supper at Lancaster — back at 10 h. eve. Feb. 16. Went to Mr. H. in the morning expecting to start in the stage for Cambridge — no stage

— returned to my former boarding-house — visit in the evening at Mr. Blood's — Goldsmith's *Animated Nature*. Feb. 18. Started at 12 h. noon in the stage for Cambridge — arrive at sunset. — Three numbers of *Spectator*. — Dine at Concord. Feb. 19. Paid my bills."

From these passages, taken almost at random from the winter's journal of Jared Sparks, we perceive that this studious young schoolmaster was no mere recluse at Bolton. Other Harvard fellows were teaching school in the neighboring villages, and evidently cultivated village society and the spirit of good fellowship among themselves. This sociable, companionable young man at Bolton, who went to church regularly, read *Old Testament History*, *De Officiis*, and *Modern History* on Sunday afternoon, like a liberal Christian, was equally capable of enjoying a country sleigh-ride and of paying his way through college by honest work. It will give Young Harvard a fellow-feeling for Jared Sparks to know that he and Briggs and Mellen celebrated their return to college by going into Boston to attend the theatre, where they saw Cooper in "*Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*."

COLLEGE STUDIES AND PRIVATE READING.

A student of American educational history would find Jared Sparks' notes on his college work at Harvard of some practical interest, for Sparks' time was before the days of college catalogues and published tabular views at Cambridge. The academic curriculum of study, and even the text-books employed in the various arts and sciences, will be matters of growing interest, as gradually the spirit of historical inquiry approaches the real educational life of the college and its various departments of instruction.

Under the date of May 5, 1814, Sparks mentions his daily routine of college exercises. Prayers came at six o'clock in the morning, and there was a recitation in Greek

immediately afterwards. At eleven o'clock A. M. there was a lecture in natural philosophy, on mechanical power; at two o'clock in the afternoon came a lecture on botany; and at five, Latin. Evening prayers occurred at six o'clock, and a class exercise in fluxions¹ immediately followed. Later in the evening there was a lesson in Millot's History. This amount of class-work would impress a modern collegian as excessive. It was doubtless a survival of that ancient scholastic curriculum described in the early history² of Harvard College, a curriculum from which modern Harvard and our English cousins at Oxford and Cambridge have widely departed.

Sparks was now finishing his Junior year at Harvard, but he was by no means taking the ease which belongs traditionally to that class. He was pursuing with ardor his regular college studies, Aristotle's Poetics, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Longinus, Quintilian, Enfield's Natural Philosophy, Butler's Analogy, John Locke, and Millot's History; he was attending college lectures on various subjects for general culture; writing themes for the professor of rhetoric; and translating into Latin a scene from Thompson's Coriolanus for the Junior Exhibition (in which he performed, April 26, 1814, in a Latin dialogue with his classmates, Pickman and Fuller). On Sundays he went regularly to meeting, read various good books, generally his Testament in the original Greek, and wrote

¹ Journal, March 10, 1814: "Lessons in fluxions three times a week between six and eight in the evening. Vince's 'Fluxions' our text-book." This course was perhaps extra or optional. The journal for March 1 records this fact: "Began to study fluxions under Mr. Brosius. Lesson in the evening."

² See "New England First Fruits," originally published in 1643. For the first "Tabular View" of the original course of study at Harvard College in 1643, see H. B. Adams' "Study of History in American Colleges and Universities," p. 3, Bureau of Education, Circular of Information, No. 2, 1887.

to his mother. The very best idea of the actual work accomplished at this period by Jared Sparks may be derived from the following summary of his studies for six months, from December 1, 1813, to June 1, 1814: —

Natural Philosophy. — Kiel's Philosophy on Matter; Euler's Letters, 300 pages; Enfield's Philosophy, Matter and Mechanics; Newton's Principia, 40 pages; Hauy's Philosophy, — articles, Crystallization and Caloric; Fontenelle's Plurality of Worlds.

Moral Philosophy and Metaphysics. — Guthrie's Translation of Cicero's De Officiis; Cicero's Paradoxes; Locke, 2d vol., and one half of the 3d; Stewart's Philosophy of the Human Mind, 100 pages.

Mathematics. — Webber's Surveying, Superficies and Solids; Flint's Surveying; Vince's Fluxions, half through; Simpson's Algebra, occasionally.

Theology. — Bible, I and II Kings; I Chronicles; nearly all the Gospels, besides occasional readings in various places; Butler's Analogy; a few of Clark's and Blair's Sermons; Abernethy's Sermons, a few.

History. Millot's History, half the 2d vol. and the 3d vol.; Condorcet's Progress of the Human Mind; Anacharsis, 1st vol.; Indians in America.

Poetry. — Savage's Poems; Akenside's Pleasures of the Imagination; Ossian, 1st vol., and Dr. Blair's Dissertation on Ossian; Thomson's Winter and Spring; 4 of Shakespeare's Plays; Byron's Giaour, and Bride of Abydos; Dante's Inferno, in 30 cantos, translated by Boyd; J. H. Beattie's Latin Poems; Waller.

Taste. — Kaime's On Taste; Stewart's Essays on Taste, the Beautiful and Sublime; Burke's Essay on Taste; Alison on Taste, 100 pages; Blair's Chapter on Taste.

Oratory. — Burke's Speeches and Letters, 1 vol.

Biography. — Life and Character of Chief Justice Parsons, by Judge Parker; four of Plutarch's Lives; Life

of Nelson, by Southey, 2 vols.; Condorcet's Life of Voltaire; Voltaire's Charles XII.; Life of J. H. Beattie, by his father.

Latin. — Cicero De Officiis; Cicero's Paradoxes; Ciceronis Oratio pro Archia Poeta; Quinctiliani Institutiones Oratoriae, 100 pages; First Book of the Æneid.

Greek. — Nearly all the Gospels, Griesbach's text; Graeca Majora (Aristotle, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Longinus.)

Voyages and Travels. — La Perouse, Voyage Around the World, 1st and 2d vols.; Barrow's Travels in South Africa, 1 vol. 4to.

Botany. — Smith's Botany, 130 pages; Wakefield's Botany; article on Botany in Brewster's Encyclopædia.

Mineralogy. — Cronstedt on the Calcareous, Siliceous, and Argillaceous Orders of Minerals; Thirwan's Mineralogy, Parts I and II.; Jameson's Mineralogy, 1st vol.

Miscellaneous. — Spectator, Tatler, Rambler, Sterne, Kaime's Elements, Goldsmith's Animated Nature, Monbodo, Shaftesbury, Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, Portfolio, Analectic Magazine, General Repository, Hume's Essays, British Spy, King's Origin of Evil, Tiddes' Existence of a Deity, and a great variety of articles in the Encyclopædia.

Lectures. — On Theology, Rhetoric, Natural Philosophy, Natural History, English and other Languages.

Composition. — Oration on the Origin and Progress of Taste, five Themes, five Forensics, Remarks on Different Subjects.

This authentic summary of Sparks' studies during a single half year is a perfectly fair specimen of what he was doing throughout his entire college course. The list reveals at a glance what he did in the line of regular class-work, and what he did upon his own responsibility. It is safe to say that in amount his voluntary literary

work far exceeded that which was required, and yet this was a long time before elective studies, a system which he strongly opposed when he became President of Harvard College. He believed in definite and required courses, with as much private elective work as a student was able to carry.

COMMODORE PERRY AT HARVARD.

Passing glimpses of contemporary life appear in Jared Sparks' journal of daily work, May 6, 1814: "Commodore Perry visited this place to-day. He dined at Dr. Waterhouse's, where the students convened at four P. M. and escorted him to the Colleges. He was received in the Library by the President and Professors. After examining the Lib. and Phil. Ap. &c., he was again escorted back to Dr. W.'s by the students." This stately reception of the hero of the War of 1812 by the faculty and students of Harvard College was probably quite as stiff and ceremonious as Sparks' description of it; but it is interesting to see this academic recognition of patriotic service, and to reflect that the great current of contemporary history¹ always flows within the sight of college

¹ On the 15th of June, 1814, Sparks noted in his commonplace book: "Great festival to-day in Boston in commemoration of the downfall of tyranny in Europe. Grand fireworks in the evening." That popular jubilee, in which Harvard boys doubtless participated, was occasioned by the news of the liberation of Europe by the Allied Powers and the abdication of Napoleon, April 11, 1814.

William H. Eliot, a classmate of Sparks, wrote to him at Lancaster, August 1, 1815: "What an eventful period the present is! You have doubtless heard ere this the glorious news from Europe of the success of the allies. I had introduced two or three lines in my part on the strength of the report that Bonaparte was in prison, when, lo! it appears that he has never been arrested. Now, if the Parisians do not put him in the Temple before the Commencement, it will be as sad a catastrophe literally to me as to the French nation. So, my dear friend, do besiege the ears of Jupiter ultor, and not let him escape."

men, and sometimes lingers like an eddy near the quiet shores of scholastic life.

In this connection may be quoted a graphic extract from a letter written at Harvard College by Jared Sparks to his old friend Davis Hurd, March 9, 1815, after the conclusion of the Treaty of Ghent: "I suppose you have been rejoicing with all the rest of the world for peace. We were in as much confusion here for a week or two after the news as we were last fall when it was expected every day the British would make an attempt on Boston. But with this pleasing difference: instead of having our ears stunned with the clangor of drums, bugles, and trumpets, we heard nothing for several days but the ringing of bells and the roar of cannon. . . . During one week all business seemed suspended, and every one joined in a universal shout of joy. All our colleges were splendidly illuminated two nights. . . . Boston was illuminated in the most superb manner, and almost every gentleman's house within ten miles. It is pleasing to see the wonderful change that has already taken place in Boston. Streets which for three years past seem to have been almost entirely deserted are now crowded with merchants and carmen. Vessels are seen sailing out and coming into the harbor, and the most cheering prospect appears on every side."

AGAIN AT BOLTON.

During ten weeks of his senior year, from December 6, 1814, to February, 1815, Sparks taught school at Bolton, Massachusetts. In the six months previous to this third experience at Bolton he had done an extraordinary amount of private reading, although he confesses, November 1, 1814, that ill-health had prevented him from preparing his part for the exhibition held on that day for the first time in the new chapel in University Hall. He had evidently injured himself by hard study and over-

work at a still earlier period, for in the previous summer vacation, spent partly with old friends at Arlington,¹ Vermont, he had complained of ill-health and pain in the chest. Now, however, at Bolton he endeavored to spare himself in some degree. At the end of the school-term he wrote: "During the ten weeks' school-keeping this winter, my reading has been confined almost entirely to the 'Edinburgh Review.' . . . My exercises in composition have been (about sixty pages) respecting the present age, considered principally in a political point of view, — the French Revolution, its effect, the causes which produced it; what benefits, amidst the multitudes of evils, are likely to result from it; the political state of Europe, compared with that which existed before the Revolution; inquisition, slave trade, missionary labors, efforts which have been made to civilize and Christianize the savages; and, on the whole, to show that there has been a gradual advancement

¹ In after years Mr. Sparks repeatedly referred, in his letters to Davis Hurd, to that summer vacation in Vermont, where he was rescued from apparent decline. May 12, 1837, he writes: "I have not forgotten, and never shall forget, her kindness [Mrs. Hurd's] in the summer of 1814. In fact, the scenes of Arlington are as fresh in my memory as if they were but of yesterday." Again, November 18, 1848, he recalls the experience: "The little valley between two lofty mountains is first in my memory, but not more so than the generous hospitality of yourself and Mrs. Hurd, when your kindness was a solace to a spirit saddened by ill-health and the dark clouds which seemed to overshadow the future. These clouds were afterwards dispersed by the smiles of Providence."

In his journal kept at Arlington, Mr. Sparks wrote, July 7, 1814: "My books are spread out before me in a commodious and pleasant room. I am retired as I choose, and have every accommodation for pursuing my favorite object." He remarks, July 20, that he is taking a good deal of exercise and is refraining from too close application: "I seldom study more than twelve, sometimes not more than ten hours a day, which is less than what I have usually been accustomed to."

in political science, and a gradual increase of the means for promoting the happiness of man." ¹

ASTRONOMY AT HARVARD.

Sparks returned to Harvard on the 7th of February, and devoted himself uninterruptedly to his college studies. In this closing period of his academic course he was particularly interested in lectures on astronomy, anatomy, theory and practice of physics, chemistry, mineralogy, and botany. On the 9th of March, 1815, he wrote to Davis Hurd: "I am now attending an elegant course of lectures on astronomy, with the advantage of orreries, telescopes, and other apparatus. Our medical and chemical lectures commence in three weeks. In short, I have nothing to do but study and attend to lectures, and must be stupid indeed if I don't learn something." How evident is his joy at this return to the astronomical studies of his boyhood, with such a collection of apparatus as Harvard College then afforded! His enthusiasm would have been greater if he could have lived to see the present superb equipment and advanced scientific work at the observatory in Cambridge, with branch observatories in Southern California and in South America, under the direction of his own son-in-law.

PRIZE DISSERTATION ON NEWTON.

About the middle of March, 1815, Jared Sparks began the best piece of work that he had ever attempted. It was a prize dissertation on "The Character of Newton, and the Influence and Importance of his Discoveries." Already when a Junior he had begun to read the "Principia," and, feeling prepared to grapple with mathematical subjects, he now threw his gathered scientific knowledge

¹ This study is preserved among Mr. Sparks' "Miscellaneous Papers," vol. ii.

and accumulated energy of mind and body into this the final work of his college course. The corporation of Harvard had given out certain prize questions, to be written upon by either graduates or undergraduates. Sparks took the first prize. Dr. Ellis says: "The dissertation was, at the time, regarded as exhibiting extraordinary ability and powers of apprehending and judging. It was long referred to as a college exercise which, while it won high honor for its writer, set a high mark for subsequent competitors." Sparks in his commonplace book noted the five divisions of his subject: 1. Some Remarks on the State of Philosophy before the Time of Newton. 2. Discovery of the Laws of Gravitation. 3. Invention of the Fluxional Analysis. 4. Discoveries in Optics. 5. Remarks on the Life and Character of Newton.¹

¹ A copy of this dissertation is probably preserved in the Harvard College Library, for Charles Folsom wrote to Jared Sparks, November 23, 1815: "I wish you to send by the earliest opportunity . . . your dissertation. I must insist on this being done immediately, as it is high time a correct copy were deposited in the library." The original may be found in his "Miscellaneous Papers," vol. ii.

There is an interesting biographical sketch of Sir Isaac Newton, with a good account of his various scientific discoveries, by Jared Sparks, in his "Theological Essays and Tracts," vol. ii., 193-234. Among the mathematical theses preserved in the Library of Harvard University, and prepared by members of the junior and senior classes from 1782 to 1839, is one by Jared Sparks, April 25, 1815, numbered 202 in the "Bibliographical Contributions" (No. 32, prepared by Henry C. Badger, curator of maps), edited by Justin Winsor, librarian. The thesis is entitled "Orbit of a Comet. Elementary Calculation from Physical Principles, together with a Graphical Representation of the Orbit of the Comet of MDCCCXL."

This collection of four hundred and six theses is very remarkable, for it illustrates topics of original research among Harvard undergraduates during a period of more than fifty years. Indeed, this custom of preparing theses at Harvard was a survival of an ancient usage inherited from the English universities and from the scholastic system of the Middle Ages. Many of these Harvard theses have a

SCHOOL-TEACHING AT LANCASTER.

During the spring vacation of his senior year, Sparks went to Lancaster and engaged a school, so that he might have something to do after graduating from college. The summer term at Harvard began at that period in early June, and, agreeably to the good old college custom, the senior class was dismissed six weeks before Commencement, in order that they might prepare their pieces for graduation. Sparks makes the following entries in his commonplace book: "My class left college July 18, 1815. I went to Lancaster and commenced my school July 23. School consisted at that time of nineteen boys. My salary is to be \$500 for twenty scholars, and if I can obtain four more, I am to have \$600. About half the boys fitting for college.

"Resided in Mr. Pickman's family, by particular invitation, till Commencement, and took my degree of A. B. August 30, 1815. My performance on the occasion was on 'The Reciprocal Influence of Literature and Morals. By reason of ill-health and pecuniary embarrassment, I have not been in college but about two years out of the four since I entered. Attended Φ B K oration and poem August 31; dined with Mellen. September 1. In Boston; called on Mrs. Head; dined in company with friend P[alfrey] at Mr. Eliot's. September 2. At Boston and

peculiar local character, and a certain antiquarian or historical as well as mathematical interest. We find among the mathematical theses that of Sparks' classmate, John G. Palfrey, "Problem Relating to New Planets," and that of Sparks' contemporary, George Bancroft, class of 1817, now (1890) the oldest living graduate of Harvard College. Bancroft's thesis was in Latin: "*Invenire Motum Verum Nodorum Lunae.*" In the class of 1831 we note the name of Wendell Phillips, whose thesis is entitled "Some Beautiful Results to which we are led by the Differential Calculus in the Development of Functions."

Quincy; dined with Hon. Josiah Quincy. September 4. Dispatched such recommendations to Columbia,¹ S. C., from the Government of Harvard University as were thought proper for the occasion; left Cambridge at 1½ P. M., and walked to Bolton, 26 miles, before 8 o'clock. September 5. Arrived at Lancaster at 9 o'clock A. M.; began to board at Mr. Maynard's. November 26.

¹ South Carolina College, at Columbia, was opened to students in 1804, and became the best collegiate institution in the South until the opening of the University of Virginia. Jefferson had great admiration for South Carolina College, and sent his young kinsmen there to be under the instruction of the famous Dr. Thomas Cooper, the predecessor of Francis Lieber. It is a proof of Jared Sparks' liberal and enterprising spirit that he should have so early thought of an academic career in the South. About this time the trustees of South Carolina College were talking of new professorships, but it finally proved that funds were lacking. See Merewether's "History of Higher Education in South Carolina," *Contributions to American Educational History*, No. 4, p. 138.

Edward Hinkley, a Harvard man, had written to his friend Sparks from Dover, Delaware, April 2, 1815: "I have been looking for situations hereabouts. Notice was given in the 'National Intelligencer' of 21 of February and last of March that a person qualified would find employment in South Carolina College, at Columbia, as tutor of mathematics, etc., from the first of October next, at the time when a professor would be elected. Persons were invited to send in their credentials for each office. I wrote to the secretary of trustees to ascertain the compensation of tutor. I received for the answer \$600, but that a tutor would be wanted only three months from October next, after which a professor would supersede the need of him. This professor is to be chosen first of October, to enter upon the duties of office first of December next. I have no doubt you might obtain the situation, should you be inclined." See also Hinkley's letter of further explanation, April 28, 1815.

Charles Folsom wrote to Sparks, October 3, 1815: "The president told Palfrey the other day that he hoped you would not be successful, for he thought that, though it might be for your present advantage, it would not be for your ultimate good." Charles Folsom was a constant correspondent of Sparks when he was at Lancaster, and kept him supplied with books and information from Cambridge.

Began to board with Major Carter, which is more than $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles from my school. I walk this distance every day and home to dinner. In addition to this, to exercise as much as possible, I rise every morning an hour before sunrise and ride five or six miles on horseback before breakfast. This practice I intend to follow all winter. My school engages me six hours each day; and, in addition to this and walking and riding, I have formed a resolution, to which I very rigidly adhere, of studying six hours in every twenty-four."

THEOLOGICAL STUDY WITH DR. THAYER.

Amid such vigorous exercises of mind and body at Lancaster, Jared Sparks turned his attention to theological studies. For many generations, in New England as well as in our mother country, the scholastic tendency of college graduates, with or without academic aspirations, was towards divinity. The clerical spirit, which is still potent in the boards of management and even in the faculties of our American colleges, is an interesting historic survival, and by no means an unmixed evil. It represents a moral and religious element in college training which our non-sectarian and state universities are in danger of neglecting. First trained in his classics by a scholarly minister in Connecticut, like those earlier pupils of the clergy in the towns about Boston, Jared Sparks had grown up in the moral and religious atmosphere of Exeter and Cambridge. Accustomed from his youth to Bible studies and to serious reading, he naturally developed into the theological student type, after his graduation from Harvard and his return to the more or less secluded life which every teacher and scholar must almost of necessity lead in a New England village. The influences of such an environment are as powerful upon Puritan natures as were ever cloistered walks and Benedictine rules upon our academic forefathers.

Dr. Ellis has given us a charming picture of Sparks' life "in the beautiful town of Lancaster,¹ Mass., planted in one of the loveliest curves of the valley of the Nashua, and shading with its graceful elms the homes of many refined, intelligent, and prosperous families. With the honored and revered Nathaniel Thayer, D. D., for nearly half a century the sole pastor of the only church there, a divine of the old-school graces of true piety, urbanity, and dignity, Mr. Sparks found most hearty companionship. Dr. Thayer also directed the student's inquiries in his theological culture."

In his commonplace book, Sparks notes at this period that his studies were confined almost entirely to theological books, such as Josephus, Michaelis, Locke's "Reasonableness of Christianity," Bell on the Lord's Supper, Hare's "Difficulties Attending the Study of the Scriptures," Dr. Taylor on the Dispensations, theological controversy, Claude "On the Composition of a Sermon," sermons by various authors, Chateaubriand's "Beauties of Christianity," Cowper, etc. In this solemn company it is pleasant to see the Greek Anacreon, and also Æsop, Sallust, and Cæsar, who prove that Sparks' love of the classics still survived, as truly as Virgil was cherished by the monks in the Middle Ages. The mention by Sparks of Campbell's "Travels in Southern Africa" and Mungo Park's "Life and Last Travels," indicates that the love of adventure and exploration was by no means yet extinct. Indeed, it was never so much alive as now. Curiously suggestive of the historical spirit deeply flowing underneath the surface of his theological culture, and destined one day to break forth, is the record of his writing one hundred pages of

¹ In a letter written from Cambridge in the spring term of 1817, to Mrs. Higginson, Sparks says whenever he heard the birds sing he thought of Lancaster and Bolton: "There is no need of concealing it, I was happy enough there."

Jewish history, and of his copying an essay on the present age, written a year before at Bolton. He also mentions several contributions to newspapers on the proposed theological institution at Cambridge.

C. T. THAYER ON SPARKS AT LANCASTER.

The best account of Sparks' work and influence as a teacher in Lancaster is in a letter written from Bolton, June 14, 1867, to Dr. Ellis, by the Rev. Christopher T. Thayer, formerly pastor of the First Church in Beverly, Mass., a son of Dr. Thayer who first trained Sparks in theology, and one of Sparks' own pupils: "I am happy to comply with your request that I would furnish you with my own or others' recollections of the connections and associations of the revered and beloved President Sparks with my native place, Lancaster, Mass. It is, nevertheless, a melancholy pleasure I take in so doing; for I have never known the man toward whom, next to my real father, I have cherished more of filial feeling than toward him. I miss more and more the sight of his serene, cheerful, earnest, intellectual, and spiritual countenance, and the genial, cordial, almost parental greetings which, from my early youth, he ever gave me as a pupil and friend.

"In the year 1815, several gentlemen of Lancaster and of the neighboring town of Bolton, where Mr. Sparks had previously taught, with much acceptance, a district school, engaged him to conduct a private one for boys, which he entered upon a few months before his graduating, and continued in till called to a tutorship at Cambridge. From his first entrance to the schoolroom, his commanding presence secured for him the respect of his pupils, and he soon won their confidence and affection. His discipline was truly paternal. He governed well, yet with a happy faculty of not seeming to govern. Without any particular fondness for the duties of instruction, being in

fact too much possessed with a desire of acquiring knowledge to be quite content with imparting its earlier and simpler lessons, still he was decidedly successful as a teacher. Especially did he, by both precept and his own bright example, impress the youths under his charge with the love of study for itself and its fruits, and animate them to the diligent and conscientious use of their talents and privileges. Though but a year and a quarter in the school, he placed it on a foundation which, built upon by such masters and scholars, successively, as Proctor, Emerson,¹ Miles, Wood, and Fletcher, has made it a rich means of early training to many who, in church and state, in the professions, in art, and in the walks of business, have attained distinction and usefulness.

“Then, as always, he was remarkable for improvement of time, gathering up the fragments of it which are so frequently wasted. During school hours, in the intervals between recitations, or the times of recess, or any unoccupied space, he would usually be engaged with book or pen, or in deep meditation. At that period he was not only occupied much in merely literary pursuits and contributing to periodicals of the day, but took strong interest in theological subjects. I remember being deeply interested in consultations and discussions at my home, respecting them, in which he bore an active part, though myself at that time too young to appreciate or comprehend them. Notwithstanding he was then engrossed by labor and study, he yet found opportunity to mingle in scenes gay as well as grave. He joined the village assemblies; and while he associated in the evening with some who came under his rule by day, such was his discretion and propriety of demeanor that he made no compromise of his dignity or influence. With several families, constituting a very intelligent, refined, and delightful society,

¹ G. B. Emerson.

he was on intimate terms, and had much social enjoyment, preserving with them a lifelong intimacy that was mutually and highly valued. His associations with Lancaster, with its people and scenery, and with those who had been his pupils (whom he familiarly called the boys), were topics he recurred to often and with evident gratification. Like Dr. Channing, with whose name his, ever since the great Baltimore sermon was delivered, has been indissolubly connected, and who also, in his college days, was a teacher at Lancaster, he delighted to revisit that charming valley, and find refreshment, in its quiet air and beautiful scenes, for both body and mind. The last summer of his life, he visited my brother's family there, and, during his visit, never tired of going over the old walks and drives, conversing of friends living and gone, looking up former acquaintances and pupils in that and the neighboring towns; and he pointed, as he stood in his antiquated schoolroom, which he was much pleased with finding in existence, though now converted to other uses, to the places where several of his scholars were seated, as being freshly remembered. He repeatedly alluded afterwards to the days he thus passed, as having afforded him great enjoyment.

“When I first came under the instruction of Mr. Sparks I was only in my tenth year, and therefore could claim small title to just judgment of men and things. Yet I confess that, after the long time that has since elapsed, I have known no person respecting whom my first impressions and anticipations less required to be revised or altered. Little precocity, even then, was requisite to recognize that majestic presence, that manly bearing, those noble features showing the unmistakable stamp of Nature's nobility, that aspect at once intelligent and benignant; the soul, frank, generous, upright, and true; simplicity and singleness of mind, feeling, and purpose; genuine

consistency that might be expected to, as it did, pervade his entire life, — the consistency of unswerving loyalty to principle and right; a balance, moreover, of powers and qualities by which he was formed to be one of the pillars on which the best interests of human society might safely rest, and which peculiarly fitted him for his chief work of apprehending and illustrating the life and character of Washington, making it, in a degree, a reflection of his own consciousness, and more, what it really was, a labor of love.”

CAROLINE LEE HENTZ AND JARED SPARKS.

Among the letters written by former pupils to Jared Sparks, years after his experience as a schoolmaster in Lancaster, is one dated Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, November 7, 1830, from Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz, the well-known novelist, whose husband had been recommended to the above institution by George Ticknor, of Boston, and Mr. Duponceau, of Philadelphia. Hentz was one of the first professors of modern languages in the South. Mrs. Hentz felt a strong attachment to her native New England, and cherished great respect and esteem for Mr. Sparks, as the following extract from her letter clearly shows: “Perhaps the name at the close will hardly be familiar to your ear, but I still cherish a lively remembrance of the time when, in the valley of Lancaster, — a spot, I believe, much endeared to you by many delightful associations, — as Caroline Whiting, I felt grateful for the kind interest you occasionally manifested in my juvenile studies. Since then, you have been constantly engaged in high and public literature in our own and foreign lands, and I can hardly presume that the acquaintance on your side is still recollected. But I have never seen your name in the literary records of the day without a glow of pleasure, and since I have been in this Southern

country some of the most hospitable attentions I have received were owing to this early acquaintanceship. I refer to your warm friends, Mr. and Mrs. Gales." The Gales family, resident in Raleigh, N. C., were valued correspondents of Mr. Sparks after his settlement in Baltimore and first visits to the South. One of this family was of the well-known firm of Gales & Seaton, editors and proprietors of the "National Intelligencer," in Washington, D. C., to which paper Mr. Sparks became a contributor.

SPARKS' AFRICAN FEVER.

An interesting episode in Jared Sparks' pedagogical and theological career at Lancaster was his attempt to break away from this quiet life, and to betake himself to the wilds of Africa,¹ on an exploring expedition. He had been intensely interested in African travels ever since the summer of 1812, at Havre de Grace, where, having learned from Priestley's "Lectures on History" that Park's "Travels in Africa" were the best of their kind, he first plunged with him into the Dark Continent. After that first experiment he returned again and again, in his private reading, to the fascinating subject of African travel. He early conceived a great admiration for the African explorer, Ledyard, a brief note of whose career in Sparks' commonplace book, *circa* 1813, gives the key to his own

¹ From a letter of J. G. Palfrey to Jared Sparks, November 19, 1815: "I think you are perfectly right not to give up your African scheme. I know no reason why you should despair of being able to make the attempt, and it is certainly an undertaking which furnishes the greatest scope and promises the highest rewards of any, in the present situation of the world, to enterprise and courage. The success of it must, in ordinary calculation, immortalize some individual of the present century. If you succeed, you are sure of being always remembered among the noblest benefactors of mankind; and if you fail, the reputation of the attempt alone is enough 'to fill the ambition of a common man.'"

ambition : "Ledyard, the traveler ; born in Connecticut ; sailed to London in 1781, at the age of nineteen ; accompanied Captain Cook in his third voyage of discovery ; traveled through almost every part of Europe ; died at Cairo in 1789, while on a journey, under the auspices of the African Association, to explore the interior parts of Africa. In 1781, he published an account of Cook's voyage, and his pilgrimage through various regions of the globe may be traced in his communications to the African Association, at London." ¹

Following the scientific example of his enterprising countryman from Connecticut, who died the year Sparks was born, the latter, while living in Lancaster, in 1816, put himself into communication with the African Society, in London, and offered to enter the field of African exploration under their auspices. He was very much in earnest, as is shown by the following letter to his old friend and college tutor, James G. Cogswell : "My plan is, under the auspices of the African Society, to go into Africa at Tetuan, or Mogadore, to spend some little time in Morocco, and to start with a caravan at Taflet, or some other place, to cross the Great Desert to Tombuctoo ; to remain a year in Tombuctoo,² if this is the *Great City* ; to learn as much as possible of its manners, customs, political institutions, etc., and also of the trade which is carried on with it from various parts, and such other information as can be obtained from the respective countries. This will not be difficult, as these traders will generally understand Arabic. From Tombuctoo to go down the river

¹ How early the African fever came upon the young schoolmaster is shown by this extract from his journal at Havre de Grace, March 13, 1813 : "I was wholly occupied on Thursday upon an African tour. My plan was to proceed immediately to London and engage under the direction of the African Institution."

² Tombuctou was the form of spelling employed by Ledyard. See Sparks' "Life of Ledyard," 319.

Niger to its *mouth*, wherever it may be, and which is probably a large lake in the interior. To call at Houssa by the way. After leaving the Niger, to proceed if possible to the Cape of Good Hope, otherwise to Abyssinia, or through Darfur to Egypt, or through Fezzan to the Mediterranean, or to Benin, or Loango and Congo, or to the southeastern coast of Africa, or to any place, in fact, which may be thought expedient and practicable. To ascertain as many points in geography, and gain as much knowledge of natural history as possible."

In this ambitious and comprehensive plan we see the first fruit of those liberal studies in geography and travel pursued with youthful ardor at Havre de Grace, and perhaps strongly quickened by personal contact with General Clarke and representatives of the ten tribes of Indians from the far Northwest. Sparks' plan does not seem to have been duly encouraged by the African Society. Under the more favorable auspices of a modern missionary board, Sparks might, perhaps, have successfully combined theology, medicine, and exploration, as did the heroic David Livingstone, whose first interest in Africa appears to have been aroused by Campbell's¹ "Travels," one of the very books that Sparks read in Lancaster, three years after Livingstone was born. There was the making of a good geographer and a scientific explorer in Jared Sparks. He had all the instincts of a discoverer. If he had been encouraged, America might not have waited for Stanley and the "New York Herald" to win glory in the track of Livingstone. Sparks, taking up the pioneer work of Ledyard, might have carried the American torch of African discovery across the Dark Continent.

¹ See Thomas Hughes' "David Livingstone" (English Men of Action), p. 2.

CHAPTER V.

HARVARD TUTOR, EDITOR, AND UNITARIAN PREACHER.

1817-1818.

TUTOR AT HARVARD.

THE fame of Sparks' prize dissertation on the character and influence of Sir Isaac Newton had lingered in Harvard College. Sparks' reputation as a preparatory teacher of boys who were fitting for that institution was growing in academic circles. Old associations, continuously maintained by reason of the nearness of Lancaster to Cambridge, were not without their influence upon the destiny of the young theologian. In the year 1817, at the age of twenty-eight, after he had been an alumnus of the college for two years, he was called back to Harvard as tutor¹ in geometry, astronomy, and natural philosophy, a position for which he was singularly fitted by reason of his real love for mathematics and his recognized attainments. He had been first in his class in these subjects, in spite of two years' absence from the four years' course. There is, on the whole, no better test of genuine ability in a college man than the mastery of mathematics. It is better evidence of real mental strength, of inherent power to grapple with other difficult subjects, especially with the problems of life, than is mere acquaintance with language, or the delicate appreciation of literature and art. Without any disparagement of the graces of learning, it may be said that Jared Sparks was strong where most college

¹ At a salary of \$850, as appears from his cash account.

men even now are weak. If circumstances had impelled him towards specialization in mathematics, he might have become famous in that field of exploration which is wider than all discovered continents. The obstacle in his way, as in the case of most college teachers in America, was an inherited system of tutorial duties whose name is legion, and a divided allegiance in his own specialties. In his case, mathematics fell between the two stools of theology and editorial work.

A striking and rather refreshing illustration of his tutorial duties is given in one of his letters to Mrs. Higginson, of Bolton, written in a college room, No. 21 Stoughton,¹ and dated July 28, 1817: "I have been obliged to stop at the end of the last sentence to go down and quell a carousal in a Freshman's room, where I found wine and cherries, and nuts and divers other articles, such as broken tumblers, chairs upside down, and a dozen fellows in a very merry mood; yet I put forth all the dignity of a tutor, and of a man of power, who is conscious of his absolute authority over his own domains, and commanded them, as King George's men used to command us rebels in war-times, *to disperse*. Then the poor, trembling occupants received a stern lecture from the ill-natured tutor for their social feelings and liberality, and all is quiet again. Tomorrow I am going with the president to dine at Quincy. I anticipate a good deal of pleasure; but these anticipations would be greatly heightened, I assure you, were I to meet the same company which I found there in the spring. I suppose we shall see the famous cow and the sowing machine, and the wheat which you recollect was springing from the ground; but everything there is pleasant."

¹ "I live in Stoughton, where Phillips used to live. Palfrey is made proctor in Massachusetts. Resident graduates will probably receive in all about \$250 a year." From a letter, March 12, 1817, to his classmate, Charles Briggs, tutor in Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine.

THE "NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW."

Turning from this bucolic vision, after seeing the tutor reluctantly disperse the noisy and callow brood of Freshmen from their midnight spread of wine and cherries, let us view this same genial tutor in another responsible capacity, as working editor of the "North American Review." This magazine was the historical outgrowth of a Boston publication called "The Anthology," the literary organ of the Anthology Club, composed, says Dr. Ellis, of a "little circle of highly cultivated and zealous scholars in Boston and Cambridge." Several volumes of original articles, marking the development if not the advent of independent scholarship and literary criticism in this country, had been issued by this local coterie, which furnished not only the brains but the capital for the thankless enterprise. The "North American Review" was designed to be a more popular and more attractive magazine than "The Anthology," which had a very limited patronage; but the same literary and editorial talent which had guided the old review was generously and gratuitously contributed to the new. The "North American Review"¹ was, from the start, a public-spirited literary enterprise, supported by a few gentlemen in and about Boston, for the intellectual good of the country, and for no mercenary considerations. But the editorial management of such a benevolent enterprise always becomes tiresome with experience, and the burden of responsibility is usually shifted upon shoulders that are young and strong. Jared Sparks was the man selected to carry the heavy load. He served his apprenticeship as editor from May, 1817, to March, 1818, when he resigned for a season to take the theological yoke, but with no thought of finding it easier to bear.

¹ A more detailed account of the origin and development of the "North American Review" will be given in a later chapter.

A naïve account of Sparks' hopeful view of his duties as editor, in addition to his laborious work as college tutor, appears in a letter written February 21, 1817, to his life-long friend, Miss Storrow, of Bolton: "Since I saw you I have put on the dignity of a tutor, and with it I find a multiplicity of cares which are neither small nor few. But occupation increases habits of activity, keeps awake the energies of the mind, and finally promotes the happiness of existence; more especially if we are conscious of being occupied in advancing good and useful purposes. It will doubtless be strange news to you to hear that I have engaged to take charge of the 'North American Review' after the next number, when Mr. Tudor resigns. I was desired to do this by several gentlemen, and by the particular advice of the president. Mr. Phillips declines, as it interferes too much with his profession. After the next number, the 'Review' will be printed at Cambridge, and published by Cummings & Hilliard, Boston. A certain number of our most distinguished literary gentlemen have associated themselves, and have agreed to furnish articles in their turn, and it is on this condition only that I would engage at all in the affair. I will send you a list of the writers' names as soon as the arrangement is properly made out. I have my fears that it will be imposing on me a greater responsibility than I shall be willing to bear, and demand too much of my time; but the president advised if he did not suggest it, and I supposed that ought to decide the business, and I therefore made the engagement. I think I shall propose to be associated with some of my friends, perhaps Palfrey. You see by the conditions that, if I am active and prompt in the management, I shall not often be obliged to write, unless I choose; and you see also, if these writers will supply as they agree, there is every reason to think the book will be good."

In another letter to Miss Storror, March 5, 1817, Sparks further recognizes the growing demand upon his time and energy: "This 'Review' and my tutorial duties, in addition to my theology, which I do not intend to neglect for anything, are a thorough preventive of indolence, and keep me in a state of action which, although it is more constant than violent, is about as much, I find, as I can bear. It is a maxim, you know, that a man can do what he thinks he can do; and in confirmation of this I would quote you a fine sentence of Latin which just now comes into my head, were you not a lady; but I will forbear, although I know a very fashionable gentleman who quotes Latin in conversation with the ladies. But I make no pretensions to the character of a fashionable gentleman."

The difficulties in the way of getting good articles for the "Review," and of holding up benevolent contributors to their own good intentions, began to dawn upon the young editor before his first number was ready. On the 19th of March, 1817, he warns his friend Miss Storror against expecting too much from the new management: "You have no just expectations that the 'Review' will be much better than it has been, and if you have formed any such you will be disappointed. . . . I did not much like your telling me I was born for a college. I really think of nothing but preaching.¹ I dream of preaching, and talk of

¹ Sparks was pursuing theological studies all the time after his return to Harvard as a tutor. In his cash account, under the date May 16, 1817, he enters this item: "Received from the Theological Institution at Cambridge, as a student of the institution, from October 1, 1816, till February 17, 1817, one hundred dollars."

To his classmate Briggs, tutor at Bowdoin College, Sparks wrote, July 16, 1817: "I am glad to hear that you are to be with us soon, for I do not believe you are in a way to learn much theology in Maine, except what you are taught by the light of nature. Here we have lecture upon lecture, as well as line upon line, etc., and he must

preaching, and write of preaching ; and I hope in the fullness of time to realize my dreams. . . . You may like to know that I made out the article about Italian literature¹ in the last 'North American.' I am not connected with any other person as editor ; . . . on further consideration, I thought this would only be adding new difficulties without diminishing the old ones."

Sparks' letters at this period are full of allusions to articles designed for the "North American Review." It is particularly interesting to note the influence of his own special knowledge upon his first contributions to the magazine. Having failed in his attempt to become an explorer of the Dark Continent, he did the next best thing : he used the columns of his "Review" to throw critical light upon the explorations of others. Illustrations of this kind of writing may be seen in the article entitled "Interior of Africa," May, 1817, and in Sparks' review of the "Narrative of Robert Adams,"² July, 1817, and Riley's "Nar-

be a dunce indeed who cannot learn to preach with such advantages. Dr. Holmes' lectures are good, and none more fully attended. He has a critical business of it, as his subject leads him almost perpetually to some Calvinistic tenet, yet he seems sedulously to avoid everything like party religion. . . . Liberal parishes are not very abundant. Country clergymen should ride in sulkies, and of course not be married. You may begin to eat *turkeys* and drink *toddy* when you examine schools in short *ã* in *hat*, which should be in about two or three years. You may begin to *limp* in five years, and get quite *lame* in ten, but you must soon begin to wear your boot-straps hanging out, and talk about hogs and geese, cornfields, etc."

¹ "The Augustan Age of Italian Literature," *North American Review*, March, 1817. This was Jared Sparks' first contribution before he assumed the editorship. The May issue was the first under his management. The "Review" then appeared every two months.

² "The Narrative of Robert Adams," a sailor who was wrecked on the western coast of Africa in the year 1810, was detained three years in slavery by the Arabs of the Great Desert, and resided several

native," all in the fifth volume of the "North American." He warns Miss Storrow, "You are not allowed to say a word against travelers. I like travelers' stories. . . . All travelers get comfortably home, somehow or other, to tell their stories." His own personal experience and observation became tributary to the July number, 1817, of the "North American," in his account of the conflagration of Havre de Grace, as we have already seen.¹

months in the city of Tombuctoo. With a map, etc. Boston : Wells & Lilly, 1817.

Mr. Samuel A. Storrow, the brother of Miss Storrow, had seen this American sailor in Cadiz, and had written a good account of the man's remarkable experience before the above narrative appeared. Sparks published Storrow's version of the sailor's story, under the title "Interior of Africa," and afterwards a review of the book, which first appeared in England, and there attracted considerable attention. The young editor of the "North American" was able to show that the whole narrative was a tissue of falsehoods.

We may safely assume that all the reviews and notices of African exploration published at this period in the "North American" were from the pen of Jared Sparks, the young enthusiast in this field of geographical knowledge. There is in the May number, 1817, an account of two British expeditions sent in 1816 to explore the interior of Africa. In January, 1818, he printed accounts of a British expedition to the Niger that were sent from Senegal to William S. Shaw, of Boston.

It brings Sparks strangely near the present current of scientific and humanitarian interest in the Dark Continent to read a sentence like this in an old "North American Review" for July, 1817, p. 206 : "Several individuals, within a few years, have fallen a sacrifice to the ardour of their zeal in attempting to prosecute discoveries into those unknown and inhospitable regions. Among them we have to lament our unfortunate countryman, Ledyard, who, in native love of adventure and persevering energy of character, has probably never been surpassed. But the world has seldom united in stronger feelings of sympathy for the fate of any individual than that of Park, 'the flower of modern chivalry,' and the most enthusiastic advocate for African emancipation."

¹ See p. 65.

A HARVARD COMMENCEMENT.

The last week in August, 1817, Sparks wrote Miss Storow the following graphic account of the excitement and confusion attending an old-fashioned college commencement: "I steal away a few moments . . . from the bustle, the noise, and the dust of commencement, to thank you for your kind note by Mr. H. . . . But I have not time amidst all this confusion to say but a word. These tedious great dinners are too much. . . . Tuesday I was obliged to preside over a class dinner, because I have the misfortune to be president, and you know what awkward work I must make, of course, of these things. . . . I was obliged to smoke segars, and call for toasts, and all that; much to my annoyance and discomfiture. Wednesday was the crowd and crush of commencement, . . . a great dinner in the halls, and everybody must call at everybody's dinner afterwards, and be enveloped in dust and stunned with the cries of the rabble. To-day is Phi Beta, . . . confusion enough . . . and another dinner, wine, segars, toasts, etc. . . . and to-morrow examination from six o'clock in the morning till six at night. I tell you what, . . . I don't believe I shall be often tempted this way after I am fairly settled in a snug country parish; at least, that is my impression at this moment. . . . I may alter my opinion after listening a twelvemonth to the brooks, the breezes, and the crickets, but just now I am tired, and would be gladly sitting in quiet composure under my own vine and fig-tree."

UNITARIAN MOVEMENT AT HARVARD.

Sparks took a more cheerful view of tutorial life after a pleasant summer vacation spent with his friends in Bolton.¹ In the above commencement letter, however, is

¹ On the 16th of October, 1817, Sparks wrote to Miss Storow :

clearly expressed his inclination to enter the ministry. With this profession in mind, he had continued at Cambridge theological studies begun at Lancaster under Dr. Thayer. Besides the inherited tendency of college men to study theology, there was at this time a peculiarly favoring influence in the renaissance of religious studies, and in the Unitarian movement towards a more liberal Christianity. Of the relation of this movement to Harvard College, which became the academic exponent of the liberal faith, Dr. Ellis thus speaks: "Mr. Sparks, while at Cambridge and in its neighborhood, belonged to quite a considerable group or fellowship of young men of the highest intellectual and scholarly qualities, and with the noblest impulses caught from a new element of religious influence then working with great intensity in this immediate community. They were devoting themselves to the studies of the sacred profession, with new helps of classical culture and the quickening inspiration of a serious modification of the prevailing Christian creed. There was then a fashion — it would be more true to say a passion — among the young men of genius, ambition, and high aims, who had been drawn into intimate friendship in the college, to prepare themselves for the ministry. The zeal of the gifted Buckminster in promoting a new interest in Biblical studies, and in classical scholarship as helping thereto, and the establishment of Mr. Dexter's lecture-ship foundation in the college for fostering Scripture criticism, so ably filled by Professor Norton, were promptings whose inspiration was felt by many of the most cultivated

"The review business is all upon me at once, quarter day, college, etc. My conscience, however, will not allow me to omit telling you how much I feel indebted to my kind friends at Bolton for the happiness I was made to enjoy among them during the vacation. It was an era in my happy impressions; as a certain man said, after hearing one of Ogilvie's orations, 'it was an era in his sensations.'"

laymen of the period. Buckminster, Channing, and others had introduced also a new style and method of sermonizing. Pulpit services in the neighborhood had become vitalized. The lethargic and unresponsive state of feeling, under which the ministrations of the clergy had for half a century been received, had yielded to a state of high-raised interest, often amounting to enthusiasm. Those who soon, as a class, came to be designated as preachers of Unitarianism, or liberal views of the religion of Christ, were in general disposed, without provoking controversy, to take for granted a modification of the belief and convictions of the community, and to adapt their ministrations to a readjusted creed. But they were soon made aware that this quiet proceeding of theirs would appear to some, not in sympathy with them, as disingenuous and treacherous. They had therefore to furnish themselves for the needful work of vindicating their own sincerity, for expounding and maintaining their own opinions, and for certifying, if they could do so, their loyalty and consistency as Protestant Christians. Those friends have been widely parted, both in life and death, but those who are gone were never alienated while they lived; the bond of intellectual and religious sympathy between them was never severed; nor did a single one of those friends ever part with that distinctive belief, so far as it was distinctive, which they had once adopted, as scholars and Christians. That company embraced the Eliots, Norton, Sparks, Palfrey, Gilman, the Wares, Bancroft, and many whose names have not since been so publicly famed and honored as theirs. All of them pursued a course of theological study under aims and methods which then had novelty as well as definiteness of purpose. Some of them filled the pulpit and pastoral relations in positions of the highest distinction, so eminently, too, as to set a standard not maintained or reached by the majority of those who

have followed them. Those of them who stopped short of actual consecration, by form or vow, to the sacred office, and turned aside to other pursuits, kept the spirit and the sympathy of their early purpose, and have done work, perhaps, of a less professional and a more diffusive good than has been effected by the pulpit in these later years. But many of that circle, including those who still live as well as those who have gone, did sooner or later turn aside from their first professional purpose or work. Without abandoning the scholar's field or zeal, or falling short of the elevation or sanctity associated with the ministerial profession, they left the pulpit to act upon their age in other walks of lettered or political life, and to perform conspicuous services.

“ A memorial of Mr. Sparks which did not allow some such reference as has been made to the aims and the companionship which influenced his first choice of a profession would fail in the direction of fair appreciation, not only of a period and a state of feeling in the course of his life which was of itself marked with a profoundly devout and serious earnestness of purpose, but also of the convictions which he held through the remainder of his career. Without entering into details, which would be out of place here, it may be said in general that the enthusiasm and the sober earnestness of that group of scholarly friends which included Mr. Sparks were quickened by an ardent and intelligent conviction that Christian studies pursued with a large freedom, a broader range, and a more practical aim, with some new aids from an approved apparatus of text-books, would result in modifying the tenets of the Christian creed as then traditionally and popularly received, though with but a languid assent and an indifferent feeling, by large classes of the community ; would win minds alienated from existing beliefs, and prompt to new zeal in works and objects congenial with the spirit of the

Christian religion. Of Mr. Sparks' special relation to, and coöperative labor in, his religious fellowship, this remark is to be made with emphasis, that no man ever engaged in the irritating strife of religious controversy with less of the spirit of mere sectarianism, or more resolutely or successfully held that spirit in check by charity, magnanimity, and Christian gentleness. The conviction which he held most ardently and intelligently, and in illustration of which he planned a series of publications, was, that what stood to him as signified by the term 'Liberal Christianity' represented in spirit and substance the belief and actual opinions of a line of the most devout and thoroughly cultivated Christian men whom incidental circumstances had classed in several Christian communions, in which, with various mental reserves and allowed modifications and abatements of formulated beliefs, they had been content to remain."

DR. W. E. CHANNING.

One of the most influential characters in shaping the ministerial destiny of Jared Sparks was Dr. William Ellery Channing, perhaps the most distinguished American leader in the Unitarian movement. It will be remembered that Sparks had accidentally encountered him at Havre de Grace, and there first felt the quickening force of Channing's personal sympathy and experience. At another critical time in his life Sparks received a powerful impulse from conversations with the great preacher, who again encouraged the young man to pursue the difficult path which he had chosen. On the 14th of February, 1818, he wrote from Boston, probably in Dr. Channing's own house, the following letter to his friend Miss Storrow: "I have only time to write a line while the tea-table is setting, and inclose a letter, which I suppose is from Miss Buckminster. You told me to deliver the letter to

Miss B. herself ; but as I could not do it for several days, I gave it to her brother, which I hope was right. I accepted Mr. Channing's invitation, according to the advice I received at Bolton, and I assure you I have seldom — very seldom — spent a more delightful week. Mr. C. has talked a great deal. I shall certainly be a minister, — not a very good one, but as good as I can. I have been charmed with Mrs. C. She is so kind, and makes me so much at home ! To-morrow I go back to Cambridge, and resume again my arduous duties, . . . but the happy fortnight I have passed [in Bolton and Boston] will afford me many reflections upon which I shall love to dwell."

SPARKS GIVES UP THE "NORTH AMERICAN."

Sparks had now clearly and positively determined to become a Unitarian preacher. With this career in prospect, the sooner he could free himself from editorial and tutorial cares the better. From his visit to the Channings, hardly more than a fortnight elapsed before he threw off one of his two burdens. On March 2, 1818, he writes to Miss Storrow : "This day I take a final adieu of the 'North American,' and I feel relieved. I feel like a bird escaped from his cage ; not as though I could take very elevated flights, but I look around me and rejoice at my liberty, and the fair expanse of heaven. This business has been a task to me, but it has been a useful one. I assure you, however, it gives me no little pleasure to find everybody so well satisfied. I have heard no complaints, but general approbation. I leave it in a vastly better state than when I took it. . . . It is doing extremely well now and promises to do so." After Sparks' resignation, the management of the "Review" was intrusted to Edward Channing, under whom it continued until Edward Everett took the editorship. The "North American"

became a quarterly in 1819. From the time when his connection with this magazine was first severed, Sparks gave all the energy he had remaining from college work to the study of theology and to preparation for preaching. In a letter dated at Cambridge, August 8, 1818, he says: "I have finally determined on a time to preach. My present intention is to begin on the first Sunday in September and preach in Lancaster the second Sunday."¹

UNITARIAN PREACHER.

Evidently he did not find his first experience in this new field altogether agreeable. On the 2d of October, 1818, he wrote Miss Storrow from Cambridge: "I assure you this preaching is a great trial to me. I speak in sober sincerity when I tell you that it is one I should hardly go through with again, could I foresee the anxiety and pain it would cost me. But it is too late to talk in this way, and I acknowledge it is childish. I have begun, and I have only to press forward. I will do it as well as I can. My success thus far (as far as it has come in my way to learn) has certainly been much better than I expected, or had any reason to expect. It never entered my mind that I was qualified, or ever would be qualified, to make anything more than a very ordinary preacher. Some of my friends formed higher expectations than they had reason for, and they are disappointed. I am very sorry Mr. H.² is so much interested, although I cannot but feel

¹ Sparks' interest in African exploration survived his determination to begin preaching. In this same letter to Miss Storrow he says: "I have just received Captain Tuckey's journal up the Congo, and shall write a long review about Africa for November, in which I shall talk more about Tombuctoo, etc., much I fear to your annoyance; but I really have a great deal of fellow-feeling for these poor Africans, and while I actually keep out of the desert, and suffer my zeal to evaporate in reviews, I am sure you will pardon me."

² Mr. Higginson, who had married Miss Storrow's sister.

the warmest thanks and gratitude for his kind feelings and friendship. He thinks, and says others think, that my sermons are not sufficiently clear, and is much troubled at the discovery that they are not interlined and erased as Dr. K.'s [Kirkland's] and Mr. Thacher's were, and says they can never be good till they are. This is certainly true, but I am sorry it should have given him trouble. He talks with Mr. Cabot, Dr. J., and all the great men about it; he finds out all the objections, and tells me very kindly. . . . The sermon which I read before the association, he has heard, was obscure; the fact is, I was particularly complimented by the whole mass of ministers for its perspicuity. But it is unnecessary for me to write this; he will tell it to you and much more.

“The deacons from the South End called on me soon after I returned from Bolton, and I engaged to supply after Mr. Holly, till I go to Baltimore, and it was agreed on all sides that there is no interference. They said to me, ‘We know you are engaged to go to Baltimore; yet we wish to be plain with you, and tell you that our people will hear you under favorable prepossessions, and with a strong interest; with a view, indeed, to your being settled with us, should things prove favorable to such an event.’ From this I have good reason to suppose that, if I am tolerably successful there, I may remain. Even in this case, however, my impression is that I shall go to Baltimore if I give satisfaction. This is contrary to the general impression of my friends, and it depends on reasons which I have not time to explain now; some of which, indeed, and those not the least weighty, I cannot explain to anybody. . . .

“By the way, I have a scheme to take Bolton in my way to Baltimore. I hope it will meet with approbation, and have no doubt it will. I shall go the first part of November. Will you write me before long, and let me

know the result of your opinions at Bolton in regard to my concerns, for this is an important period to me, and I am sure it is not entirely without interest to those friends whom I have reason to hold so dear?"

BOSTON OR BALTIMORE.

Sparks was soon to make one of the most important decisions of his life, whether to go South among strangers as a pioneer preacher of a liberal faith, or to remain North among congenial associates in the ministry, in a favoring climate of religious opinion, amid pleasant society and familiar scenes. If he had been so disposed, says Dr. Ellis, "he might have found an entrance into the ministry in a much easier position, as pastor of the Hollis Street¹ Society, in Boston." But, contrary to the expectation of his friends, he deliberately chose the more difficult and more aggressive work of carrying the Unitarian banner beyond the Southern frontier. This bold decision was characteristic of the man, who, as we have seen, had a spirit of enterprise and adventure in his very constitution. He had shown something of this spirit in his first departure for Maryland while he was but a college Freshman. And now he was to leave fair Harvard again upon another expedition to the Southern country.

TEACHING OR PREACHING.

There is a story² told of Jared Sparks by his old and

¹ In his cash account Sparks notes, November 18, 1818: "Received of Mr. West, for preaching five Sabbaths in Hollis Street, Boston, at \$15 a Sabbath, \$75."

² Possibly the original fact underlying this oft-told tale may be seen in the following extract from Sparks' letter to Briggs, March 12, 1817: "Your corporation, or trustees, or whatever it is that manages your college [Bowdoin], have applied to me, through Mr. Vaughan, to succeed ex-Professor Abbot, with a salary of \$1,000 a year. This is a good offer, but I don't believe I should be happy in Brunswick. I think a parish with \$600 is better."

admiring friend Ansel Young, which probably belongs to this period of withdrawal from the mathematical tutorship at Cambridge, rather than to the time of graduation, as alleged: "When his time came to a close in college, . . . he came to me and said, 'Well, my time is out in college, and I have been offered sixteen hundred dollars a year to be a professor in college, and declined.' I said to him, 'Why do you let so good an offer pass by you without enjoying it? Are you not trifling with their esteem, and the high opinion they have of your merit?' He looked at me earnestly and said, 'The world has done much for me, and I must do something to repay it. There are hundreds of students there who can fill that chair as well as I can, but they can't go out into the world and do what I can.'"

Sparks' early resolve to serve his generation in a large and helpful way, and to advance the borders of Unitarian Christianity, was the primary cause of all his subsequent and peculiar success in life, not only as a champion of the liberal faith, but as an historical scholar, as professor of history, and as president of Harvard College. This temporary change of base from Cambridge to Baltimore brought him into contact with new forces, which were to bring out his best energies, and then restore him to his *alma mater*.

CHAPTER VI.

UNITARIAN MINISTER IN BALTIMORE.

1819-1820.

ORIGIN OF UNITARIANISM.

THE beginnings of the modern Unitarian movement, if carefully and fully studied, would form one of the most interesting chapters in the history¹ of religious thought.

¹ After the substantial completion of the present chapter, the writer fortunately learned of an excellent work on "Unitarianism: Its Origin and History. A Course of Sixteen Lectures delivered in Channing Hall, Boston, 1888-89," published by the American Unitarian Association, Boston, 1890. These lectures by prominent Unitarian clergymen are among the most valuable contributions to the subject that have appeared in American literature. They are vistas of intellectual interest in a great wilderness of religious history. The accounts of "Unitarianism in England," by the Rev. Brooke Herford, and of "Early New England Unitarians," by Dr. A. P. Peabody, are very instructive.

Since the appearance of the above work, that of Octavius Brooks Frothingham on "Boston Unitarianism, 1820-1850: A Study of the Life and Work of Nathaniel Langdon Frothingham," has been published. The author has interwoven the biography of his father with the history of the larger social and intellectual forces of his time (1793-1870). Jared Sparks, like N. L. Frothingham, Edward Everett, J. G. Palfrey, James Walker, Alexander Young, and many others of that generation, represents what the author calls "literary Unitarianism." Such men formed the great central party, and stood midway between the extremely *spiritual* Christianity of Dr. W. E. Channing and the extremely *natural* Christianity of Theodore Parker. Renan, in his "Études d'Histoire Religieuse," has a searching critique of "Channing and the Unitarian Movement in the United

Unitarian ideas are as old as Semitic monotheism and Egyptian henotheism. They have been historically transmitted to the modern world through Judaism, Greek Christianity, Arianism, Mohammedanism, and various Protestant forms of religious faith. The modern Unitarian movement proceeded from Italy, the historic source of many currents of liberal thought. Italian Protestants, persecuted at home, sought refuge in Switzerland and Poland. In the latter country, as in Italy, the Reformation had developed a somewhat rational faith, with anti-trinitarian doctrines. A kind of intellectual leaven in the midst of the unlearned Polish Brethren were the cultivated Italian refugees, among them, Fausto Sozzini, better known as Socinus (1539-1604), a native of Siena, whose doctrinal influence was reconstructive rather than destructive of Christian forms of worship. Although adoring Christ, Socinus believed the Son of Man the representative of the Father rather than essential deity. Driven out of Poland, these extreme Protestants found shelter in Transylvania, Prussia, Holland, and England.

The "Unitarian" sect originated in Transylvania, to this day a stronghold of that faith. Although the name was not used in England until the latter part of the eighteenth century, Unitarian sentiments were entertained at a much earlier period by John Milton, John Locke, Sir Isaac Newton, and Dr. Isaac Watts. Very remarkable are the Unitarian views of William Penn (1644-1718) in his tract called "The Sandy Foundation Shaken," of which the following is the first thesis: "The Trinity of

States." The modern and advanced Unitarian position is well defined by Dr. Orville Dewey, in his article written for Johnson's Encyclopædia in 1877: "In short, the stand taken by Unitarianism is for nature, for human nature, for everything that God has made, as the manifestation of his will as truly as anything written in the Bible."

distinct and separate Persons in the Unity of Essence refuted from Scripture.”¹ In the words of Jared Sparks, in his biographical notice of Penn, “his scheme approaches nearly to that of Dr. Watts, which takes the divinity of Christ to be a sort of indwelling of the Father constitut-

¹ It is maintained by English and American members of the Society of Friends, whom the writer has consulted in Baltimore, that William Penn was not a Unitarian, or Socinian, in his mature years and later writings. In one of his later works, “The Key,” he says distinctly concerning the Quakers: “They believe in the Holy three, or Trinity of Father, Word and Spirit, according to Scripture, and that these three are truly and properly one: of one nature as well as will; but they are very tender of quitting Scripture terms for schoolmen’s; such as ‘distinct and separate persons,’ and subsistences, &c., are; from whence people are apt to entertain gross ideas and notions of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.” Penn also says of the Quakers: “Their great characteristic principle being this, that Christ, as the divine word, lighteth the souls of all men that come into the world, with a spiritual and saving light, according to John i. 9; viii. 12 (which nothing but the Creator of souls can do), it does sufficiently shew they believe him to be God, for they truly and expressly own him to be so.” The Hicksites regard Penn as holding Unitarian views, and yet believing, as they do, in the divinity of Christ. An interesting document illustrating the points at issue between the Orthodox Friends and the Hicksites, or Unitarian party, is that called “The Society of Friends Vindicated: Being the Arguments of the counsel of Joseph Hendrickson, in a cause decided in the Court of Chancery of the State of New Jersey, between Thomas L. Shotwell, Complainant and Joseph Hendrickson and Stacy Decon, Defendants. To which is appended the Decision of the Court.” Trenton, N. J., 1832. This case concerned certain school-funds which the Hicksite party endeavored to control, and reminds us of those legal controversies in Massachusetts between Congregationalists and Unitarians for the control of parish property. The Hicksite party originated in Philadelphia in 1827–28, and represents much the same tendencies in the Society of Friends as the Unitarian movement represented among the Orthodox churches of New England. “An Examination of the Causes which led to the Separation of the Religious Society of Friends in America” may be found at the end of Janney’s “History of the Religious Society of Friends,” vol. iv.

ing a union so close, that the name of the Deity may properly be applied to the Son." ¹

ENGLISH UNITARIANISM.

A good library for an historical study of the evolution of English Unitarianism was collected by Jared Sparks. His "Essays and Tracts in Theology from Various Authors," an extensive work in six volumes, begun in Baltimore in 1823, will be noticed more particularly in the next chapter. In this connection let us observe that the English Unitarian movement, beginning in the advanced individual opinions of men born and bred, like Penn and Locke, Newton and Watts, in the Established Church, proceeded largely through Presbyterian and Independent channels. The first avowedly Unitarian society in our mother country was that of Theophilus Lindsey ² (1723-1808), who had given up a valuable living in Yorkshire for conscience' sake, and in 1774 ³ began to gather a Unitarian congregation in a room in Essex Street, Strand, London. Four years later a chapel ⁴ was built for him in the same street, where he continued to preach until 1793.

¹ Sparks' "Collection of Essays and Tracts in Theology," vol. iv., 21.

² Lindsey published in 1783 "An Historical View of the State of Unitarian Doctrines and Worship from the Reformation to our own Times," in which he represented as Unitarians Burnet, Samuel Clark, Bishop Hoadly, and Sir Isaac Newton. In 1789 he published "An Examination of Robinson's Plea." In 1790 appeared his "List of False Readings of the Scriptures with Mistranslations of the English Bible."

³ "The Apology of Theophilus Lindsey for resigning the Vicarage of Catterick, 1774." "Sequel to the Apology, 1776."

⁴ Lindsey's "Sermon preached at the Opening of the New Chapel at Essex Street, March 25, 1778." Sparks owned all of these valuable tracts. His genius for collecting historical materials is first seen in connection with Unitarianism. Probably there was no private library in the country superior to his in Baltimore in matters pertaining to the history of religious opinions.

PRIESTLEY AND UNITARIANISM IN AMERICA.

Very influential in the development of Lindsey's Unitarian views was his acquaintance, dating from 1769, with Dr. Joseph Priestley (1733-1804). Brought up a Non-conformist, in the strictest Calvinistic sect called the Independents, Priestley early developed liberal Presbyterian and Unitarian views through philosophical, linguistic, and scientific studies. He was a teacher and a preacher, a chemist, a physicist, an historian, a philosopher, and the friend of some of the most enlightened scholars of his time, — George Benson (1699-1763), Andrew Kippis (1725-1795), Richard Price (1723-1791), Nathaniel Lardner (1684-1768), Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson. Priestley, the philosopher, deserves to be recognized as one of the historical founders of English and American Unitarianism. His great work on the "Institutes of National and Revealed Religion," his "History of the Corruptions of Christianity," four volumes, Birmingham, 1793, and his "History of Early Opinions concerning Jesus Christ," two volumes, Birmingham, 1786, together with Lardner's more famous work called "The Credibility of Gospel History" (1727), are to be viewed as English beginnings of modern critical scholarship in the field of primitive Christianity. Jefferson, in a letter to his friend John Adams, August 22, 1813, said of Priestley, "I have read his 'Corruptions of Christianity' and 'Early Opinions of Jesus' over and over again, and I rest on them and on Middleton's writings, as the basis of my own faith."¹

¹ For further details on Jefferson's relation to Dr. Priestley, see H. B. Adams on "Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia," pp. 46-49. There has been much doubt as to Jefferson's religious faith. He was probably a Unitarian. He wrote to Timothy Pickering, February 25, 1821: "I have little doubt that the whole of our country will soon be rallied to the unity of the Creator, and, I hope, to the pure doctrine of Jesus also." He said to John Adams, April 11,

Priestley is a connecting personal link between English and American Unitarianism, broadly viewed as an historical movement affecting this country in a central rather than in a local way. He was driven out of Birmingham in 1791, on account of his dissenting views and his sympathy with the French Revolution, by a mob who burned down his chapel and his house after wading knee-deep through his torn and scattered manuscripts. Soon after 1794, with his scholarly son-in-law, Dr. Thomas Cooper, he sought refuge in the State of Pennsylvania. Through their extraordinary activity in writing and teaching, English Unitarianism was established independently of New England's influence in Philadelphia,¹ the city of William

1823, of Calvin's prayer, *Mon Dieu, jusqu'à quand*, "When addressed to the God of Jesus and our God, I join you cordially and await his time and will with more readiness than reluctance. May we meet there again in congress with our ancient colleagues, and receive with them the seal of approbation, Well done, good and faithful servants."

Dr. Priestley, in a letter to Mr. Lindsey, Northumberland, November 4, 1803, said: "As you were pleased with my comparison of Socrates and Jesus, I have begun to carry the same comparison to all the heathen moralists, and I have all the books that I want for the purpose except Simplicius and Arrian on Epictetus, and them I hope to get from a library in Philadelphia. Lest, however, I should fail there, I wish you or Mr. Belsham would procure and send them from London. While I am capable of anything I cannot be idle, and I do not know that I can do anything better. This, too, is an undertaking that Mr. Jefferson recommends to me."

Priestley's success in the original investigation of morals and religion caused John Adams to say of him to Jefferson, July 18, 1813: "This great, excellent, and extraordinary man, whom I sincerely loved, esteemed, and respected, was really a phenomenon, a comet in the system, like Voltaire, Bolingbroke, and Hume." And again, December 3, 1813, Adams exclaimed to Jefferson: "Oh, that Priestley could live again and have leisure and means!"

¹ On Priestley's influence upon English and American thought, see Huxley's address on the occasion of the unveiling of the Priestley statue in Birmingham (Humboldt Library, No. 66, "Technical Education and other Essays;" Essay on Joseph Priestley); and the Rev.

Penn, who is by some regarded as himself a Unitarian Quaker and a father of the Hicksites, who still flourish most strongly in the Keystone State. The nature of Priestley's teachings in Pennsylvania may be seen in the "Controversy between Dr. Priestley and the Rev. J. B. Linn of Philadelphia," published in 1803. Priestley's discourses were published at Northumberland, 1805. Unitarian influences crept southwards from Pennsylvania, partly through the teachings of Dr. Cooper, whom Jefferson called "the greatest man in America in the powers of his mind and in acquired information." An eminent chemist and physicist like his father-in-law, the first political economist and Roman lawyer that this country ever saw, the first appointed professor in the University of Virginia, and the predecessor of Francis Lieber as professor of history and politics in South Carolina College, Judge Cooper was a universal scholar, the Priestley of the South. He was, moreover, like John Adams, of Massachusetts, one of the early advocates of higher Biblical criticism¹ in Amer-

Charles Carroll Everett's address delivered at the Priestley memorial celebration, Philadelphia, March 13, 1889, "Joseph Priestley. The Old Unitarianism and the New." Mr. O. B. Frothingham, in his "Boston Unitarianism" (p. 249), says: "The Boston Unitarians followed in the footsteps of Priestley."

Jefferson, in a letter to Dr. Waterhouse, July 19, 1822, said: "When I lived in Philadelphia there was a respectable congregation of that sect [Unitarian] with a meeting-house and regular services which I attended, and in which Dr. Priestley officiated to numerous audiences." J. G. Palfrey wrote to Sparks from Washington, September 5, 1816: "When I was in the city of the Quakers Dr. Priestley's library was exposed for sale at Dobson's. A committee of Congress had gleaned all the best books. I bought a few, not because they were valuable, but because they were Dr. Priestley's."

¹ Thomas Cooper and John Adams were much more radical than was ever Dr. Priestley. Among the early academic representatives of Biblical criticism in their lectures at Harvard were Messrs. Buckminster, Ware, Channing, and Norton.

ica, in days before the English world had heard of the writings of Colenso, the learned bishop of Natal.

JONATHAN EDWARDS.

In New England, the same theological influences were working in the eighteenth century as in the mother country, but they did not so early find expression in avowedly Unitarian doctrines. Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758), who has recently been described as "the forerunner of the later New England transcendentalism quite as truly as the author of a modified Calvinism,"¹ was a defender of the doctrines of the trinity upon *à priori* grounds. There was no Arianism or Socinianism in his writings. As early as 1734 there began, he says, "great noise in this part of the country [Northampton, Massachusetts] about Arminianism." Although the fascinating heresy of Arminius (1560-1609) concerned more especially the freedom of the human will, his name was made to cover a multitude of theological sins touching divine sovereignty, decrees, eternal punishment, the trinity, etc., and Jonathan Edwards made it his scholastic life-work to reconstruct the walls of Calvinistic Zion. The writings of English liberals in theology, Samuel Clarke, Thomas Emlyn, Daniel Whitby, Archbishop Tillotson, and Jeremy Taylor, had their natural effect in New England as well as in the mother country. Some of these writers Jonathan Edwards endeavored to controvert.

A recent writer² on the intellectual Awakening of New

¹ American Religious Leaders, "Jonathan Edwards," by Alexander V. G. Allen, D. D., Professor in the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Mass., 328. This appreciative and critical life of America's most original theologian is a work of historical scholarship worthy to rank with Dr. Allen's earlier volume on "The Continuity of Christian Thought."

² Francis H. Underwood, LL. D., "The Awakening of New England," "Contemporary Review," August, 1888, a very suggestive arti-

England has described the theological movement as "a change from Calvinism to Unitarianism, coming down, as one might say, by easy stages through Hopkinsianism,¹ Arminianism, and other modifications." Towards the close of the eighteenth century the white light of Puritan theology appeared to be broken into three colors, by no means sharply separated, but yet clearly defined like the three principal colors of the spectrum: the Calvinists, the Hopkinsians, and the Arminians. "Unitarianism draws its direct lineage," says Dr. George E. Ellis in his "Half Century of the Unitarian Controversy" (p. 440), "through Arminianism, though probably there were hundreds of Unitarians who could not have defined Arminianism any more than they could have talked Chinese."

UNITARIANISM IN NEW ENGLAND.

Unitarianism in New England, as in Old England, was long latent in the minds of theologians and evolved very gradually into public consciousness. Long before either the name or the faith was publicly professed by church societies, there were individual converts to Unitarian ideas. John Adams, writing concerning Unitarianism to Rev. Dr. Morse, May 15, 1815, said: "I can testify as a witness to its old age. Sixty-five years ago, my own minister, the

cle to a student who would investigate the process of intellectual development among the descendants of the Pilgrims and Puritans. "The Rise of Unitarianism in New England" and "The Transcendental Movement" are well presented in William C. Gannett's memoir of his father, "Ezra Stiles Gannett, Unitarian Minister in Boston," colleague and successor of Dr. Channing in the old Federal Street Church.

¹ So called from Samuel Hopkins (1721-1803), a pupil of Jonathan Edwards, and the author of a less exacting Calvinism in a "System of Theology" published in 1791. Hopkinsianism was often called "The New Divinity." It was the "Progressive Orthodoxy" of that period.

Rev. Lemuel Bryant ; Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, of the West Church in Boston ; the Rev. Mr. Shute, of Hingham ; the Rev. John Brown, of Cohasset ; and perhaps equal to all, if not above all, the Rev. Mr. Gay, of Hingham, were Unitarians. Among the laity how many could I name, — lawyers, physicians, tradesmen, farmers ! But at present I will name only one, Richard Cranch, a man who had studied divinity and Jewish and Christian antiquities, more than any clergyman now existing in New England. More than fifty years ago I read Dr. Clarke, Emlyn, and Dr. Waterland.”¹ In John Adams’ correspondence with Thomas Jefferson there are repeated allusions to this class of theological writings, some of them read when Adams was a college student at Harvard.

REV. JAMES FREEMAN.

The first distinctively Unitarian Church in America was that of the Rev. James Freeman, a graduate of Harvard College in 1777, who in October, 1782, became a Reader in King’s Chapel, Boston, and in April, 1783, took full charge of this the oldest Episcopal society in New England. Through the influence of English theological writings, particularly those of Lindsey and Priestley, this minister and his congregation adopted in 1785 a “Chapel Liturgy” modeled upon the Unitarian plan of Lindsey’s Essex Street Chapel in London. This fact was communicated to Mr. Lindsey in 1786 by the Rev. Isaac Smith, afterward Librarian of Harvard College. From that date there was close connection between the London and Boston centres of Unitarian propaganda. Mr. Lindsey presented a set of his theological writings, with those of Dr.

¹ Jared Sparks’ “Unitarian Miscellany,” vol. i., 190, quoted from the “Christian Disciple,” which reprinted it from the third edition of Dr. Freeman’s sermons.

Priestley, to the Harvard College¹ library, and received the thanks of the President and Fellows.

Mr. Freeman was never regularly ordained. Bishop Seabury, of Connecticut, who had been consecrated by the non-juring bishops of Scotland, had scruples against laying holy hands on the heterodox rector of King's Chapel. Governor Bowdoin then suggested an independent form² of ordination, which was performed November 18, 1787.

BELSHAM'S MEMOIRS.

The story of this first establishment of Unitarianism in Boston, and of its gradual extension to Portland and Saco, Maine; to the counties of Plymouth and Barnstable in Massachusetts; to Connecticut and New York, is told at length in Thomas Belsham's "Memoirs of Theophilus Lindsey," — an epoch-making book, first published in London, 1812, and again in 1873, the centenary of Lindsey's voluntary resignation of his comfortable living in the Church of England to enter upon the English Unitarian movement. This book of Belsham's caused great excitement in New England ecclesiastical circles. Many sympathizers with the new school of theology declared that they were not "Unitarians in Mr. Belsham's sense of the word." Certain champions of orthodox ideas republished portions of Belsham's Memoirs in a pamphlet called "American Unitarianism," for the purpose of calling public attention to the radical tendencies of the liberal party. American Unitarians were at first very reluctant to acknowledge kinship with their advanced English cousins,

¹ Dr. George E. Ellis, in his "Half Century of the Unitarian Controversy," p. 407, dates the beginning from 1806, or from the discussion growing out of the appointment of Dr. Ware to the Hollis Professorship of Divinity in Harvard College.

² This form was published by Mr. Lindsey in his "Vindiciae Priestleianae," an address to the students of Oxford and Cambridge. London, 1788.

who were extremely unpopular at home as well as abroad. John Adams wrote to Jefferson from Quincy, July 9, 1813: "The truth is, the dissenters of all denominations in England, and especially the Unitarians, are cowed, as we used to say at college. They are ridiculed, insulted, persecuted. They can scarcely hold their heads above water. They catch at straws and shadows to avoid drowning. Priestley sent your letter¹ to Lindsey, and Belsham printed it from the same motive, *i. e.*, to derive some countenance from the name of Jefferson. Nor has it done harm here."

Belsham's book helped to clear the way for more vigorous Unitarian propaganda in the established Congregational churches of New England, although Belsham was strongly condemned by the leading reformers. "The word Unitarianism, as denoting opposition to Trinitarianism," said Mr. W. E. Channing to Mr. S. C. Thacher in 1815, "undoubtedly expresses the character of a considerable part of the ministers of this town [Boston] and its vicinity, and the commonwealth. But we both of us know that their Unitarianism is of a very different kind from that of Mr. Belsham. As to myself, I have ever been inclined to cherish the most exalted views of Jesus Christ which are consistent with the supremacy of the Father; and I have felt it my duty to depart from Mr. Belsham in perhaps every sentiment which is peculiar to him on this subject. I have always been pleased with some of the sentiments of Dr. Watts on the intimate and peculiar union between the Father and Son."²

¹ See two letters from Jefferson to Priestley in Belsham's "Memoirs of Lindsey," pp. 371, 375 (edition of 1873). This volume contains also Priestley's letters to Lindsey written after his emigration to America, pp. 367-381. In his last letter, written January 16, 1804, Priestley says: "Winter keeps me from my laboratory, so that reading and composing are my sole occupation and amusement."

² "Memoir of William Ellery Channing," vol. i., 383, 385.

CUJUS REGIO, EJUS RELIGIO.

From the year 1815, when charges of heresy, insincerity, and concealment were made with increasing boldness, — from this time forward, Unitarians were compelled to defend themselves. Then began the struggle for mastery in the parish churches along the New England coast. It was a struggle for ecclesiastical existence in many of the older towns of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. A majority of votes in town or parish meeting sometimes determined local theology. *Cujus regio, ejus religio*, was once more the principle of reformation. Not a few ancient Puritan meeting-houses, with all their sacred belongings, were reluctantly surrendered by the orthodox to the popular party; the faithful were forced to accept the new situation or to withdraw to a conventicle. It was the old story of reformation, confiscation, new establishment, and dissent; but it is a most interesting story, involving the whole process of differentiation between Church and State in the local life of New England.

Joseph Henry Allen, in his study of the "Liberal Movement in Theology" (p. 33), says of New England Unitarianism, "Historically, it is the liberal wing of the great Congregational body which founded the first colonies in New England, and gave the law to Church and State for more than two hundred years. Of a list of three hundred and sixty-six Unitarian churches, one hundred and twenty or more (including a large majority of those in Massachusetts) were original local parishes formed under the first ecclesiastical polity of the Puritan Congregationalists."

DR. FREEMAN IN BALTIMORE.

With a clear understanding of the historic background of New England Unitarianism, we are now ready to follow its remarkable movement southward under the leadership

of Jared Sparks, a pioneer, first in the extension of a liberal faith, and afterwards in the advancement of American history. On the 12th of October, 1816, the very first year after Unitarianism had entered the field of religious conflict, we find the Rev. Dr. Freeman, of King's Chapel, Boston, the Lindsey of New England, advertised to conduct religious services in Gibney's hall in South Charles Street, Baltimore, the following Sunday at 11 A. M. and at half-past 3 P. M. The experiment was so successful that it was repeated the next Sabbath, "Nothing could have been more appropriate than that the patriarch of Unitarianism in America should have been the founder of Unitarianism in Maryland."¹

The effect of Mr. Freeman's preaching in Baltimore is described in a letter from that city to Jared Sparks, December 20, 1816, by his Harvard classmate, Edward Hinkley: "For some time past the theological doctors here have been making a great outcry against Unitarians and Unitarianism, that 'star in the North of ill omen,' as I heard Duncan call it. Dr. Freeman preached three Sundays in this city. Though he was obliged to preach in a ball-room, he had a large and respectable audience. . . . One minister threatened to excommunicate from his church any member who should presume to hear Freeman. . . . The old Scotch lady Mrs. — said one evening in company of many, that the boys ought to have broken Freeman's windows while he was preaching, and to have stoned him through the streets. . . . Ground is laid out for a Unitarian meeting-house, and I understand a subscription is on foot. Dr. Revere told me they have an idea of getting Andrews Norton to come here and preach."

¹ A Discourse delivered at the Re-opening of the First Independent Church of Baltimore, January 23, 1848, by its pastor, George W. Burnap. Baltimore, 1848.

GROWTH OF A NEW SOCIETY.

The following letter, written on the 19th of April, 1817, by Hinkley to Sparks, is a graphic and naïve account of the progress of the new society, and contains the very first intimation of a "call" that Sparks ever received from Baltimore: —

"Most cheerfully do I hasten to answer the inquiries contained in your letter of 13th inst. I have been informed by Nathaniel Williams, Esq., who is greatly interested in establishing the new Unitarian Church in this city, that the whole cost of the building is estimated at \$40,000, that 27 persons have subscribed \$17,000, and that the remainder will be raised from the sale of the pews. The meeting-house will be situated in the most elevated and pleasant part of the city. It will be large and commodious, and, as the architect, Mr. Godfroy, is celebrated for his skill and taste, it will doubtless be a beautiful specimen of architecture, the most beautiful, it is said, of any in Baltimore.

"The parish will, I think, be large, and will, I know, be rich and respectable. There are already united in the society 160 persons, and 100 more are immediately expected. Several of the *old standards* not yet united have expressed their approbation of the church, and have actually requested the society to make the building *large*. Without doubt, in my mind, the society is, and will be, composed of men of the highest standing in wealth, manners, and influence.

"Mr. Williams tells me that as to the salary, \$1,500 is the least sum that will be at first offered, that in case the minister should marry \$2,000, with a dwelling, will be given. In this respect I believe every want will be supplied and every reasonable wish gratified. Perhaps the salary for a short time will be rather less than that of two

or three ministers in Baltimore, but it cannot be long inferior to the best.

“ You ask if there is a *chance* of doing much good. This is a curious question and difficult for me to answer. . . . You know the character of *Yankees* may be improved, and I believe that of the Baltimoreans ought to be. Why should not the people in our latitude have hearts as tender, and susceptible, as those have who inhabit the chill regions of the North? You need have no scruples of conscience, no fearful apprehensions that your labors will not be fruitful.

“ In regard to opposition or persecution, nothing is to be apprehended. The variety of people, opinions, and doctrines here does not admit of any formidable alliance. No single sect or party has the power to make strong opposition, and, consulting its own interest, no one will have the inclination to persecute, or oppose. Williams says he would rather be opposed to the whole city of Baltimore than to a few individuals in Boston. This sentiment is not without foundation. There is among the common people in this city a sort of indifference about things new and strange which renders their introduction easy, their establishment undisturbed and secure. A stranger, however singular in his appearance, may walk our streets without exciting the gaze of astonishment, or the look of surprise. At first a few of the ministers might preach a sermon or two to prove the trinity, &c., and some bigots might call a Unitarian an *infidel*, or *deist*, &c. But this sort of talk would be harmless to all but its authors, and would vanish ‘like the morning cloud or the early dew.’

“ I heard Dr. Inglis not long since deliver a sermon remarkable for liberality of sentiment. Preaching and praying were the strongest and the only weapons he had a right or a wish to use. He wished to enjoy his natural right of thinking for himself, and of this right he would

not deprive others. All had an equal right to hold the sword, and consequently none should use it. These are his sentiments expressed nearly in his language. Mr. Glendy is not less liberal than Dr. Inglis. . . . [Dr. Inglis, Mr. Glendy, and Dr. Duncan] are all the Presbyterian ministers in this city. There are three Episcopalians, but they are mild men, and would have no interest or inclination to oppose the new church. The rest are Methodists, *Romans*, and Baptists, &c., from whom no harm can proceed. Finally, all know the church will be established and supported by men powerful and respectable, to oppose whom would be useless and disgraceful."

HINKLEY'S CALL TO SPARKS.

"In conversation a few days ago with one of the Appletons, a subscriber and powerful promoter of the church, I accidentally asked a few questions about its location, its prospects, &c., and among them was this, whether Mr. P. was preparing himself for the church? He said, as nearly as I can recollect, there will be a material objection to one not educated to the profession of the ministry. My inference was that Mr. P. 'is not thought to be exactly the man.' In a word, I have long entertained the secret opinion, now for the first time expressed, that my friend Sparks is exactly the man. Think not this letter is not true because written the next day after yours was received. My information as to *facts* is from proper authority; as to opinions, you may judge.

"In my last letter I mentioned what I had been told, that the spot had been chosen and the work had commenced. A Mr. Appleton told me this. Several places have been pitched on and exchanged. He told me what had been determined, by a majority of one, but what Mr. Williams told me would be overruled last evening. The

location is *now*, I suppose, unalterably fixed on the best spot in the city."

DESCRIPTION OF THE CHURCH.

The following excellent description of the Unitarian church building at Baltimore appears in a letter from Edward Hinkley to Jared Sparks, December 15, 1817: "The new church is nearly complete on the outside. The form is singular and grand. I thought of procuring for you a rough sketch of the building from the architect, but understanding from a gentleman here that he had, when at Boston on a visit, given Dr. Freeman a complete plan, I concluded you must have seen it, and therefore I would not procure one. The building is about ninety feet square. It has only six windows, three on each side or end. Though these are very large, nearly thirty feet high and proportionally wide, yet so high are the walls that they appear rather too small. The tops of the windows appear about half, or a little above half, the height of the walls. The block formed by the walls resembles a cube. The entrance or vestibule is a colonnade or row of four Doric columns projecting a foot or two from the plane of the front wall, terminating above about as high as the windows, and supporting three arches in this form. [Here follows a sketch of the arches.] On the outside of the back wall there is a circular or cylindrical projection, forming a large concave recess within for the pulpit; so that no part of the audience-room will be so far back as the front of the pulpit. Four grand arches, whose ends terminate in the corners within the walls, at about the height of the tops of the windows, rise a little above the walls, and support, *on their backs*, a large dome nearly of a spherical form, producing a grand spectacle to the eyes of the beholder. On the top of the dome there is a large skylight. There are no galleries except in front of the

pulpit, and you may imagine how spacious and grand it must be within. It is about seventy-five feet from the centre of the skylight to the floor.”

ORIGINAL RECORDS.

The beginnings of a Unitarian society in Baltimore are fully described by Mr. Sparks in the Parish Records of the First Independent Church, begun by him and continued for a time by his successors, F. W. P. Greenwood and George W. Burnap. A meeting for preliminary organization was held February 10, 1817. Nine trustees were then appointed to superintend the affairs of the society and the erection of a building. The cornerstone of the latter was laid June 5, 1817, in the presence of the trustees, subscribers, and many others. In the centre of the stone a plate was deposited bearing a Greek¹ inscription, — to the King, eternal, immortal, invisible, the *only wise God*. The recorded names of the trustees will serve to indicate the character of the founders of Unitarianism in Baltimore: Henry Payson, Ezekiel Freeman, Tobias Watkins, Nathaniel Williams, James W. McCulloh, William Child, Charles H. Appleton, John W. Poor, and Isaac Philips. The building was formally dedicated on the 29th of October, 1818, by the Rev. Dr. Freeman, of Boston, and the Rev. Mr. Colman, of Hingham, Massachusetts. Dr. Freeman, the original pioneer of Unitarian Christianity in Baltimore, preached the dedication sermon and supplied the pulpit for the following Sunday. Mr. Colman continued to supply the new congregation with preaching for about a month, and was then relieved by the Rev. Henry Ware, of Boston, for three Sundays.

¹ Τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ τῶν αἰώνων, ἀφθάρτῳ, ἀοράτῳ, μόνῳ, σοφῷ Θεῷ. This is Greek text, as recorded by Mr. Sparks. The point in favor of Unitarianism is the use of a comma after *μόνῳ*, which word is thought by some to belong to *σοφῷ*, and to mean the *only wise God*.

The following bit of autobiography is taken from Mr. Sparks' record of the church: "I received an invitation to preach as a candidate in the First Independent Church, by a letter from the Trustees, dated August 11, 1818. At this time I was tutor [of] Geometry, Astronomy, and Natural Philosophy in Harvard University, and had not begun to preach. It was the request of the Trustees that I should come on with the gentlemen to the dedication, and begin preaching immediately after. I could not comply with this request, as I did not expect to begin preaching till nearly the time appointed for the dedication. On inquiry of the Rev. Mr. Ware, I found it would be agreeable to him to come to Baltimore and preach a few Sundays after the dedication, by which time I should be prepared to comply with the request of the Trustees. This arrangement was assented to by the Trustees, and I did not arrive in Baltimore till the middle of December. I was engaged to preach four Sabbaths."

SPARKS IN NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA.

Mr. Sparks left Boston for the South soon after the middle of November, 1818. J. G. Palfrey, in his diary for November 16, notes: "Sparks was with me in the evening to take leave on going to Baltimore." Jared Sparks' experiences *en route* are described in a letter to Miss Storrow, dated Baltimore, December 12, 1818: "I will begin my letter with Philadelphia, for I staid but one day in New York, and if I had staid a month I am sure I should neither have seen nor done anything worth relating to you. This city, with all its greatness and splendor and noise, has no charms for me. The day on which I left was *evacuation day*, and there was a great deal more parade and confusion than usual. I was glad with all my heart to imitate by way of practice an event which the New Yorkers were celebrating with so much glee, and to evacuate

the city with all possible speed." Sparks afterwards showed a better appreciation of New York, when he had learned to know people there, and had found social as well as historical interests in that great city. The American Nineveh is sometimes bewildering and depressing to strangers who visit it. The following is a graphic account of the pleasant and cultivated people Sparks met in the city of brotherly love.

"In Philadelphia I found nothing but friends and friendly attentions. Mr. Vaughan seemed to know the moment of my arrival. He called at my lodgings very soon after I had taken them, and as I happened to be out, he left a note to the following import: 'You will dine at Mr. Astley's to-day at half-past two; in the evening you will go with me to a meeting of the Philosophical Society at their hall; to-morrow evening at 7 o'clock I shall expect you will meet the Wistar Society at my lodgings.' As this was Friday morning, you see my time was very well disposed of for the remainder of the week. I called on Mr. V. immediately after and found him in the character of Portuguese Consul. In addition to this he is merchant agent for Dupont's famous powder factory, librarian and the most active member of the Philosophical Society, cicerone and friend to all the strangers who visit the city, occasional preacher in the Unitarian Church and parish minister to all the poor of that society, . . . recommender-general of all schoolmasters, inventors, young men just entering on their professions, and every sort of personage, whose characters are good, and who can be benefited by his aid. In short, I have never known but one man who seems to me to have so much practical goodness as Mr. Vaughan. To you I need not mention the name. I know not when I have been more pleased, than in hearing what Mr. Taylor said to me. 'After I returned from Boston,' said he, 'I endeavored to give my friends some

adequate idea of Mr. Higginson, and I found I could do it in no stronger terms than by saying he was the Mr. Vaughan of Boston.'

. . . "Mr. Vaughan, in the plenitude of his goodness, proposed a mathematical breakfast at his lodgings, in consequence, it seems, of Mr. H. writing him that there was nothing I loved so dearly as mathematics, and that he must make me acquainted with all gentlemen who are this way inclined. We met, therefore, at 7 o'clock, two hours before anybody else was up, and this because Mr. V. is always engaged at 9. I found among others Prof. Patterson and Mr. Owen Nulty, the Irish prodigy, whose garret I had visited the day before, and found him writing a commentary on *La Place*. Dr. Jones; the chemist, made another of the party. But his head was so full of steam engines, that there was no room for algebra or diagrams. I had already the night before had the pleasure of being at tea with Mr. Whitney, a Welsh mathematical instrument maker, and protégé of Mr. V., with some newly contrived instruments for my inspection. Finally, to make the matter short, I had not a moment's rest the whole week. I was at a society, or at a dinner, or at tea every day and almost every hour. But I was almost wholly among scientific men and artists, and I attribute this to Mr. H.'s long letter to Mr. V. setting forth my love of these subjects, not recollecting, perhaps, that it has been cooling very rapidly since my new avocations. Although I did not shine so much, perhaps, as Mr. H. expected I should, yet I was several times in company with Le Sueur, the famous French artist, who went round the world with Du Péron. I also had a long conversation with Mr. Duponceau, who studies all languages, and who declares the *Indian* to be the most copious and perfectly formed language which has ever been spoken, as he shall make appear in certain books, which he proposes publishing soon. He

has a dozen Indian grammars, and some curious manuscripts, which will astonish the world. I also fell in with Mr. Say, a most ardent entomologist and conchologist, who is preparing to publish a work on these subjects in regard to this country, in the same style as Wilson's Ornithology. He is going out in the spring with the expedition to the Northwest coast. . . .

"But I have forgotten to tell you that I found Mr. Ware and Mr. Colman both in Philadelphia. I dined with Mr. C. at Mr. Astley's. The plan at first was that I should preach in the morning and Mr. C. in the evening, Mr. Ware having gone to Baltimore. But I declined this, as I knew many were expecting to hear Mr. C., and I would not interfere. They would not make any other arrangement, however, except on condition that I would remain and preach the next Sabbath, to which I had no particular objection, as Mr. C. had staid [in Baltimore] one Sabbath longer than he at first expected, and therefore I had one week more than I anticipated. I preached in the morning and evening, and a Mr. Haslam from England in the afternoon. The house was well filled in the morning and very full in the evening, and it gave me pleasure to see present several gentlemen who did not belong to the society, but whom I had met during the week. I intended to write a sermon during the week, but instead of writing a new one, I scarcely had time to look at an old one, or to think what I should preach about till Sunday morning."

SPARKS IN BALTIMORE.

"But I have said enough about Philadelphia; and in regard to Baltimore, I have not been here long enough to know much about it. The church is, in truth, a superb building. The room within is unquestionably by far the most beautiful and elegant in this country. I have never seen anything to be compared with it. It is finished with

great simplicity, without any gaudy or unnecessary ornament. Yet, after all, it is acknowledged to be a very hard room to speak in. There is an indistinctness in the centre arising from a reverberation of sound. From what I have seen of the people, there is a great deal of plain hospitality among them, and I find them apparently, and I believe sincerely, glad to see me. They called very generally as soon as they heard I was in town, and I have returned several visits. They are pleased with Mr. C. [Colman], but I have no reason to think that any arrangement has been made with him.

“14th. I have heard Mr. Ware in the new church since writing the above, and I have had an opportunity of knowing more of the people. My impressions become more favorable daily. The society is, or will be, larger than I expected. I say *will be*, for there has not as yet been any regular organization. There are many families of the first respectability, wealth, and intelligence; and if they unite with harmony, as I have no doubt they will, I see nothing to prevent a man's being as happy here as anywhere, besides being in a situation to do more good than in any other place in this country.”

A good insight into the situation in Baltimore, as regards people and their prospective pastor, both of whom were feeling their way, step by step, is given in the following letter to Miss Storrow, January 15, 1819: “The term of my engagement expired last Sunday, and as the society is not yet organized, the Trustees invited me by a unanimous vote to remain longer. I agreed for two¹ Sundays more. As far as I can learn, I have given quite as good satisfaction as I could expect. My speaking has been severely criticised and found fault with, but my sermons, as

¹ In his Parish Records, Mr. Sparks says: “After completing my first engagement of four Sabbaths, I agreed on invitation to continue three Sabbaths longer.”

my best friends tell' me, have given universal satisfaction. I preached last Sunday from the text, 'Prove all things,' a sermon which was very hastily written, but which seems to have taken mightily. . . .

"In regard to the ultimate success of the society there cannot be the least doubt. It will not be very rapid at first, but it will constantly increase, and will in the end (I don't mean the end of all things, but before long) be large. There is a vast deal of prejudice and ignorance here, but there is less than there has been. People whose curiosity is so ardent as to drive them to the new church, and who go trembling for fear they shall commit the unpardonable sin, go away astonished that they have not heard anything blasphemous or profane, or even wicked, and they make a good report. Several of the present members of the society are of the very first respectability in the city. . . . Now in regard to my settling here, I cannot say anything definite. I am confident that this is the best opening in this country for a minister — yet there are objections. . . . I should have written before but I have two sermons a week to write. It is now Friday night, and I have just finished my second sermon for Sunday, both of which I have written since Monday noon. But it is too much, it would ruin my health in a short time."

UNANIMOUS CALL.

On the 21st of January, 1819, the First Independent Church of Baltimore, through a committee consisting of C. H. Appleton and Nathaniel Williams, extended a unanimous¹ call to Mr. Sparks to become their permanent

¹ The news reached New England in about a week's time. Palfrey noted in his diary, February 1, 1819: "Sparks has a call." Sparks wrote to his friend Briggs, February 8, 1819: "You will doubtless learn before you receive this, that I have had a call and accepted . . . the prospects of the society are very favorable . . ."

minister. This invitation was duly accepted. Mr. Sparks read his answer publicly to the society and recorded it in the parish book. "From this time," he said, "my interests and my happiness are identified with yours. With you I am to pass my life."

After this hearty acceptance of his call to a Southern pulpit, a frontier post of the Unitarian Church, Mr. Sparks continued to preach until the 15th of February, 1819, when he set out for New England. His principal object was to make arrangements for his ordination. He had been instructed by the trustees of his society to invite such ministers and appoint such a time for the installation as he should think proper. During his absence from Baltimore, the Rev. Dr. Kirkland, President of Harvard University, preached in the First Independent Church, and the pulpit was regularly supplied by Mr. Andrew Bigelow, of Medford, Massachusetts.

Meantime Mr. Sparks made all necessary preparations for final removal to Baltimore, and arranged for a proper representation of the Unitarian churches of the North at the approaching ordination of the first Unitarian minister in Maryland. His old friend, Mr. Channing, who had practically decided Sparks' career as a minister in the liberal church, promised to preach the ordination sermon of this young apostle, who had been called over the Southern border to help the faith in Maryland. Upon consultation with Mr. Channing and Mr. Palfrey,¹ it was determined to invite the following Unitarian clergymen, with a there certainly is not in this country a situation in which so much may be done, according to present appearances, for the cause of liberal Christianity."

¹ Palfrey notes in his diary, March, 1819: "Tuesday I gave a little dinner to Sparks on his return" (viz., to Boston, as Palfrey himself explains in his memoranda extracted from his own journal for Mrs. Sparks). Probably at this ministerial dinner-party the details of the coming ordination were arranged.

delegation from their respective churches, to serve on the ordaining council in Baltimore: Rev. Dr. Ward, church in Harvard University; Rev. Mr. Channing, Federal Street, Boston; Mr. Ware, Second North Church, Boston; Mr. Lowell, West Church, Boston; Mr. Palfrey, Brattle Square, Boston; Dr. Porter, Roxbury; Dr. Thayer, Lancaster; Mr. Flint, Bridgewater; Mr. Parker, Portsmouth, New Hampshire; Mr. Nichols, Portland, Maine; Mr. Edes, Providence, Rhode Island. These gentlemen, with the exception of Messrs. Lowell, Flint, and Ware, of Boston, all attended the ordination.

On the 19th of March, 1819, Mr. Sparks wrote from Boston to Miss Williams, sister of Mr. Amos A. Williams, of Baltimore: "Mr. Channing will preach and write a sermon particularly for the occasion. We may calculate on at least seven ministers attending with their delegates, and probably more. We must contrive to have them all preach while they are there; and to accomplish this, it will be necessary for some of them to go on to be there one or two Sundays before the ordination. I think Mr. Palfrey will be there to preach the second Sabbath before ordination, and perhaps Dr. Ware the Sabbath before. This, however, is not entirely certain, but I hope to bring it about. Mr. Greenwood is going South after the ordination and promises to preach for me in June, so you will have an opportunity in the course of two or three months of hearing all our best preachers in Baltimore."

A few weeks later, April 13, 1819, Mr. Sparks announced to Mr. Amos A. Williams the completion of preparations in Boston. "I expect to start next Monday with Mr. Palfrey. I shall be detained a short time in New York, Princeton, and Philadelphia, but Mr. Palfrey will be with you to preach the second Sunday before the ordination, and I shall come as soon after as possible, probably within two or three days. I have had no little diffi-

culty in arranging this business of the ordination. While the ministers are in Baltimore, we really shall not have time to hear them all round unless they preach in the evening. I hope, also, the music will not be forgotten. The music, while I was there, was extremely fine. I have nowhere heard so good, and I am very desirous that it shall not fall off during the season of ordination. . . . Do not cease to patronize and recommend the 'Christian Disciple.' It is exactly the kind of book we want; and I hope all our society will take it. All our first ministers here are engaged in it, and intend to make a work of decided Unitarian character as well as practical."

Having made all necessary arrangements, and having settled his personal affairs at the North, Sparks now bade good-by to his numerous friends in and about Cambridge. None were dearer to him than that family in Bolton, where for many years he had been more truly at home than in any other place in the world. Almost the last thing he did before beginning his long journey southwards was to write these farewell words, April 20, 1819, to Miss Storrow and the Higginson family circle in Bolton: "Although I shall start to-morrow morning and am now in a great hurry and bustle, yet I cannot leave Boston without devoting a few of the last moments I am to pass here to the friends I have left in Bolton. . . . I need not tell you, that I do not go away with a light heart. . . . I find I have stronger ties to break than I was aware."

THE ORDINATION.

On the 5th of May, 1819, at a season of the year when Baltimore and all the surrounding country are most beautiful, Jared Sparks was ordained minister of a new and enthusiastic religious society, assembled in their new church upon the corner of Charles and Franklin streets. Thither had come from distant New England the most eminent

exponents of the Unitarian faith. There was the famous William Ellery Channing, from Boston, who was to preach on "Unitarian Christianity," the sermon forever memorable in the history of the Unitarian movement, and the basis of his own highest fame as a defender of the liberal faith. There too was the venerable Dr. Thayer, from Lancaster, Massachusetts, who had first taught Sparks the new theology. Professors Ware and Norton, from Cambridge, were also present, and so was Palfrey, Sparks' best friend at Exeter and Harvard, who was to become the distinguished historian of New England. On this occasion he was to give the new minister the right hand of fellowship. There were many other visitors from the North in that crowded Baltimore congregation, which represented the beginnings of an intellectual movement¹ in the religious life of a Southern city. There was a strong New England element in that new society, which embraced many families of rare culture and wide religious sympathy. Some of the most generous and public-spirited people of Baltimore were connected with that First Independent Church. Afterwards, men who were to be most helpful in the up-

¹ It is interesting to note that the influence of what the Rev. George W. Burnap called "the Pentecost of American Unitarianism" was extended from Baltimore to New York. Mr. Burnap, in his discourse entitled "The Position of Unitarianism Defined," Baltimore, January 23, 1848, said: "This visit of Mr. Channing to Baltimore was the cause of a religious movement in another city, quite as important as this. On his way home he stopped a short time at New York. His friends attempted to procure him a place to preach on the Sunday. To obtain a church for him was hopeless, and he held services in a private house. Those services gave being to a religious society, which has since expanded into two of the most beautiful and well-attended churches in the city." In the correspondence of Jared Sparks with the Unitarian clergymen who preached in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, and Charleston, and with other Unitarian frontiersmen in the South and West, we can follow the extension of this religious movement throughout the country.

building of Baltimore's greatest institutions — the Peabody Institute, the Pratt Library, and the Johns Hopkins University — were associated with this Unitarian Society.

The newly settled pastor improved his opportunity of sending home by Dr. Thayer, May 7, 1819, to Miss Storrow and the Higginsons a report of the state of his parish and of the condition of the parson after his ordination: "The ordination, with all its anxieties, is over, and I am now a settled minister in the First Independent Church of Baltimore. I have never had a more powerful trial of my feelings, than in this event. Ten thousand associations have been rushing on my mind. I shudder . . . almost at the thought of the burden I have taken upon me. I have more to do than you are aware. 'I have indeed come bound in the spirit to this city, not knowing what shall befall me here.' But 'this was the place of my choice.' So it was, and I do not regret it. If there is much to be borne, I can bear it; if there is much to be done, I shall not be idle. The cause is a noble one; God will give me strength. If my friends have confidence in me, why should I distrust myself? The world does not contain a more generous and affectionate people than those who compose this society. I shall soon learn to be happy among them, and then I shall be contented. If this society were in Boston, I do not hesitate one moment to say it would be the most desirable in the town. It is not in Boston, yet it is in a great and flourishing city, and one which has many things to recommend it. In some points of view, a minister's situation here is much superior to any in Boston. The sphere of his influence is much broader, and he has the means of doing much more good. Why, then, should I not be contented and happy? I will be. In regard to Hollis Street, there is no sort of comparison between the two situations.

"It is a novel scene, indeed, to see so many New Eng-

land ministers together here as we have had at the ordination. Everything has been done with great order and propriety. Mr. Channing has surpassed himself. His sermon was nearly an hour and a half long, giving a full exposition of *our* principles. He has never come out in so bold and decided terms, not even against Worcester. We shall print the sermon as soon as possible, and I would give a quarter's salary, that I could read it to you in your parlor. But Mr. H. will enjoy it. Dr. Thayer has acquitted himself well, and has made good impressions everywhere. He must be naturally a very remarkable man. Was there ever an instance of a country minister, who had been twenty-six years settled, retaining so much polish and so many adaptable qualities? Nobody has preached with more acceptance than Palfrey. His manner is liked very much, and the young girls' tongues are never weary with the theme of his preaching. I intend he shall preach again. A large party have gone to Washington, among whom are Mrs. Dr. Channing and Miss Gibbs."

DR. CHANNING'S SERMON.

Speaking of Sparks' ordination and Dr. Channing's famous discourse, Dr. Ellis says: "Dr. Channing, not at that time so widely known, preached a discourse on the occasion which did more than any other production of his pen to extend his repute, and to make him for some considerable time afterwards the object of the most grateful commendatory fame, and of the severest religious hostility from the parties to the controversies of those days. The discourse was printed and reprinted, extolled, criticised, misrepresented, and subjected to review by able and unsympathetic pens. Its earnest but passionless and candid advocacy of opinions and convictions radically antagonistic to those of the prevailing creed of Christians of every other sect distinguished it from the mass of controversial

sermons. It has been affirmed¹ that no pamphlet, with the single exception of a political publication, had ever up to that time been so extensively circulated, or caused so deep a sensation. Its title was 'Unitarian Christianity.' The occasion of its delivery brought into close association for curiosity and for notoriety the names of Dr. Channing and Mr. Sparks; the latter just then completing his thirtieth year, and being by nine years the junior of the two. With the impulse furnished by the zeal, the curiosity, and the hostility quickened by the excitements of this occasion, Mr. Sparks entered upon a ministry which, though it was in a few years to be brought to a close by the failure of his health, was to be an eminently devoted and faithful one, with varied labors and many fruits, some of them permanent."

It will richly reward a student of American religious history to review for himself Dr. Channing's epoch-making sermon.² It was from the text "Prove all things,

¹ The Rev. George W. Burnap, in his discourse January 23, 1848, said of Mr. Channing's sermon: "It made a profound impression. None who heard it will ever forget that day. Its publication, which took place immediately after, was followed by still more important results. On the printed page it appeared no less striking, original, powerful, and convincing than it had done in delivery. It spread over the country with wonderful rapidity. It was reprinted and circulated by thousands, and no pamphlet, with one exception, and that a political publication, ever attracted in this country so wide and universal attention. . . . The publication of the discourse of Mr. Channing at the ordination of Mr. Sparks revealed to each party the ground on which they stood. It was attacked by the theological professors at Andover, and defended by those of Cambridge; the whole community became interested, and took part with one side or the other of the disputants. The Orthodox withdrew from ministerial intercourse with those who approved the theological doctrines of that discourse, and thus the Unitarians were forced to assume the position of a distinct religious denomination."

² Printed in the Works of William E. Channing, D. D., vol. iii., pp. 59-103.

hold fast that which is good," and opens with a plea for a more enlightened interpretation of the Scriptures. It advocates a return to Christian doctrines of divine unity and perfect righteousness. The object of Christ's mission was declared to be the recovery of men to virtue, or holiness. The nature of Christian virtue was explained from the human side: "We believe that all virtue has its foundation in the moral nature of man, that is, in conscience, or his sense of duty, and in the power of forming his temper and life according to conscience." Channing did not deny the influence of "God's aid or Spirit; but by his Spirit, we mean a moral, illuminating, and persuasive influence, not physical, not compulsory, not involving a necessity of virtue." He objected to the traditional view of man's moral impotence and worthlessness, although he admitted that without God "our noblest sentiments, admiration, veneration, hope, and love, would wither and decay." He reminded Mr. Sparks that "good practice is the end of preaching," and advised him to vindicate his religious sentiments by showing, both in his preaching and life, "their intimate connection with Christian morals, with a high and delicate sense of duty, with candor towards your opposers, with inflexible integrity, and with an habitual reverence for God."

OLD FAITHS IN NEW LIGHT.

By a singular chance, the present writer heard a Trinitarian address upon St. Athanasius, given to the Young Men's Christian Association of the Johns Hopkins University the very next day after reading Dr. Channing's famous sermon upon "Unitarian Christianity." It was interesting to have thus sharply re-stated, after a period of seventy, nay of over fifteen hundred, years, the greatest theological question¹ that has ever divided the Christian

¹ A suggestive but somewhat polemical review of this question may

Church. The relation of Christ to the Father was urged by Channing in much the same way as by the Arian party, who defended the idea of Christ as of like substance (*ὁμοιούσιος*) with the Father, instead of the same substance (*ὁμοούσιος*), which was the idea of Athanasius, who held it triumphantly against the world.

After all the modern controversies over the nature of Christ, it is impossible for an historical student not to discover a possible reconciliation of Unitarian with Trinitarian ideas in the recent revival of Alexandrine theology and of the Greek idea of God immanent¹ in humanity and apparent in Christ. Channing had "a faith in the immanence of God in man."² The identification of this divinely human idea of the indwelling God with the grand old Hebrew faith in "the living God," whose essence is practical and eternal righteousness, infinite justice, love, and mercy, will perhaps some day afford a theological platform upon which Jews and Gentiles, Unitarians and Trinitarians, can stand and work together. Unitarian Christianity, like its historic parent, Judaism, has accomplished immeasurable good for the world by emphasizing the fundamental and kindred ideas of monotheism in faith and of righteousness in life. When these ideas are more fully harmonized with modern practical Christianity, the world will have a more vital and better working creed than that which Augustinian theology has yoked upon Christendom.

be found in "The Arian Controversy," one of the "Epochs of Church History," edited by Professor Mandell Creighton. The continuation of Greek philosophy may be seen in Arianism and Unitarianism.

¹ See Professor Alexander V. S. Allen's remarkable book on "The Continuity of Christian Thought."

² O. B. Frothingham, "Boston Unitarianism," 250.

GOOD PREACHING IN BALTIMORE.

For several days following Mr. Sparks' ordination, "the Pentecost of American Unitarianism," the visiting pastors from New England gave Baltimoreans a succession of Unitarian sermons. The parish records mention the preachers: "Friday, May 7th. Mr. Palfrey preached in the evening by candle light. May 9th. Mr. Nichols preached in the morning; Dr. Porter in the afternoon; Mr. Parker in the evening by candle light. Wednesday, May 12th. Mr. Edes preached in the evening by candle light." In one week from the date of Mr. Channing's great sermon, there was an amount of good preaching in Baltimore that was probably not surpassed during the voyage of the Pilgrim Fathers across the Atlantic. On Wednesday, the 19th of May, 1819, Mr. Sparks¹ preached for the first time as the settled pastor of the Unitarian Church in Baltimore. In the morning, he spoke of the duties of a minister, and in the evening, of the duties of a Christian society. From this time forward for three years, interrupted only by summer vacations and an occasional outing, he devoted himself to the steady and monotonous task of sermon writing, to preaching, pastoral visitation, and the literary defense of the Unitarian faith. The burden of composing two sermons a week soon began to weigh heavily upon the inexperienced young pastor, who had no stock of discourses on hand. On the 6th of June, Mr. Greenwood preached for Mr. Sparks, much to the latter's relief. That day he wrote to Miss Storrow: —

"I already feel it a luxury to have a Sabbath of rest, or rather a week of comparative leisure; for say what you

¹ Dr. W. E. Channing wrote an encouraging note to the young pastor, June 12, 1819: "I have heard with much pleasure of the great acceptableness of your first sermon. It will always gratify me to hear of the concerns of your society."

will about the pleasure of doing good, and the benefit of occupation, the sober reality of writing two sermons a week, one week after another, is something of a serious affair. It will do well enough once in a while to talk about, but to drive the quill a certain prescribed distance every day of a man's life, or to go every day about the task of unraveling his crude notions of things in general and selecting a certain number, which may be combined into something like symmetry and form, — that is no trifling business. Yet it is one which I am very happy in performing according to my ability. I have a maxim, which I find very comforting and useful to me; which is to do what I can, and do it as well as I can, and give myself no further trouble about it. In this way, you see, I settle accounts as I go along; and this is the only way, I believe, in which one can expect to be happy. All things in regard to the spiritual concerns of our society are going on better than I had reason to expect. A strong spirit of inquiry is rapidly making its way among the people here, and prejudice is certainly sinking by degrees. There are many, however, who still would think it an unpardonable sin to enter the vestibule of our church, even on a week day; many who will not venture to read our books, and who cannot possibly conceive that a Unitarian can be a Christian. But these things must needs be. Mr. Channing's sermon has been read much, and produces a strong impression. The first edition was disposed of immediately. The second is in press.”¹

¹ John G. Palfrey wrote to Jared Sparks from Boston, June 29, 1819: “Mr. Channing's sermon circulates finely. It is proving, I trust, a weapon mighty to the pulling down of strongholds. We hear there is an answer already published in Baltimore. I trust you will let me have it as soon as it is out.”

UNITARIAN PROPAGANDA.

Mr. Sparks mentions the fact that, at this time, he and his society were printing Eddy's "Reasons" and Palfrey's "Review" in a separate pamphlet. Evidently a diligent propaganda of the new faith was being inaugurated. The Unitarian organ of that period, "The Christian Disciple," was widely circulated and talked about in Baltimore. The Bishop of the Episcopal Church and his clergy became alarmed, and issued a prospectus for a rival periodical. Open letters were written to Mr. Channing from Baltimore in answer to his sermon. The newspapers began to blaze with religious controversy. Mr. Sparks looked quietly on and said: "This is all in our favor. The great thing is to make the people read. Let us be temperate, but let us be independent, bold, and decided."

In the midst of this public controversy, it is interesting to see Mr. Sparks engaged in more or less private and social propaganda in the interest of his cause. "I must not forget to tell you, that I have become acquainted with . . . a fair damsel of the Catholic faith, shrewd, intelligent, and handsome; who confesses all the sins she can recollect and believes they are pardoned by her confessor; who thinks no priest is fitted for his vocation or can possibly be an honest one, unless he has taken the vow of celibacy and seclusion, yet she goes to hear me preach, and when we meet we hold some rapid talks and sometimes long talks on religion (for like some other ladies, 'her tongue moveth nimbly and tireth not'), yet we always part on good terms, and she only regrets that she has so much more to confess by going to hear a Unitarian preach and even talking with him afterwards. . . . I go into the country often, and at this season it is extremely pleasant in the vicinity of Baltimore. It is not so well cultivated as around Boston, but the scenery is more romantic, the

foliage is more luxuriant, and you feel more as if you were in the country."

The joys of springtime soon gave place to summer heat, and Mr. Sparks began to take a less roseate view of his southern situation. On the 30th of July, 1819, he wrote to his classmate, the Reverend Charles Briggs, then settled in the ministry at Lexington, Massachusetts: "The first thing I shall say is, that it is very hot here. I feel it this moment to my fingers' ends. Then again, I have two sermons a week to write constantly, hot or cold, wet or dry. I have done this so far without failing once. But there is not much comfort in it, after all. But there is nothing like habit, and being obliged to do a thing. I find it less fatiguing than at first; and I dare say I shall take it by and by as a matter of course, without feeling it much. I have had an invitation to go on a missionary expedition to the interior of the State, and preach at Fredericktown, a very beautiful and flourishing village. But there is no possibility of supplying my pulpit, and I must remain at home."

In August, 1819, Mr. Sparks was persuaded by his friends to leave the city, which was suffering the hottest season since 1800, and to take a vacation of five weeks. His health had already begun to suffer from overwork in his new and trying position. He confessed to some of his Northern friends that he feared he had undertaken too great a task. "While my health is good, I shall not be discouraged, but it will fail, I am almost sure it will. I will do all I can." Fortunately, his vacation journey brought him fresh vigor.

SUMMER TOUR TO THE SPRINGS.

In his private journal of this "Summer Tour to the Springs, 1819," Mr. Sparks gives a picturesque account of his experiences *en route* from Baltimore westward, up

the Potomac valley, in days before the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad had been constructed. He left in the stage-coach for Fredericktown at five o'clock in the morning, in the company of "Dutchmen" smoking their pipes. He noticed along the roadside houses built on wheels for the workmen repairing the road, so that they could easily move from place to place. He found Ellicott's Mills an interesting place, as does every modern excursionist from Baltimore. With beautiful scenery, iron works, factories, flouring-mills, oil mills, and neat buildings of solid stone, Ellicott's Mills impressed Sparks as possessing "greater marks of industry than is usually found in Maryland." Passing Carrollton, he noted that it was no town at all except Charles Carroll's plantation, on which there were nearly one thousand slaves, and which produced twenty thousand bushels of wheat. Attached to Charles Carroll's house was a small Roman Catholic chapel. "He is now very old," Mr. Sparks writes, "but still active."¹

At Frederick, Mr. Sparks spent one day reading "Jefferson's Notes on Virginia" and rambling about the town. Our traveler seems to have been inspired by Jefferson's description of the view at Harper's Ferry to ascend the hill between the forks of the river, and to behold the landscape from the same vantage-ground that Jefferson occupied. Several pages of Mr. Sparks' journal are devoted to this interesting region where the Shenandoah unites with the Potomac; but his briefer account to Miss Storrow is preferable for quotation in this connection. He says: "The scenery is incomparably the grandest, wildest, and most beautiful view I have ever seen. You stand on

¹ A few years later, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, laid the first foundation of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The first section opened to travel, 1830, was from Baltimore to Ellicott's Mills, distance fourteen miles. See "History and Description of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad," by a Citizen of Baltimore, 1853, p. 20.

a hill with the Shenandoah at your right and the Potomac at your left — these rivers unite before you, and burst through the mountain between stupendous cliffs, and crags, and precipices, rudely and majestically thrown together, for the space of three miles. The same wild scenery continues up the Shenandoah as far as you can see, and the prospect is finally terminated by the south mountains, sixty miles distant. Up the Potomac the shores are scarcely less bold or wild, and in this direction the eye rests on the north mountains, forty miles distant. You have a union here of everything grand and almost everything beautiful in nature. Mr. Jefferson's description has been censured, but is far below the reality."

Returning to Frederick, Mr. Sparks proceeded by way of Hagerstown and Hancock to Berkeley Springs. He found the place at that time rather dilapidated and dull. However, Boswell's Johnson and the "Quarterly Review" entertained our traveler, who returned the next day to Hancock in the same hired wagon by which he had come to the Springs, and took the first stage for Cumberland. In his journal he notes that the road over the mountains for forty miles was inconceivably bad, and that the houses were five or ten miles apart. Along this old route he observes a very fine turnpike in process of construction at the expense of the banks of Baltimore, and costing \$10,000 a mile. There was evidently need of improvement along that line of travel then as now, for Sparks says a voyage around the world would be nothing compared with that mountain trip of forty miles in a stage-coach. He reached Cumberland at midnight. He describes Cumberland as a flourishing little place. "The United States road" from Wheeling terminated there, and Sparks thought that if navigation down the Potomac could be improved, Cumberland, with its bank, newspaper, paved street, and chain bridge, might become an important place.

From Cumberland he proceeded up the valley to Bedford Springs, where he tarried for about a week, drinking the waters, which had a very beneficial effect upon his health. He found his appetite increasing and his spirits growing once more buoyant. From Bedford he went to York Springs, thence to Chambersburg and Gettysburg, to York, Lancaster, and Philadelphia. He notes in his journal the fine turnpike leading from Gettysburg to York, making a through route from Pittsburg to Philadelphia. He observes: "This will have a tendency to draw away some of the travel from Baltimore to Philadelphia. From Pittsburg to Chambersburg is but one road; here it branches, one through Carlisle and Harrisburg, the other through Gettysburg, York, and Lancaster. Nothing is more for the interest of Baltimore than to improve the roads which lead to it from the west." This sound notion of public policy Baltimore banks were already beginning to appreciate, and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad is an ever strengthened assertion of the old idea.

At Philadelphia, he renewed his acquaintance with many friends, — Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Duponceau, and others. He met at tea Jefferson's old friend the Abbé Correa,¹ Portuguese minister to this country, who was a famous conversationalist and a man of high scientific attainments, especially in botany. On the 2d of September, 1819, Mr. Sparks notes that by proclamation of the Philadelphia Board of Health, no person was allowed to enter that city from Baltimore, where yellow fever had broken out. Before his return home, our traveler spent a few days at the York Springs. On the 10th of September, he arrived in Baltimore by way of the stage-route from Gettysburg, having been absent five weeks and one day. His cash account shows that the total expense of his

¹ See W. P. Trent's "English Culture in Virginia," Johns Hopkins University Studies, vol. iii.

five weeks' trip, in which he traveled by coach and wagon about five hundred miles, was one hundred and forty dollars.

During Mr. Sparks' absence, there had been some cases of yellow fever in the lower part of the town, at Fell's Point. The proximity of this disease excited such alarm in the city proper that a day of general fasting and prayer was appointed by the mayor for the 23d of September, 1819. Mr. Sparks notes the fact that one clergyman on that solemn occasion publicly ascribed the pestilence to the wrath of God against Baltimore for allowing a "Synagogue of Satan" to be erected within its borders. Such fanaticism served only to strengthen the cause of enlightened religious faith, while the city authorities grappled successfully with the disease at Fell's Point.

MR. SAMUEL GILMAN.

Early in September, 1819, Mr. Sparks received the following letter from the Rev. Samuel Gilman,¹ who wrote from Cambridge August 30, 1819: "It is not improbable that you may have heard of my invitation and acceptance at a congregation in Charleston, S. C. I am now on a visit here, for the purpose of finally pulling up my stakes, and making preparations for my ordination. I receive considerable encouragement from clergymen here with respect to their going on and officiating at my ordination in the church at Charleston. It is of the utmost importance that the congregation there should witness a ceremony of the kind, more so, I think, than it was in Baltimore, as they are further removed from the centre of liberal Christianity, and on account of other circumstances, incident to the peculiar state of the parish. Mr. Lowell gives me encouragement to expect his going on, and I have

¹ There is a biographical sketch of the Rev. Samuel Gilman in the "Monthly Religious Magazine." See, also, Appleton's Cyclopædia.

strong hopes of the President, Dr. Holmes, Mr. Pierce, and Dr. Harris. Yet I cannot possibly do without *you*. I beg you to consent to come and give me the right hand of fellowship. Everything renders such a kindness from you peculiarly appropriate. The ordination will take place somewhere in November, when all danger of sickness shall have passed away. The short distance from Baltimore to Charleston, either by sea or land, will render it peculiarly convenient for you to go. I think you need be absent but one Sunday, out of these profane weeks. I beseech you, dear sir, to think of the importance of the cause, and my great need, and the alacrity of the New England ministers to go to your ordination, and do not let a trivial sacrifice prevent you. The officers of my church expressed much satisfaction when I mentioned your name, and the hospitality of the city I freely tender you. Pray write me soon, and accept."

Mr. Gilman began to preach in Charleston, S. C., as early as May, 1819, for M. L. Hurlbut wrote to Mr. Sparks, June 8, 1819: "Mr. Gilman has been with us two weeks. The impression he has made is certainly a very favorable one thus far, and I think there is little doubt we shall invite him to stay with us. Whether we shall be able to offer him sufficient inducements to do so, I cannot tell. I trust we may."

SOUTHERN TOUR.

On the 12th of November, 1819, Mr. Sparks set out upon his first Southern journey, to attend the ordination of his friend Gilman as a Unitarian minister in Charleston, South Carolina, and to give him the right hand of fellowship. Mr. Sparks regarded this trip as a kind of missionary journey. Both coming and going he embraced the opportunity of preaching by invitation on liberal Christianity in the state-house at Raleigh before the gov-

ernor and the legislature. The following journal, kept by Mr. Sparks on this journey through the Southern States, has a positive historical value, as illustrating not only the progress of the Unitarian movement southward, but also the modes of travel and the hospitable character of Southern people.

He left Baltimore on the morning of November 19, 1819, "at 9 o'clock in the stage for Washington, arrived at 5 in the evening." This journey, then requiring eight hours, is now made in forty-five minutes. "November 13th. All day in Washington. Spent the morning in visiting the capitol. . . . Called on my old friend Tayloe,¹ who is just returned from Europe. He has seen many of my friends there, and I passed an hour with him in the most agreeable conversation. I was with him two years at the academy [Exeter] and four at the university. Passed the evening with Mr. Little,² who has just established himself in Washington. Gained much information from him in regard to the political and religious state of England. November 14. Started at 5 in the morning in the steamboat, passed Mount Vernon, and arrived in Potomac Creek at 3 o'clock. Dined. Bacon and cabbage. In the stage to Fredericksburgh, through seven gates. Went to church in the evening and heard a preacher, who made a tolerable discourse but drawled his words to an inordinate length. November 15. This day in the stage to Richmond. Breakfast at Bowling Green, 22 miles from Fredericksburgh. From Fredericksburgh to Richmond, 66 miles. From Washington to Richmond, 124 miles. November 16. To Petersburgh, 25 miles from Richmond. Passed through an old decayed village, called Osborn's, on

¹ W. H. Tayloe of Richmond, afterward a planter at Mt. Airy, Richmond County, Virginia.

² Mr. Little afterwards became the first Unitarian minister in Washington, D. C.

the river, 15 miles below Richmond, where Thomas Jefferson was born. The house in which he was born is now standing near the banks of the river. Walked over Petersburg in the afternoon, pleasant village, tobacco warehouses, &c. Schooners and sloops in the river, loading with cotton, tobacco, and flour. November 17. Rode all day and all night. Supped at Warrenton in N. C., 83 miles from Petersburg, and 235 miles from Washington. November 18. Breakfast near Lewisburgh and arrived at Raleigh 12 o'clock. Raleigh is 57 miles from Warrenton, 284 from Washington. Called on Mr. Forster¹ and found him at the house of Mr. Joseph Gales, extremely low and feeble, yet tranquil, cheerful, and resigned. Mr. Gales was from home, but Mr. Peck called in the evening, and it was agreed I should remain and preach the next evening, if permission could be obtained to preach in the state-house. As the Legislature was in session, no doubt, it was said, could be entertained, that permission would be granted. The Speaker was applied to, who cheerfully gave his consent, but said it would be necessary to propose it to the House the next morning. This was done, and permission was obtained without a dissenting voice, Friday 19th.

"I entered the hall at early candle light, and as soon as I was seated in the Speaker's chair found the house full to overflowing. There was an almost universal attendance of the members of the Senate and House and as many other persons as could get into the room. I never preached to a more attentive audience. I was not prepared to find so much liberality of feeling among a people who have known nothing of the Unitarian principles, except from the misrepresentations of persons who have been

¹ Rev. Anthony Forster was the immediate predecessor of the Rev. Samuel Gilman as pastor of the Second Independent Church in Charleston. A short sketch of Mr. Forster will be given later.

industrious to hold them up in as odious a light as possible. The notice of preaching was very short, and the engines of orthodoxy were immediately set at work to prevent a general attendance, and yet a crowded audience collected. I have engaged to preach on my return, if it can be in any way consistent with my engagements. I have been treated with the utmost kindness by Mr. Gales and family and Mr. Peck. Saturday, 20th. Wrote to Mr. Higginson and Mr. A. A. Williams, took leave of my friends, and started for Fayetteville at one o'clock P. M., six miles from Raleigh. Whole expenses from Baltimore to Raleigh, \$53.06. Sunday, 21st. All day in Fayetteville. At meeting, morning and evening. Heard Mr. Snodgrass in the morning, Mr. Boies of Wilmington in the evening. Fayetteville at present is the most flourishing place in the State, though by no means so pleasantly situated as Raleigh. Two handsome churches, one Presbyterian and the other Episcopal, have lately been erected in Fayetteville, with spires and bells. They are well attended; I have seldom in New England seen the Sabbath passed in a more orderly manner than in this place. Merchandise is brought up Cape Fear River to this place, but the river is now too low. Newbern and Wilmington, which were formerly the depots of merchandise, are rapidly declining, and Fayetteville is taking precedence of them. The merchants here purchase their goods principally in New York.

“Monday, 22d November. Started at 3 o'clock in the morning for Charleston, and arrived Wednesday morning, after riding two days and two nights through a very dreary country, 190 miles. The whole distance from Fayetteville to Charleston is a constant succession of pine woods, with here and there a wretched tenement, in which you see a few sallow, ghastly inhabitants, who, if they are not entirely miserable, certainly know very little of the

happiness of comfortable living. We passed through Georgetown in South Carolina, in the vicinity of which are the most extensive and fertile rice plantations in this country. The climate is very unhealthy. When I arrived in Charleston, I was met on the wharf by Mr. Hugh Patterson, who kindly conducted me to his house, which he requested me to make my residence while I remained in the city. I was treated with the greatest kindness by him and his family during the week I remained in his house. Sunday, November 28. Mr. Tuckerman arrived from Boston a week before my arrival. He preached this day morning and I in the afternoon in the Archdale Church, where Mr. Gilman is to be settled.

“Wednesday, December 1. This day had been fixed for the ordination. Permission had been granted for the council to meet in the vestry of the Lutheran Church, as it was more convenient than any other place. The council met at 1 o'clock, composed of Mr. Tuckerman,¹ Mr. Parks, minister of the Independent Churches at Stony Creek and Saltketcher, and myself. Mr. Parks was made moderator and Mr. Tuckerman scribe. After finishing the business of the council, we proceeded to Archdale Meeting-House at 11 o'clock. The introductory prayer and sermon by Mr. Tuckerman; ordaining prayer and charge by Mr. Parks; right hand of fellowship and concluding prayer by myself. The house was much crowded, and the audience uncommonly attentive. Sunday, December 5. Preached morning and evening for Mr. Gilman.

“Monday, 6th. Started for Savannah and arrived Tuesday evening, 120 miles. Started with Judge Smith, of Charleston, who was taken sick and stopped on the way. Good road, but heavy, unpleasant route through pine woods and swamps. From Savannah it was my intention to go to Augusta and home by way of Columbia, but to

¹ Rev. Mr. Tuckerman, of Chelsea, Mass.

my great disappointment, I could obtain no conveyance from Savannah to Augusta short of a week, which would detain me too long. I was obliged to return to Charleston. I started Friday night and arrived Sunday morning at Mr. Gilman's, with whom I had already passed three or four days. I was in many respects pleased with Savannah. There is an activity and bustle of business seldom seen in so small a place. Accommodations for travelers are not good, and in fact, the whole establishment for traveling in the Southern States compared with the North is poor indeed. Mr. Cranton's and Judge McAllister's attentions — to Thunderbolt with the latter. Dr. Kallock's¹ church, handsome but not so elegant as the one in Baltimore. I have seldom met with a more friendly and hospitable people than those of Charleston. I shall not soon forget the kindness of Mr. Patterson, Mr. Webb, Mr. Yates, Mr. Cochran, Mr. Hurlbut, and many others with whom I became acquainted here.

“December 13. Started from Charleston at 1 o'clock P. M., and arrived in Raleigh Thursday, after riding three successive days and nights. Stopped at Mr. Gales', who had requested me to remain in his house during my stay in Raleigh. I have already mentioned preaching in Raleigh on my way to Charleston. At the request of several gentlemen, I engaged to preach again on my return. Accordingly, Sunday, 19th, I preached three times in the state-house. The room was entirely full all day. The Governor and his family attended, and the members of both houses of the Legislature generally. I dwelt particularly on what I conceive to be the leading points of Christianity: the simplicity of our religion, the necessity of free inquiry, and the importance of acting rightly, as well as thinking rightly. The audience gave a close and serious

¹ It is remarkable that Unitarianism was flourishing at this time, 1819, as far south as Savannah.

attention; and several that evening expressed themselves much pleased at the sentiments I advanced, and surprised that they had been so much misinformed in regard to the sentiments of Unitarians generally.

“Monday, December 20. I took leave of my kind and worthy friend at Raleigh, and started for home, by way of Tarborough, Williamston, Plymouth, Edenton, Elizabeth City, the Dismal Swamp Canals, and Norfolk. I arrived in Norfolk¹ Thursday, 23d.

“The road on this route is much better than the mail line. It is level and smooth. Passed 21 miles in a boat on the Dismal Swamp Canals. This is an agreeable variety in the mode of traveling. The canal is handsome, and the road on its bank excellent.

“December 28. Left Norfolk in the steamboat for Baltimore at 10 o'clock in the morning, and arrived after an unpleasant passage on the next day at noon.”

SUMMARY OF IMPRESSIONS.

From Norfolk, Virginia, Mr. Sparks wrote Miss Storrow, December 24, 1819, the following summary of his experience in the South: “You have probably learned from Mr. H. that I have been to Charleston to help ordain Mr. Gilman.² I am now on my way back, and am

¹ Expense from Raleigh to Norfolk, \$30.50. The whole expense of this Southern tour of Mr. Sparks in 1819 to Savannah and back, a distance of about 1,500 miles, was \$227.44.

² In a letter written from Norfolk, December 26, 1819, to his friend Briggs, of Lexington, Sparks gives additional facts, showing that Unitarianism had already been well developed in South Carolina before Mr. Gilman went there: “Gilman is pleasantly settled, and has, as far as I could judge, an intelligent, open-hearted, generous congregation. His predecessor, Mr. Forster, is no ordinary man, and Gilman has much to do to supply his place. The orthodox are squinting in every direction, and nothing but a bold, determined, independent spirit will carry the thing through as it should be. Forster possessed this spirit in an uncommon degree, and it is wholly

detained here two or three days for the steamboat to Baltimore. The ordination went off exceedingly well, considering all things. Mr. Tuckerman's sermon was an uncommonly good one, and well adapted to the place. The charge, which was given by my friend Mr. Parks, of Stony Creek, and Saltketcher, was patriarchal, apostolical, and Biblical. It had much of the primeval simplicity about it, and was adapted to the comprehension and understanding of humble Christians. If Mr. G. attends to it carefully, he will certainly be a good minister. The right hand was very commonplace, and no great things at best, but the society expressed a strong desire to see it in print and I consented. You will therefore see it tacked

owing to him that the society is Unitarian. The honorable council consisted of Mr. Tuckerman, my friend Mr. Parks, of Stony Creek, and Saltketcher and my honorable self, so, you may be sure, things were done with dispatch. Mr. T.'s sermon was uncommonly good."

There is some account of the Rev. Anthony Forster in the "Unitarian Miscellany" for June, 1821. This pioneer of Unitarianism in the South was born in Brunswick, North Carolina. He was educated a Presbyterian Calvinist, and in the spring of 1815 was elected temporary associate pastor of the Independent Church of Charleston, S. C. His aged colleague, the Rev. Dr. Hollingshead, was no longer able to officiate, and died the following year. There had been two places of worship, although but one society. A separation occurred in 1816, and Forster's society became known as the Second Independent Church. Forster's conversion to Unitarianism was gradual, and resulted from his own private reading. Anxious to convert a Unitarian friend from the error of his ways, Forster began to study Unitarian writers in order to be able to refute them, but to his surprise he found himself inclining towards their views. His experience was doubtless like that of many other individuals in the South and Southwest; and his case is historically important as illustrating the fact that Unitarianism had already been developed in South Carolina before the missionary movement began from New England. Forster's congregation withdrew from Presbyterian government in 1816. As Mr. Sparks clearly recognized, Mr. Forster was no ordinary man. But consumption early seized upon him. He preached his last sermon March 7, 1819, and died January 18, 1820.

on to the end of the sermon. - I am aware that no reputation is to be gained by such a performance, but still, as it will gratify many people who have treated me with great kindness, I feel that I have done my duty in allowing it to be printed. I received a great deal of hospitality and a great many attentions in Charleston. Gilman is delightfully settled, and I begin to wonder more than ever at the false notions and narrow views of those who think there is no happiness for a minister out of Boston. There is much good society in Charleston, and a sort of cordial *open-heartedness*, which makes everybody contented and happy, who is disposed to be. That everything is charming in Boston, I will allow, but the notion that nothing is charming anywhere else is a miserably narrow and perverted notion. I wish it were done away, for it has had a bad influence on our young theologians at the University. I remember perfectly when it was thought, and I have no doubt it is thought so still, that it would be next to an impossibility for a man to endure existence forty miles from Boston. They little know how large a field lies before them, and what their duty requires them to do. I requested Mr. H. to show you my letter from Raleigh. I engaged to preach there again on my return, which I did last Sabbath. I preached three sermons, and the house was entirely full each time. The Governor attended all day, and there was a very general attendance of the members of the Legislature. By the advice of two or three friends, I preached particularly on the subject of liberal Christianity. I said nothing about the trinity, but dwelt at large on all the leading principles of anti-trinitarianism. Nine tenths of the auditors had never dreamt of these things, and I could discover much staring among them, but they listened throughout the whole day with the greatest attention. Our church has been much talked of here, and my heretical sentiments

were well known, therefore they were not taken by surprise. The only surprise I heard of being expressed was from two or three well-meaning people, who said they were only astonished I did not preach deism, as they had understood that I was an infidel. False impressions prevail everywhere about Unitarians, and the only way to correct them is for our ministers to go about and preach. One sermon, also, delivered in this way before the legislature of a State will do more good, than twenty before a common audience in a church, because the audience is much more intelligent, and the effect is diffused over a much larger compass. I have no doubt a Unitarian minister may preach in every state-house in the Southern States. I should certainly have made the attempt at Columbia and Richmond, had not the impossibility of supplying¹ my pulpit rendered it necessary for me to return with all speed. I will cheerfully take a trip to Milledgeville next winter and preach all the way, if anybody will supply my pulpit. We must have a missionary society. . . . Those who ought to be awake are slumbering. I shall not soon recover from the mortification I felt, that one minister only could be found to attend the ordination at Charleston. Had they come on as they ought to have done, the trumpet of truth might have been sounded in the ears of all the Southern States. . . .

“In six weeks I have passed over 1,400 miles by land, riding in the stage, night and day. My health is wonderfully improved by the exercise, and I have acquired a stock of knowledge in regard to this part of our country,

¹ During Mr. Sparks' seven weeks' absence from Baltimore, his pulpit was supplied by the Rev. James Taylor, of Philadelphia, and the Rev. Mr. Parkman, of Boston. Not long after his return, Professor Andrews Norton, of Cambridge, and Edward Everett, then professor at Harvard, occupied the Baltimore pulpit each for a Sabbath or two, so that Mr. Sparks was well supported by his friends.

which will always be of great use to me. No man should be contented till he has made this tour. I have learnt the whole economy of raising and selling cotton and rice, which are the great staples of this country. There is much uproar and confusion in this place. You must know to-day is Christmas Eve, and yesterday was the day before Christmas Eve. Yesterday the noise began, and nothing has been heard since but the roaring of guns, the jingling of bells, the rattling of drums, the squeaking of fiddles, the sounding of horns, and the bawling of negroes. Every sable countenance is stretched into a grin, and every sable heart bounds with joy. Christmas week is the negroes' holiday. Unfortunate sons of Africa! Let them be happy when they can. I wish from my heart they were all safely back again on the plains of Benin, or the hills Haarta. I have entered many of their cabins during my absence. I am told, they are not unhappy. It may be so, but I am very sure they are wretched. Such miserable hovels the people of New England would not build for their horses. I do not believe they are often abused, but they are poorly fed and poorly clothed. An old blanket and the cold earth often constitute their bed and corn bread their only food. My heart often turned away sick at what I saw.

“I have sent to London for all the information that can be obtained about Ledyard. Sir J. Banks must know much more about him than anybody else. I am resolved to collect everything, and see what can be made of his life.”

AFRICA AND LEDYARD.

Actual contact with African slavery in the South had perhaps some influence in this sudden revival of historic interest in African exploration and in Sparks' first positive resolution to write the life of Ledyard. This was the beginning of Sparks' career as a biographical historian.

It is interesting to note his frequent allusions to Africa and Ledyard during those four years of ministerial labor in Baltimore. On one occasion, June 12, 1820, he speaks compassionately of "poor Richie who, the papers say, is dead. He went into Africa in the wrong place. When I go, it will be by the way of Morocco."

A year and more later, August 3, 1821, writing from Bedford Springs, he describes his recent visit to the Ledyard family in New York, in whose hands at that time were all the remaining papers of the explorer and a manuscript biography, written by his cousin, but none of these papers was Sparks able to obtain during his first visit, although he afterwards succeeded. After telling Miss Storrow of his grievous disappointment, he adds, "And now we are so near Africa, let me tell you that my darling project, with which I have so often wearied you, even to this day frequently flits across my mind with no common brilliancy. It has been revived within two or three days by meeting a man here who was cast away on the desert coast and traveled a long way in that country a prisoner to the fierce Arabs. He was in the country where Captain Riley was, but tells no such alarming, hairbreadth stories. Had you and a few others allowed it, I should long ere this have been in Tombuctoo. But it may not be too late yet."

ENCOURAGEMENT FROM BOSTON.

After Mr. Sparks' return from the South, he received the following pleasant letter, dated Boston, January 19, 1820, and written by the Rev. Francis Parkman, who for some time had supplied the Unitarian pulpit in Baltimore during the pastor's absence: "I thank you kindly for your acceptable letter, and congratulate you on your return from your mission. I was very glad to hear of the opportunity you had of preaching, particularly at Raleigh,

and we all hope it may prove good seed, received into good and honest hearts, yielding abundant fruit. I should be very unjust to my own feeling should I not tell you of the satisfaction I derived from my visit to your parish. I was exceedingly gratified by the spirit that seemed to prevail, and which I really think their difficulties have served only to purify and exalt. Considering the various opposition you have had to encounter, not from pecuniary embarrassments merely, but from the odium of the cause, the ignorance and bigotry, and worldly policy too, that are arrayed against it, I am almost astonished at the progress you have made. Indeed, my dear sir, these very difficulties have given you some advantages in your ministry, that you might never have enjoyed while your people were in the fullness of their prosperity. Their anxious inquiry for the truth, their deep and earnest attention at church, which any stranger must notice with pleasure, their zeal for the cause, and their entire union as a society must give you great encouragement. I ought to add, what amidst your solitary labors and cares must be satisfactory, their cordial attachment to their minister. It cannot be improper for me to say that this is all that your anxious hopes could desire; and when you are exhausted by your labors, and desponding, as we all sometimes do of our ability and success, take for your comfort the assurance, which as a visitor I am able to give, that none of your words fall to the ground, and that your labors and motives and feelings are fully appreciated.

“You complain of the want of zeal and enterprise among the brethren here: and I can readily conceive from my own feelings both at Baltimore and New York, that we may sometimes appear at least very temperate and over judicious. But you must remember how much of the purest zeal is the fruit of opposition, and that it is not easy to be very zealous, where truth makes tolerable prog-

ress without it. I am certain, could some of our excellent laymen visit Baltimore, or almost any part of our Southern States, and see what is absolutely demanded for the cause, what extreme ignorance and malignity it has to encounter on the one hand, and love of *promotion* and *fashion* on the other, they would enter into the *spirit of the place*, and open their purses as well as their hearts to help you. But comparatively, you know, we are 'at ease in Zion' (though I know not how long it may continue), and some of our most judicious, reflecting friends among the laity, our richest Unitarians, are averse to anything that looks like a proselyting spirit."

CHAPTER VII.

MINISTER AND EDITOR IN BALTIMORE. — CHAPLAIN IN CONGRESS.

1820-1823.

CONTROVERSY WITH DR. WYATT.

BEFORE Mr. Sparks entered upon a distinctively literary career, he was occupied for three years in controversial writing and editorial work in connection with his position as a Unitarian minister in Baltimore. The intrusion of an apparently new faith into that orthodox and Catholic city, the organization of a flourishing society composed of intelligent and influential people, who in church attendance more than doubled their number the first year, and the extension of Unitarianism as far southward as Charleston, South Carolina, naturally brought upon Mr. Sparks, the apostle of the new movement, many theological attacks from the established clergy. Some spoke from the pulpit against Unitarian doctrines, and some resorted to polemical writing in newspapers and pamphlets. Doubtless Mr. Sparks welcomed these attacks, direct and indirect, for he regarded the Pauline method of religious controversy with the orthodox and conservative parties as a justifiable means of awakening attention and spreading new views of old truth. The first conspicuous discussion was carried on through the press with the Rev. W. E. Wyatt, D. D., associate minister of St. Paul's Parish,¹ Baltimore, and

¹ This was the oldest parish in Baltimore, and once embraced the entire city.

professor of theology in the University of Maryland. In a letter to Miss Storrow, June 12, 1820, Mr. Sparks explains the circumstances attending the collective publication in that year of six "Letters on the Ministry, Ritual, and Doctrines of the Protestant Episcopal Church." So free from personalities were these letters, and so temperate in tone, that Mr. Sparks was able to republish them in 1844 without very material changes.

The effect of this literary invasion of the ecclesiastical territory of his enemies was startling both to them and to Mr. Sparks' friends and allies in Massachusetts. The latter were at first inclined to condemn him for his rashness. Before reading the book, Mr. Higginson said the subject had been fully treated by Dr. Holmes in a sermon, and the proper thing for Mr. Sparks to have done was simply to reprint that sermon with a preface. This was at first the general opinion of the faculty at Cambridge; but after the book had been carefully read, they changed their minds and concluded it would do credit to Unitarian scholarship. John G. Palfrey wrote from Boston to his friend Sparks, July 31, 1820: "What people might think before the book came out, I do not know. I only know what they said. But since it came there is but one opinion. All express it, but the wisest and most eloquent, the most loudly. Mr. Cabot and Mr. Norton say it is an admirable work, and people do not scruple to put you by the side of Mr. Everett, which here is considered the highest compliment. This I say in the sincerity of my heart."

Andrews Norton wrote in the same vein to Jared Sparks from Cambridge, August 10, 1820: "I have read with a great deal of pleasure your letters on the Episcopal Church; and with a great deal of surprise that you have been able to execute in so short a time and with so many interruptions a work of so much ability and learning. I say a great deal of surprise, and the word very well ex-

presses my feelings, but I ought rather to have said a great deal of admiration, which would express them still better. The reasoning seems to me very forcible, and such as common readers can understand and feel, and the temper in which you write every way worthy of the cause in which you are engaged."

In Baltimore, the book sold well and was widely read. It set people to thinking and inquiring concerning the historical foundations of Christian institutions, and doubtless accomplished some real good for both Episcopalians and Unitarians. The principal parties in the controversy were personally friends, although ecclesiastically divided. In after years, Mr. J. Noel Wyatt, the grandson of Dr. Wyatt, and Mr. William Eliot Sparks, the son of Jared Sparks, continued the old friendship. Although the one was an Episcopalian and the other a Unitarian, they used occasionally, when William Eliot Sparks was visiting in Baltimore, to celebrate their Christian good fellowship by attending together both the Unitarian and Episcopalian church on the same Sunday.¹

WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS.

The Unitarian minister of Baltimore continued his work as a propagandist at various mineral springs in the South, to which he was compelled to resort every summer on account of his health. Here is a pleasant description of his backwoods experience at the now famous and fashionable White Sulphur Springs, Greenbrier County, in Virginia, written August 7, 1820: "I am at present 300 miles to the southwest of Baltimore, in one of the rudest parts of the United States. I have left the Alleghanies piercing the clouds behind me, and a branch of the Great Kanawha runs at my feet. These parts of Virginia are but thinly

¹ The editor is indebted to Mr. J. Noel Wyatt for this pleasing reminiscence.

inhabited, but in no place does the mountain air blow in more refreshing breezes, or scatter from its wings more profusely the dews of health; and the mineral springs which abound in this vicinity are places of great resort for the people of the South. . . . It is the Southern planters' paradise. . . . We all live in the true backwoods style. Imagine to yourself a huge log house towering to the elevation of two stories, and on either wing a long range of huts built of logs and plastered between with mud, known by the more romantic name of *cabins*. In one of these cabins with a window of four squares of glass, writing on a slab with holes bored in each corner and sticks put in for legs, imagine me, and you will have a true picture. In similar tenements you will find congressmen, senators, generals, and governors, with their families, who have come to enjoy the luxuries of the place, and escape from the pain of doing nothing. . . .

“The only gentlemanly mode of traveling in this country is on horseback. . . . For the last hundred miles, my companion and myself have come in what is called a gig, by which you are to understand a thing on two wheels, with arms and a stick back, like an old-fashioned chair. The mountains are not to be passed at present in stages, and the planters find great difficulty in making their way over them with their carriages. Governor Barbour's daughter occupies an adjoining cabin. She is performing a tour of 400 miles among these wildernesses on *horseback*, with no other companion than her brother. She is one of the flowers of Washington in winter, and in summer she blooms on the mountains.

. . . “I preached yesterday by a very urgent request to a large roomful of Carolina and Virginia planters, men generally of understanding and intelligence, not more than one or two of whom had ever before heard the sound of a Unitarian's voice. They were exceedingly attentive,

both gentlemen and ladies, and, I am gratified to learn, have since spoken with very general approbation. Preaching and a little exertion would do everything through the whole Southern country. We want missionaries. . . . My way home is to be by the Sweet Springs, Peaks of Otter, Natural Bridge, Madison's Cave, Jefferson's College, and other curiosities."

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Mr. Sparks' visit to Mr. Jefferson and his college is narrated in a subsequent letter to Miss Storrow, dated Baltimore, October 10, 1820: "But one of the greatest curiosities I met with was Thomas Jefferson. Whether you will call this a natural or an artificial curiosity, I am puzzled to know. At all events, I went to see him at the exhibition-house at Monticello, up a long hill, which is almost daily trod by many a weary pilgrim's foot. I was very kindly received and politely treated; and I think there are very few persons who would not feel inclined to say at once, that this is no common man. He bears the marks of age, but his mind is vigorous, excursive, and quick. His college is no less curious than himself. It consists of twelve large buildings, and many smaller ones, and together they form incomparably the most beautiful specimens of architecture in this country. . . . But the question¹ which every one finds himself puzzled to solve is, what is to be done with all these elegant colleges."

Mr. Sparks sent his first book of theological controversy to Mr. Jefferson, and received in acknowledgment the following letter, literally transcribed from the original, and

¹ This question is answered by the long and useful career of the University of Virginia, and by the educational uplifting of the entire South. See William P. Trent's chapter on the "Influence of the University upon Southern Life and Thought," in "Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia," Contributions to American Educational History, No. 2, Bureau of Education, 1888.

remarkable for its exposition of Jefferson's own religious views,¹ and for his peculiar method of beginning sentences with a small letter. He capitalized the beginning of a new paragraph.

"MONTICELLO, November 4, 20.

"SIR, — Your favor of Sep. 18, is just received, with the book accompanying it. its delay was owing to that of the box of books from Mr. Onegan, in which it was packed. being just setting out on a journey I have time only to look over the summary of contents. in this I see nothing in which I am likely to differ materially from you. I hold the precepts of Jesus, as delivered by himself, to be the most pure, benevolent, and sublime which have ever been preached to man. I adhere to the principles of the first age; and consider all subsequent innovations as corruptions of his religion, having no foundation in what came from him. the metaphysical insanities of Athanasius, of Loyola, and of Calvin, are to my understanding, mere relapses into polytheism, differing from paganism only by being more unintelligible. the religion of Jesus is founded on the Unity of God, and this principle chiefly, gave it triumph over the rabble of heathen gods then acknowledged. thinking men of all nations rallied readily to the doctrine of one only god, and embraced it with the pure morals which Jesus inculcated. if the freedom of religion, guaranteed to us by law *in theory*, can ever rise *in practice* under the overbearing inquisition of public opinion, truth will prevail over fanaticism, and the genu-

¹ Randall, in his "Life of Jefferson," iii., 559, says: "To the Rev. Dr. Sparks and other Unitarians, he signified a sufficient concurrence in what he understood to be their system of faith, to feel no antagonism to it; and on the contrary, a wish to see it spread over the land." Cf. letters of Jefferson to Rev. Mr. Whittemore, June 5, 1822; to Dr. Waterhouse, June 26, 1822; and to James Smith, December 8, 1822.

ine doctrines of Jesus, so long perverted by his pseudo-priests, will again be restored to their original purity. this reformation will advance with the other improvements of the human mind but too late for me to witness it. Accept my thanks for your book,¹ in which I shall read with pleasure your developments of the subject, and with them the assurance of my highest respect.

“TH. JEFFERSON.

“the reverd JARED SPARKS.”

UNITARIAN BOOK SOCIETY.

Returning to Baltimore, invigorated in health by his vacation journey among the springs and mountains of Virginia, Mr. Sparks began anew his aggressive work of extending the Unitarian faith. He instituted on the 19th of November, 1820, “The Baltimore Unitarian Society for the Distribution of Books,”² and described in a public discourse the means of propaganda that were to be employed. The society was a popular organization for the

¹ That Jefferson entertained a favorable opinion of Sparks’ theological work is further shown in a letter to Dr. Waterhouse, July 19, 1822, in which Jefferson said: “Baltimore has one or two churches, and their pastor, author of an inestimable book upon this subject [Unitarianism], was elected chaplain to the late Congress.”

² It appears from the Parish Records that such a society was contemplated as early as the spring of 1820; but a fresh impetus was doubtless given to its organization by the formation among the young men of Baltimore of an Auxiliary Bible Society, from which by a special vote the First Independent Church was excluded. See article on “Young Men’s Bible Society of Baltimore,” in “Unitarian Miscellany,” January, 1821. In the same number there is an account of the Baltimore Unitarian Society for the Distribution of Books, with the Articles of Association. Henry Payson was President of the society. Among its managers were Charles H. Appleton, William Read, A. B. Murray, Hon. Theodoric Bland, William C. Shaw, John Hastings, Robert H. Osgood, Isaac Phillips, Jr., Hugh Young, and L. J. Wyeth.

distribution of the Bible and "such other books as contain rational and consistent views of Christian doctrines, and are calculated to promote a correct faith, sincere piety, and a holy practice." Membership of the society was secured by an annual subscription of one dollar. The funds were applied to the purchase or printing of such books as the managers might approve. From an annual catalogue and price-list of publications each subscriber was entitled to receive such books or tracts as he might select, to the full amount of his subscription. The privileges of membership were extended to "any person, residing in any place." A general meeting of the society was to be held annually at the church on Christmas Day.

A short time before the organization of this Society for the Distribution of Books, Mr. Sparks and two or three individuals had devised the plan of publishing in Baltimore a periodical called "The Unitarian Miscellany," to be issued monthly, beginning the first of January, 1821. The managers of the above society undertook the publication of this journal of religious propaganda, which bears the imprint of "The Baltimore Unitarian Book Society. Sold by F. Lucas, Jr., and N. G. Maxwell, Market St., John D. Toy, Printer."¹ Of course, Mr. Sparks became the editor and virtual manager. All the tact and skill which he had acquired in his editorial connection with the "North American Review" now came again into play in the vigorous and successful conduct of a specialized theological organ during a period of three years. He was almost alone in the literary support of the enterprise. He ob-

¹ This imprint remained upon the first three volumes of the "Miscellany," although it was found expedient before the first was completed to transfer the business control to "Proprietors." Nathaniel Williams and Charles H. Appleton became responsible for the pecuniary support of the "Miscellany." They took charge of subscriptions and the distribution of copies. The Proprietors' imprint appears upon volumes iv., v., and vi.

tained scarcely any help from his friends at the North. Indeed, they had now ceased to lend him aid in the supply of his pulpit.

LETTER FROM DR. CHANNING.

Dr. W. E. Channing wrote to Jared Sparks from Boston, November 28, 1820, words of encouragement: "I highly approve the plan of a periodical work, such as you propose, at the South, and I cannot but hope that a *miscellany*, answering to the name, would do more good to members than our 'Disciple.' We want a more various and entertaining work than we now have, and I wish that it may appear in a different part of the country from this. As to the patronage which you would find among us, it would be small at first. One reason for my delaying to answer you was my desire to consult my brethren on the point. Yesterday we met, and the general opinion was that the 'Miscellany' would have few subscribers here, that the 'Disciple' was in the hands of those disposed to read on theology, and would exclude other works. The truth is, our laymen have little zeal for spreading Unitarianism, partly through the security which their numbers give them, and partly through false views of liberality, toleration, &c. I think, however, that in time a more popular work than the 'Disciple' would make its way among us, effectually if a just sense of the importance of our principles spread, as we hope. With respect to my individual aid, I dare not proffer it. I have so poorly paid my debt to the 'Disciple,' that I fear to contract another. I am always *hoping* to be more useful, but weeks and months pass away and life hastens to its end, while I continue unable to do more than perform my ordinary duties. I am sorry to be obliged to talk of myself so much as an invalid, but I receive many applications for services which I want power to render, and self-defense obliges

me to say more of myself than would otherwise be justifiable. As to the sermon which you requested, I have declined publishing it for two reasons — first, I doubt if it is good enough for the subject — but in the next place I was unwilling to become responsible for so many historical facts as it contains without a more particular examination than I have had opportunity to make. I indeed have the authority of the best Protestant historians, but I wanted to hear what the Catholics would say, and began one of their writers, but was turned from the enquiry by some new object. I fear you will think me not very consistent in approving so warmly of your object, giving you so little encouragement as to patronage here; but our wishes ought not to blind us to the true state of things. You have cause to reproach us here for want of zeal — but the want exists, and we must found our calculations upon the fact. I do not mean to be understood as refusing you my aid, but it must not be depended on. I will do what I can for you, and I know no individual for whom I would labor more cheerfully. You are entitled to our gratitude and praise for your strenuous and successful exertions. God enable you to extend them. . . . Please to present my respects and affectionate regards to Mr. and Mrs. Payson, whose kindness I have not forgotten, and to my other friends at Baltimore.”

NO AID FROM NEW ENGLAND.

The following letter to Miss Storrow, December 30, 1820, indicates that he felt himself almost isolated from the Northern world and driven upon his own resources for the maintenance of the Unitarian cause: “I am most thoroughly overwhelmed with occupation. It is now eleven months since I have had the least aid from New England, except a single Sunday from Mr. Frothingham. They seem to have forgotten me entirely. Besides ser-

mon-writing I have a thousand other things to do. This indeed is but a small part. My post-office bill¹ since I have been in Baltimore has exceeded sixty dollars a year. This shows you that I have something to do in the way of writing letters; for I write as many as I receive. Here I require of myself a certain portion of study every week; . . . I have just commenced a periodical work, the first number of which you will probably see before you get this letter. Notwithstanding I have written to every minister in Boston desiring coöperation, I have not received a *single line*, and have been obliged to write every article in this number myself. The subscription is very large in Baltimore, and succeeds beyond all expectation at the South. I am mortified, that after I have made very great exertions to put such a work into operation, that I should not receive the prompt and cordial support of my brethren in the East, in the way of a little writing. I hope they will do something yet. Palfrey I am sure will. . . . I hope you will speak as well as you can of the first number, and try to make people understand under what disadvantages I labor, and above all make them realize that I write for a particular purpose — that almost everything has a *local bearing*, and is not to be condemned because it is not precisely as the wise men of Boston would write. There is nowhere so much refinement and general intelligence in society as in Boston; and you may rest assured that nowhere is there so much ignorance of the actual state of things in the southern part of our country.

“A reply has long been threatened to my letters. Dr. Wyatt’s friends have declared he is coming out. He has not yet appeared, and the bishop has said he never shall with his consent; that the absurdity of my book is a suffi-

¹ Postage from Baltimore to Cambridge in those days was twenty-five cents per letter. From some of the Pennsylvania health-resorts, for example, Bedford Springs, to Cambridge a letter cost fifty cents.

cient confutation of all it contains. Bishop White says an answer is preparing. A student from this place, who has just returned from the Episcopal Theological School in New Haven, says the professors have deliberated much on the subject, and finally advised Dr. Wyatt to reply that they can suggest many errors in my criticisms, etc. What will come of it all I am unable to say.

“Dr. Miller, in the ordination sermon in Baltimore, has made one of the grossest attacks on the Unitarians which was ever made. He calls them ‘no Christians,’ and accuses them, as a sect, of being immoral, etc. This must be answered. . . .

— “Ledyard goes on slowly. I have an agent in London, who will find everything, and I have a clue to several manuscript letters in this country, especially those to Mr. Jefferson. But the most interesting part of his life — his tour to Siberia — I fear is a blank.

“You cannot conceive how much my heart leans towards you all at Cambridge.¹ I have a great many warm friends here, and the best parish in the world; but I have a thousand disagreeable and depressing things to encounter. The quiet of Cambridge is fled; the solace and sympathy of friends are left behind. I am . . . weighed down with a burden which requires an Atlas to bear. I wish it were on broader shoulders, and I shall not lament the day when some potent Hercules shall come along and take it upon himself.”

LETTERS FROM EDWARD EVERETT.

Mr. Sparks' labors were not unrecognized at the North, but his friends were all busy with their own affairs. Edward Everett, then editor of the “North American Review,” wrote to Jared Sparks from Boston, April 13, 1821:

¹ A little before this time, Mr. Higginson and his family had removed from Bolton to Cambridge.

“We rejoice, with all the friends of truth, in your great and meritorious efforts at Baltimore. You put us here to shame, — we that do nothing to help you. I can only quote some words of the President in a letter of his you showed me last winter, ‘I have a heavy pack of my own to carry.’ I sometimes think I shall send you a communication for your ‘Miscellany.’ But the hour comes not that finds me in leisure or heart for a work in any degree of supererogation. You must stir up the young ones among us to write.”

Writing again to Sparks, May 17, 1821, Everett said: “I agonize with you in your warfare. I do mean to send you something. Would an abstract of a sermon I once preached on 1 John v. 7 do any good as presenting a popular compend of the Evidence? It is all before the world already, but it is only by saying the same thing over fifty times that you can force people to hear it. I have also an Essay on the Subject of Reason and Revelation, which I mean to write. Do not ascribe my leaden silence to indifference or selfishness. But surrounded, as you think me, with fellow laborers here, I am in fact scarcely less solitary than you, and am obliged to lie down and gasp at people’s doors for a contribution, like a sculpin in the sun. If you write personally to those able to help you, I think you can get something out of them. I have seen your fifth number. The people here condemn your tone in the letter to Dr. Miller as too sharp. I am myself inclined to think the cool manner more efficacious; but no one has a right to judge how he will write if he were himself the party assailed as you are, and I never forget you when I pray for the prevalence of the righteous champions.”

SUCCESS OF THE "UNITARIAN MISCELLANY."

The publication of the "Unitarian Miscellany" began with an edition of one thousand copies. The number was soon increased to fifteen hundred, and before the end of the first year, 1821, two thousand were printed. The first volume was hardly completed before Mr. Sparks was compelled by the growing demand for back numbers to issue a second edition. He was always a good business manager as well as a discreet and painstaking editor. A large number of tracts were reprinted from the "Miscellany" and used for purposes of propaganda. Never before was Baltimore such a centre for the popular dissemination of religious literature. Under Mr. Sparks' able and efficient direction, the work of the Baltimore Unitarian Book Society soon began to rival the combined forces of all New England in the printing and distribution of Unitarian tracts. On this point, striking testimony was given in the published "Letters on Unitarianism" by the Rev. Dr. Miller, of Princeton, New Jersey, who said in perfect honesty and with a grim severity worthy of an ancient Hebrew or original Calvinist: "In every direction, and with a profusion of the most lavish kind, they [the Unitarians] are daily scattering abroad their instruments of seduction. Probably in no part of our country out of *Massachusetts* do these poisoned agents so completely fill the air, or, like one of the plagues of *Egypt*, so noisomely come up into your houses, your chambers, and your kneading troughs, as in *Baltimore*. In fact, the Unitarians of that neighborhood seem to be emulating the zeal of some of their brethren in *England*, who have been known to go into an orthodox church; to withdraw during the prayer, that they might not join in 'idolatrous devotions,' and on their return, to strew on a *communion table*, which happened to be spread on that day, a parcel of Socinian

tracts and pamphlets. I have heard of nothing quite equal to this in the *United States*; but, from present appearances, am by no means confident that something of the same kind will not soon be exhibited.”¹

Mr. Sparks used the “Miscellany” not only for the popularization of Unitarian ideas, but also as a means of answering attacks upon his new society. The most famous defense running through the early numbers of the “Miscellany” is that against the Rev. Dr. Miller, who in an ordination sermon in Baltimore, as explained in the foregoing letter, had cast some unwarranted reflections upon the Unitarians. Mr. Sparks adopted the same epistolary method of reply as that attempted in his published letters to Dr. Wyatt. As in that famous case when he carried war into Episcopalian territory, so now Mr. Sparks’ bold attack against the Presbyterians excited more dismay among his Unitarian friends at the North than among his theological enemies at the South. Mr. Channing and the Unitarian *Curia* in and about Boston were disposed to anathematize this daring provincial for asserting in his own local organ, without consultation with superiors, theological opinions calculated to disturb the ecclesiastical peace. Mr. Sparks had come very near expressing righteous indignation on a former occasion when his letters to Dr. Wyatt incurred censure in Boston; but now he spoke out so freely that his friends at home must have begun to realize that he indeed represented “The First *Independent* Church of Baltimore.”

Writing from Bedford Springs, August 3, 1821, to Miss Storrow, whose brother-in-law, Mr. Higginson, was in the Unitarian inner circle, Sparks says: “What think

¹ See an article on the “Spirit of Orthodoxy” in the “Unitarian Miscellany,” April, 1822, vol. ii., 326. “In our view,” rejoins Sparks, “no stronger argument needs to be sought against old-fashioned Calvinistic orthodoxy, than the spirit it infuses into its advocates.”

you of my 'Miscellany'? I know what you thought in April, but what think you now? I tell you it is a great mistake you are in, to think a single word has been written with the slightest excitement of feeling. What you call 'recrimination or retaliation' may verily be such, but it is all just, in good temper, and meant to produce a good effect, and what is more, it *does* produce this effect. Almost every piece I have written contains local allusions, which those for whom they were meant understand very well. I do not write for the wise ones of Boston, nor do I expect they will approve what I write; nor do I care whether they do or not, so long as I can see the good fruit of my doings, and feel assured, that I am doing what duty and the cause of religious truth demand. I should be much more apt to be swayed by 'Boston notions,' if a little experience in the world had not shown me that these are very often rank prejudices. I have not written one word in the 'Miscellany' which I would wish to change. The letters to Dr. Miller have given universal satisfaction except in this one little spot of Boston, and as they do not need them, it is no matter whether they are liked or not. If you could form any conception of the effect produced at the South by Dr. M.'s charges, you would soon see the necessity of answering him in the tone I have assumed. His attack was outrageous, and deserves no mercy. This every one allows who has been made to suffer by it, but in Boston, where every man is sitting quietly under his own fig-tree in the spiritual vineyard, they think the same luxuriant, protecting fig-trees must grow all over the world. I cannot express my views to you on a sheet of paper. They are fixed, however, in a manner not to be moved by the murmurs of the squeamish, or the dictations of such as would tell me how to believe, and how to act, without a knowledge of my motives, or of the difficulties with which I am surrounded.

I have heard things from Boston and Cambridge . . . which I was sorry to hear, and which ought not to have been said or thought. Mr. Channing is a very good man, but he must allow me to think for myself. I am not in Baltimore as a delegate or deputy required to act under orders. I am alone there, and alone responsible. . . . I must listen to the demands of conscience and obey the calls of duty.¹ But I sincerely say, that I wish these very heavy and important burdens of Baltimore were on broader shoulders.”

Writing from Bedford Springs, August 22, 1821, to his old friend, the Rev. Charles Briggs, of Lexington, Massachusetts, Mr. Sparks made this further confession: “I have hard times in Baltimore. They assail me on all hands, and my task is too great. It would be a great blessing to me to be in a quiet parish in some country town in New England. Our ‘Miscellany’ succeeds remarkably well, and is spreading Unitarianism throughout all these western regions. It imposes a heavy task on me, as I have been obliged to write almost every article.”²

¹ Events proved that Mr. Sparks was right in his judgment of the needs of his ecclesiastical situation, and, in the end, his friends acknowledged the fact. J. G. Palfrey wrote from Boston to his friend in Baltimore, October 23, 1821: “As to the ‘Miscellany,’ I hear now but one opinion about it. You have conquered all prejudice. You have received a good encouraging lesson to act for the future, as you have done, independently, upon your own judgment, and look boldly to the event.” Edward Everett wrote, February 14, 1822: “You are our standing boast and delight.”

² The Rev. George W. Burnap, in his discourse, January 23, 1848, said of the “Miscellany:” “The matter for this periodical was mainly furnished by Mr. Sparks, in addition to the labor of writing for his weekly ministrations. This he kept up for nearly three years. In this double office of preacher and editor, an amount of intellectual toil was sustained by him truly astonishing, and credible only to those who have measured the capacities of human endurance, and learned the grand secret of the economy of time.

“It would be difficult to find in the whole range of theological

Mr. Sparks reported to his friend Miss Storrow, October 29, 1821, considerable progress in collecting materials for his biography of Ledyard; but he was suffering more and more from ecclesiastical persecution. The time was evidently soon coming when this isolated preacher and overworked editor would be driven to more congenial and less exciting occupations. "I cannot refrain from writing a word to say that I have at last got the Ledyard papers. Dr. Mitchell's eloquence finally prevailed, especially when he put on that magical ring, which you know he has received from the great emperor of the north as a compensation for a certain 'georgical instrument,' which the said Doctor had forwarded in great state to the city of the Czars. . . . And as for the value of the papers, I have only time to say that they are beyond my expectation — much more interesting and more extensive — written with great irregularity, but with force of mind and originality. I expect to collect more from other quarters, and want at least six months' uninterrupted leisure to put them in such a shape as I shall like. This I never shall have till I resign preaching; and I sometimes think the quicker this is done the better — three sermons last week, and half a number of the 'Miscellany' on my shoulders.

"I am goaded all round, and as if my measure were not yet full, the Catholics are beginning to empty their quivers. In Virginia, a Presbyterian book has been at work for six months to prove my heresies, and pick to pieces my Letters, and the writers say the task is not yet half

literature, three volumes of equal compass, which contain so much and such accurate information on the most interesting subjects of religious enquiry. It is rare to find in theological controversy so much candor of statement and such fairness of reasoning, such firmness of persuasion united with so much charity for the opinions of others. They are a monument of theological attainment and literary industry, which sets a high mark for the clergy of our country."

done. They hook my name in with Dr. Priestley¹ and Mr. Belsham, as if I were some great man, but they have not yet been able to prove it.

“I have no passion for this business, and wish it were in the hands of somebody else, who can do it better, — but while I am here I shall do my duty. If you will take me back to New England, I shall have more peace.”

CHAPLAIN OF CONGRESS.

In his Parish Records, Mr. Sparks notes a fact which shows that, in spite of opposition and persecution, the liberal cause which he represented was making progress in his vicinity: “On the 10th of December, 1821, I was chosen to be Chaplain of the House of Representatives of Congress during the present session. As the election was a sort of contest between the liberal and the orthodox, there was a strenuous opposition on the part of the latter. But the vote was at length carried by an honorable majority, although there were five contending candidates. I was proposed by my friends of the Unitarian cause; but not at any instance of my own, nor indeed with any desire to fill the station.”

Mr. Sparks doubtless owed his election largely to the reputation which he had won as editor of the “Unitarian

¹ In Virginia, as early as 1819, had arisen a vigorous and growing opposition to Unitarian ideas in consequence of the election of Dr. Thomas Cooper to the first professorship in the University of Virginia. Cooper was a son-in-law of Dr. Priestley, a Unitarian refugee from England, whose writings Cooper had edited. The latter was compelled, by the force of Presbyterian opinion, to resign his professorship; he went to South Carolina College, at Columbia. See “Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia,” pp. 107–109, Contributions to American Educational History, No. 2, Bureau of Education, 1888. Having banished Cooper, the Presbyterian pastors of Virginia, startled by the attack on Dr. Miller and Princeton theology, naturally turned their attention to Mr. Sparks in Baltimore. Unitarianism never made much headway in Virginia.

Miscellany" and to his wide acquaintance among public men, obtained in vacations at the Virginia and Pennsylvania springs. Among all the sectarian candidates, the liberal pastor of the First Independent Church of Baltimore was regarded as the most suitable chaplain for Congress in "the era of good feeling." The proximity of Baltimore to Washington was an important element in the immediate decision of both pastor and people that it was expedient for him to accept such a conspicuous honor as that indirectly conferred upon the new church.¹ Mr. Sparks could remain the minister of Baltimore while his pulpit was supplied by friends from Boston during his absence in Washington. He could continue from this latter vantage-ground to edit the "Unitarian Miscellany" perhaps even better than in Baltimore. The prospect of a missionary field for liberal propaganda in the nation's capital among influential people from all parts of the country was very inviting to an aggressive church and a zealous apostle.

In his Parish Record for December, 1821, Mr. Sparks entered the following observations regarding his first reception in the federal city: "On the first day of my arrival in Washington, an attempt was made in the House, on the part of a zealous member, to reconsider and annul my election. Some of the orthodox members had before made a warm opposition, and they seemed resolved to remit no exertions to prevent my occupying the station. The members who introduced the resolution to proceed to a new election of a chaplain gave as a reason for this irregular proceeding that, as a week had passed by, and I

¹ Parish Records, December 16, 1821: "After morning service, the members of the society remained, and the above appointment was made known to them. They signified their approbation, and agreed by an unanimous vote that I should be at liberty to accept it."

had not appeared, it was presumed that I did not intend to accept the appointment. The Speaker then arose, and made known to the House that he had just been informed that I had arrived in town, and would enter on my duties the day following. Much warm discussion followed, and after a very strong expression of disapprobation from every quarter, the resolution was withdrawn by the original mover. Many, who originally voted against me, were opposed to this proceeding, as highly improper in itself, and unworthy of the dignity of the House of Representatives. I commenced my duties the next day.

“The clergy of Washington generally were much alarmed at this appointment, and seemed to consider it their duty to declaim against it in their pulpits for some weeks afterwards. The only effect of so illiberal a proceeding was to offend several of the members of Congress, who considered it a meddling on the part of the clergy with an affair with which they had no concern.”

On the 20th of January, 1822, Mr. Sparks wrote his first letter from Washington to Miss Storrow, in which he says: “I neither expected nor desired to be in this place when I last wrote you. The election is marvellous, and justly so, in the eyes of most people. It has produced a great excitement among the orthodox; pulpits fulminate most fearfully; theologues are at a loss for epithets sufficiently bitter; the country newspapers have taken up the business, and talk loudly and harshly; and poor Unitarianism is most rudely beaten over the shoulders of the unfortunate chaplain in Congress.¹ I cannot

¹ For an illustration of the attacks made upon Mr. Sparks and his faith, see an article entitled “Chaplain in Congress,” in the “Unitarian Miscellany,” March, 1822, in which are given extracts from a sermon preached in Washington immediately after Mr. Sparks’ election. Among other things the preacher said, “His character, I am informed, stands fair; . . . he is esteemed a young man of handsome attainments, and of more than ordinary promise. Yet, after all, in regard to his

conceal it from myself, nor do I know that it is necessary I should, that with the agency of the 'Miscellany,' and in my present situation, I am the means of producing a very extensive influence on public sentiment in regard to religious opinions. I pray God to lead me right, and to sustain me under trials which I feel are more than I ought to bear. They are such as no one can have any conception of, without ample experience."

WASHINGTON SOCIETY.

"I am drawn into the vortex here, and you may expect to see me a man of the world,¹—not the mute being I was seven years ago. . . . I have left my card at the heads of departments' and the foreign ministers',—am initiated into the mysteries of drawing-rooms, and in a fair way to know all things. I have no liking for these vanities, but I am told it is all for the 'good of the cause,' and I submit with as good grace as I can. All the movements here seem to constitute a sort of machine. Visiting is the most convenient thing in the world. You have only to leave a card as large as your hand, and it will do for half the winter—no matter whether you see anybody or not. In short, the less you see and are seen the better. At drawing-rooms your company is very acceptable, because it is a thing of some consequence to the good lady to have

qualifications of a divine and his theological views, they might with the same propriety have chosen for that office that distinguished man whose bones have lately been transported to Europe, had he been alive, Thomas Paine."

¹ Mr. Sparks' social experience in Washington was of great advantage to him, and he recognized it in a letter to Ansel Young, dated Washington, March 29, 1823: "I have been four months and a half in this place, and shall be here till May 16. . . . I have had an opportunity to learn much of the great world, and hope it will be of some service in enlarging my views of mankind and of human nature."

them well attended. Who loves to preach to bare walls? And what lady can contemplate her drawing-room with any delight, when only here and there a straggler crosses her vision? At private parties, nothing will do short of an absolute *crush*. The pleasure of the evening consists in the exquisite anxiety you feel, lest you should be overwhelmed, lost, or forgotten, amidst such a weight of human corporeity, and such a din of human voices; for you must know, Washington is full of great men and wonderful women."

SOCIETY AND SAVAGERY.

Mr. Sparks soon enjoyed an opportunity of beholding how happily extremes meet in the social world. On the 5th of April, 1822, he wrote for Miss Storrow the following picturesque account of an Indian dance on the White House grounds, in the presence of Washington society, including representatives of European courts, the exhibition being under the general management of the chief magistrate of the United States, Mr. Monroe: "You must know that all the ladies and gentlemen, collected here from the four quarters of the earth, were assembled at an early hour to see the buffalo hunters, from the banks of the Yellowstone, perform a dance in the yard of the President's house. The great hall of audience was soon filled. The President had on his three-cornered hat, of ominous import, a long, Methodist-fashioned black coat, and a tremendous broadsword hanging by his side. At his feet lay an enormous bulk of bearskins, buffalo skins, bears' claws, painted feathers, wampum, and many things of which I did not know the names.

"The men of the forest soon appeared, clad in old dirty blankets, painted with such frightful images as plainly showed that they had no design upon the second commandment, for it was impossible that they should be like-

nesses of anything either above or below the earth. After various ceremonies, these outer garments were thrown off, and you saw the red men's bodies as the Author of nature had made them, except that they were daubed in various parts with black. This was only the introduction. When they got tails on behind, and horns on before, and adorned their necks with rows of bears' claws, and their heads with feathers; and when they sallied out through the crowd; and when they began to jump and dance, to shake their tails and menace with their horns, and to howl their barbarous songs, and to make boisterous speeches to our great President standing up with his big hat, his Methodist coat, and long sword; and when the court ladies strained their eyes from all the windows in the palace, and from a multitude of carriages mingled in the mob, to behold the agility and graceful movements of these naked men of the woods, — when all this was brought to pass, it was most truly, in the language of the good old parson Baldwhidden, “just a prodigy, and a sight to be seen.”

If Jared Sparks could have lived to see Buffalo Bill and Wild West shows patronized by royalty and the best society of the Old World, he would doubtless have repeated the favorite exclamation of Dominie Sampson, or else have philosophically recognized that a touch of savage nature makes the whole world kind or savage, according to circumstances. The spectacle of the President of the United States and the Queen of England enjoying the antics of wild Indians is as suggestive of the irrepressible savage instincts in human nature as were Roman circuses, gladiatorial shows, or Spanish bull-fights; or as the adjournment of Parliament to hunt birds and foxes, and of Congress to attend the Pimlico races. A Canadian bystander,¹ criticising our appreciative and discerning English friend,

¹ Goldwin Smith, on “The Spoils of Office,” in the “Forum,” September, 1889, p. 35.

Mr. Bryce, who rightly sees something truly majestic in an American presidential election, says that it reminds one rather of the Derby. "There is the same amount of betting, and an excitement, as it appears to me, very much of the same kind, while the corruption which in the case of the Derby is confined to the jockeys, extends in the case of the presidential election over a wider field." It is not surprising that the political instincts of a retired member of Parliament should not mount higher in America than this sporting level, since Parliament itself would find as much difficulty in sitting through the races and the hunting season as would school-boys in sitting quietly if a circus should pass the school-house.

OFFICIAL DUTIES.

On the 3d of March, 1822, Mr. Sparks by request delivered a memorial sermon¹ in the House of Representatives on the occasion of the death of the Hon. William Pinkney, Senator from Maryland. Judge Story was not referring to this sermon, preached by the *House* chaplain in the House of Representatives when in a letter to his wife he described the funeral of Mr. Pinkney: "The chaplain of the *Senate* delivered an extempore discourse to the assembly. It consisted altogether in appeals of terror, and was in the true orthodox style, full of doctrinal dogmas and childish attempts to alarm and frighten. It was so entirely at war with the feelings of all present, that it served only to shock them, and to take away that deep

¹ "Sermon preached in the House of Representatives in Congress, Washington City, March 3, 1822, occasioned by the Death of the Hon. William Pinkney, late a Member of the Senate of the United States, by Jared Sparks, A. M., Minister of the First Independent Church of Baltimore; and Chaplain to the House of Representatives in Congress." Published by request. Second edition. Baltimore. Published by the Unitarian Book Society, 1822.

and melancholy impression which every heart felt and every face exhibited.”¹

Mr. Sparks noted in his own Parish Records the following facts regarding his official duties and ministerial service in Washington: “I remained in Washington during the whole session of Congress, which continued till the first week in May, nearly five months. The duties were performed alternately by me, and the chaplain of the Senate. I preached every other Sabbath in the hall of the House of Representatives; and every other week performed prayers in the morning at the opening of the House and of the Senate. After prayers in one house I passed immediately to the other. Thus it was necessary for one chaplain only to be present on the same morning.”

UNITARIAN SOCIETY IN WASHINGTON.

“During my residence in Washington I usually preached every other Sabbath for the Unitarian society in that place, as Mr. Little, their pastor, was sick all winter. At that time their building for public worship was not completed, and they assembled in a private room obtained for the purpose. At this place the members of Congress of the Unitarian faith usually attended.”

Mr. Little, the Unitarian candidate in charge of the Washington society, was an Englishman, born in London, who had been for six years a Calvinistic preacher in Perth, Scotland, and for two or three years a Unitarian preacher in Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire. He had removed to America with his family, and had brought a letter of introduction to Mr. Sparks from the Rev. Mr. Belsham, of London, in the fall of 1819. He soon took up his residence in Washington, and, assisted by Mr. Sparks, began

¹ “Life and Letters of Joseph Story,” by W.W. Story, vol. i., 415. Judge Story himself prepared a biographical sketch of Mr. William Pinkney, which was published in Story’s “Miscellaneous Writings.”

to develop a Unitarian society. He was Mr. Sparks' nearest neighbor in the missionary field, and occasionally they exchanged ministerial services. Mr. Little visited New England in the summer of 1821 and obtained substantial aid towards building a church in the federal city. In the records of the First Independent Church in Baltimore there is the following entry under the date of October 21, 1821: "The collection for the society at Washington was taken after the sermon in the morning. The sermon contained some remarks adapted to the occasion. The text was Isaiah xli. 6th verse: 'They helped every one his brother; and every one said to his brother, Be of good courage.' The amount collected was \$152.44."

The following letters are interesting sources of information regarding the beginnings of Unitarianism in Washington. Robert Little wrote to Jared Sparks from Washington, October 29, 1821: "I now entertain no doubt of ultimate success, and the sister churches of Baltimore and Washington may hereafter be mutually useful to each other, as well as to the Southern States generally. We received \$300 more from Boston a few weeks since, and I believe have still a little in reserve there. The number of our friends here seems on the increase. Yesterday we had a larger attendance of persons of distinguished respectability and education, than at any former period. I am somewhat amazed at myself to know how it is that I have gone on so far, for the disadvantages I have labored under from the change of my employment, certain personal and relative difficulties I have been combating with for the past year, and the want of books, which renders almost every attempt at composition a tax on my memory — altogether have formed such a collection of formidable obstacles to the success of my endeavors, that I wonder at my own presumption in attempting so much, and cannot be sufficiently thankful for the aid by which so much has been

achieved. We have strange motley materials to work with, and some who were most forward and zealous at first, now rather retard than help us. Nevertheless I trust we shall 'not faint.'"

Again on the 5th of December, 1820, Robert Little wrote to Jared Sparks: "I am going on 'in much weakness, fear, and trembling,' preaching to our fellow citizens and others, and the number of respectable hearers increase. Some are importunate that I should withdraw my attention in part from business, and give myself more decidedly to the work of establishing the cause of rational religion here. This, however, I am not able to do, unless there were adequate means of making up the loss which my family would sustain by diverting my attention from the sole means of their support. And I am doubtful of the practicability of this; unless we had some more active and zealous partisans. However the opinion becomes more prevalent that the first step is to form a society on Unitarian principles to maintain regular worship antecedently to the building of a church. Accordingly a subscription has been offered of from 10 to 20 dollars each pr. annum for this purpose, and one or two families have withdrawn from the Presbyterian Church to join us.

"Last Sunday we had several Members of Congress, and several fresh faces from among the stated residents in our city. I know you feel interested in these matters. We shall do what we can to promote the sale of the 'Miscellany.'"

On the 9th of June, 1822, the new church building in Washington was dedicated, and the Rev. Mr. Little was regularly installed. Mr. Sparks was deeply grieved that no Unitarian clergyman came to Washington from New England to attend the ordination of Mr. Little, although invitations had been sent to all the brethren in the vicinity of Boston. He said that more than half a dozen went

with President Kirkland who preached the sermon at Mr. Ingersoll's ordination in Burlington, Vermont, although a journey from Boston to that place was by no means so easily performed as to Washington. Probably this view of the geographical situation was not quite so apparent in hot weather to the New England clergy as to the Southern pastor; and doubtless they now had entire confidence in the ability of the First Independent Church of Baltimore to take care of Unitarian interests in the neighboring colony at Washington. Mr. Sparks, however, clearly recognized that the planting of a Unitarian church in the capital of the United States was an important event. It seemed to him a grander opportunity than was his own ordination in Baltimore, when Mr. Channing in one splendid effort brought the whole force of Unitarianism over the Southern frontier. On the present occasion Mr. Sparks himself preached the dedication discourse, and successfully established the Unitarian Church on the Potomac border of Virginia. The society thus planted in the federal city by his active coöperation continues to flourish to this day.

FREE FROM PROVINCIALISM.

Mr. Sparks' experience in Washington as a Unitarian pioneer and as chaplain of Congress, his contact there and elsewhere with leading men from various parts of the country, his deliberate preference of Baltimore to a Boston parish, his still earlier Freshman experience at Havre de Grace, his spirit of adventure and exploration, all suggest that his was a wide vision, content with no pent-up valley or narrow horizon of local life. Dr. Ellis, who knew him well, observed this broad-minded spirit in Jared Sparks, and ascribed it to his contact with society in the Middle and Southern States: "His own intimate friends, after he had reached middle life, were generally much impressed

by his entire freedom from provincialism and sectionalism. He soon rid himself of what is called New England narrowness, with the limitations which it implies. The breadth of mind and the nationality of view which were so marked in him had been acquired by his incidental intercourse with people in the middle and southern portions of the country. He availed himself of the most transient chances of a winter journey, or of a summer sojourn at a watering-place, to open conversations or to draw out the characteristic qualities of representative persons which would add to his general or special knowledge. It is observable from his own private, miscellaneous papers, in which he set down in fragmentary or suggestive hints the subjects on which he might, at some time, choose to write, that his interest extended over a very wide field. When, afterwards, he set himself to elaborate one or another of the subjects of biography or history which he so thoroughly wrought, he seems to have known at the start what materials¹ there were, and in what directions he was to look for them. This knowledge extended in many cases to the names of persons or families having in their keeping the papers he would need. When, as in the preparation of his 'Library of American Biography,' he called in the aid of other writers, reserving to himself only an editorial responsibility, his correspondence with his contributors would direct their attention and investigation to points which might not otherwise have occurred to them."

During Mr. Sparks' five months' absence in Washington, his pulpit in Baltimore was supplied by Mr. Pierrepont, of Boston, Mr. Walker, of Charleston, Mr. Hayward, a Harvard tutor, and Mr. Jenks, a candidate for the ministry. No sooner was Mr. Sparks free from his duties as

¹ This point will further appear in Mr. Sparks' Journals, which are full of suggestions for students of American history.

chaplain in Washington than he was back in Baltimore, collecting by correspondence further materials for his "Life of Ledyard," and arranging for a visit to Ledyard's birthplace in Connecticut. He writes, June 17, 1822: "If I had six months, I do believe the 'Life of Ledyard' would come out a book that might be read. But I am overwhelmed with theology." On the 10th of July he plans by letter to escort Miss Storrow back to New England. For three months she had been visiting her brother, Colonel Samuel A. Storrow,¹ who had married Miss Carter, of an old Virginia family, and had become a prosperous planter at "Farley," Culpeper Court House. Mr. Sparks writes: "You kindly advise me not to plan business for ten men during my absence. So far from it, that I shall actually be a burden upon the wings of time. I am now laboring at the oar to lay in a stock of 'Miscellanies,' and shall leave things in so prosperous a condition, that I shall not have more than one number to write during my absence. . . . Baltimore has been terribly hot for fifteen days and as many nights. . . . I daily gasp for a breath of air from the fresh hills and blooming fields of New England."

VISIT TO NEW ENGLAND.

Leaving Baltimore July 17, 1822, on his way northward, Mr. Sparks spent a week at Long Branch, and then went to New England for the rest of the summer. After a pleasant visit to Cambridge and Lancaster, and renewing old acquaintance in and about Boston, after preaching in Mr. Peabody's pulpit in Springfield, after a pilgrimage to the birthplace of Ledyard at Stonington, Connecticut, and to his own boyhood haunts at Willington and Tolland, Mr. Sparks began his return journey to Baltimore, and

¹ Colonel Storrow was quoted by Sparks in the "North American Review" for May and July, 1817, in articles on the "Interior of Africa" and "The Narrative of Robert Adams."

was awaiting a New York packet at New London, September 22, 1822. In those days the Sound boats made only two trips a week, and the Baltimore traveler found time to write a letter reviewing his visit to New England. There are some points of special interest. Speaking of New London and Ledyard, he says: "Whoever wanders to this place must be content to be at the mercy of stages and packets. I have been shut up here three days, but, all things favoring, I shall take my departure to-night, and be in Baltimore as quick as the mail stage can carry me. I have finished the Ledyard business, and all visiting in New England. I have no occasion to go to Long Island, as Mrs. Denison, of Stonington, a half-sister of Ledyard, and an intelligent woman, assures me that she has procured everything from that quarter. . . . I have been at the house where Ledyard was born, have a lock of his hair, which resembles flax on a distaff, . . . and who will say that I am not qualified to be his biographer? I have also his last letter to his mother. His affection for her was ardent, and unceasing."

Mr. Sparks had just visited his own mother, who was ill at Willington, Connecticut, and writes of her with much affection as follows: "You were kind enough to inquire about my mother. I have been with her two days. Her health is lower than I have ever known it, by reason of a relapse, which she has had about three months. . . . She suffers acutely almost without intermission. She was quite comfortable in the spring, and could read; and the exercise of her mind in reading 'Locke on the Understanding' . . . was one of the principal causes of her relapse. The next morning after my arrival her mind was more tranquil and composed than usual. She talked much and on various subjects, especially of Locke, who, she said, was a remarkable writer, but his views were not good, his principles incorrect, and would lead to Unitarianism. . . .

She seemed to be particularly concerned about my religious opinions, and said I was wrong, and then quoted several passages of Scripture. She was very earnest upon this subject, but I perceived her strength was failing, and I avoided further conversation."

This glimpse of "the mother at home" is a striking picture, and the scene between mother and son has withal its pathetic side; but Mrs. Sparks was greatly comforted at seeing her eldest boy after his long absence, although she did not approve of his theology. Before his departure he made such arrangements as he could for her peace of mind and bodily comfort.

For many years before this time Mr. Sparks had employed the willing services of the Rev. Hubbel Loomis for the proper care and occasional visitation of his aged mother. The following pastoral report, dated at Willington, March 24, 1818, throws a mellow light upon the good pastor in his kindly ministrations to mind and body: "I visited her to-day. . . . I constantly supply her with such books as I have. I with pleasure afford every attention which can add to her comfort. I always make a point of inquiring when I see her whether she is in want of money to procure any article which she supposes would be for her comfort. . . . Your filial and liberal assistance do her good like a medicine. Your request in relation to her physician's bills I shall cheerfully comply with. . . . I intend, however, to recommend to her a moderate daily use of wine for a season." Among the papers of Jared Sparks there are many letters from Mr. Loomis, and all bear evidence to the filial devotion of the absent son.

RETURN TO BALTIMORE.

After his return to Baltimore, Mr. Sparks devoted himself to the interests of his parish. In this work he enjoyed considerable assistance during the winter from the

Rev. F. W. P. Greenwood, who had come south from Boston, on account of his health. Mr. Greenwood soon began to write for the "Miscellany,"¹ and in January, 1823, took editorial charge of that magazine. Mr. Sparks now found time for the revision and further development of the materials which he had used in the "Miscellany" during his famous controversy with Dr. Miller. This revised work took final shape in a volume published in Boston, 1823, and entitled "An Inquiry into the Comparative Moral Tendency of Trinitarian and Unitarian Doctrines, in a Series of Letters to the Rev. Dr. Miller, of Princeton." By this time the two controversialists had acquired a cordial respect for one another, and the book reveals few traces of the *odium theologicum*. In after years, when Mr. Sparks was editing the series of volumes on "American Biography," he persuaded Dr. Miller to write the "Life of Jonathan Edwards," and gave free scope for the statement of opinions represented by the subject.

On the 12th of February, 1823, Mr. Sparks, in a letter to Miss Storrow, mentions Ledyard: "He moves slowly. I am waiting for materials from Scotland, England, and France; when they arrive they will add little, but they must be had. I must write to your brother at Paris to apply to La Fayette. I hope it will be finished next year. I am engaged on a work of three or four hundred pages on the moral influence of Unitarianism, &c. It will comprise the 'Letters to Miller,' much altered and improved, and several others added. I am preparing a second edition of the 'Letters on the Episcopal Church,' to be out in the summer. This will be greatly improved, and requires much labor. When these three works are out, I shall

¹ Mr. Sparks told Ansel Young, March 29, 1823: "As to the 'Miscellany,' I am not now the editor, but generally write something for every number. The three first volumes were written almost entirely by myself."

have done ; and it will be long before I shall undertake another such project. I will attend to my duty then, as a man ought to do. I will 'persevere.' Pray, do you lift up your voice like a pelican in the wilderness in favor of my plan of a Theological Collection, the first number of which has been printed? I hope it will succeed, for I am sure it will do good. But the subscription is not much encouraged. This work costs me more labor than you would imagine from the little part which I seem to take in it. . . .

"P. S. 2d. Tell Mr. Higginson, that a Unitarian missionary from Kentucky¹ preached for me lately. It was odd preaching, and a little in the backwoods style ; but he is a good man, and will be useful in the upper country. In Kentucky he says are more than one hundred Unitarian preachers."

¹ In his diary for January 15, 1823, Mr. Sparks wrote : "Mr. Ricketts, of Kentucky, called. Forty ministers of Unitarian sentiments in one association on the northeast borders of Kentucky of the Baptist persuasion. Many in other parts of the State."

An interesting account of the independent origin of Unitarianism in Kentucky may be found in the Letter of the Rev. Mr. Eastin, of that State, published in the "Unitarian Miscellany" July, 1821. See also that journal for March and April, 1822, for Rev. Mr. Eastin's Protest. This early Baptist apostle of the Unitarian faith in Kentucky seems to have reached his new views by an independent study of the New Testament, and to have found his first sympathizer in a governor of the State, who was a member of his congregation. Mr. Eastin early published letters on Unitarian doctrines, and republished Emlyn's "Humble Inquiry." He soon got hold of Lardner, Smith, Priestley, Toulman, Yates' reply to Wardlow, and other Unitarian literature. He says in his letter dated Paris, Ky., January 5, 1821, "More than a year ago I sent to a bookstore in Lexington for Dr. Channing's Serimon, preached at the ordination of the Rev. Mr. Sparks in Baltimore, but, for some inexplicable reason, the bookseller declined procuring it for me."

ESSAYS AND TRACTS.

The Theological Collection to which Mr. Sparks alluded in the foregoing letter was a quarterly publication begun January 1, 1823, and more exactly known as a "Collection of Essays and Tracts in Theology, with Biographical and Critical Notices." It was a carefully selected series of papers, forming two small volumes a year, upon religious subjects by writers like John Locke, Jeremy Taylor, Sir Isaac Newton, William Penn, Isaac Watts, and Thomas Emlyn. The selection was not confined to a particular age or to one school of opinion; it ranged from Episcopalian to Quaker literature. The object was to show the substantial agreement of enlightened Christians upon "all that is fundamental or important in religion, when they submit to be guided by their understanding." Mr. Sparks dedicated the collection to his friend and benefactor, President Kirkland, as "a token of gratitude, affectionate regard, and respect." The editor said it was "designed to promote the cause of sacred learning, of truth and charity, of religious freedom and rational piety." Sparks was of the same opinion as Paley, that "whatever makes religion more rational, makes it more credible." The publication of this series of theological tracts and essays continued through a period of three years, from January, 1823, until March, 1826.¹ It was Mr. Sparks' last service to the cause of distinctly religious literature, and marks the transition from the clerical and controversial to the historico-philosophical spirit in his relation to religious questions. He had now attained not only to a unity of

¹ The "Essays and Tracts" were at first printed by Hilliard & Metcalf, University Press, Cambridge, and published by Oliver Everett, No. 13 Cornhill, Boston. Afterwards they came from the "Press of the North American Review," and were published by D. Reed, of Boston.

faith, but to a freedom of the spirit, which was able to discover God's truth in secular history and in the enlightened thoughts of men.

Reviving the suggestion of Dr. Ellis, it may be said that "no better service in the cause of religious literature could be performed by the press, even at this day, than the reproduction of those six small volumes, which contain pieces from the pens of the following esteemed writers; namely: Turretin, Abauzit, Archdeacon Blackburne, Bishop Hoadly, Dr. Whitby, Bishop Hare, Sir Isaac Newton, Charles Butler, Robert Robinson, Thomas Cogan, William Penn, Dr. Sykes, Dr. Benson, Thomas Emlyn, Mrs. Barbauld, 'The ever memorable John Hales,' James Foster, Bishop Jeremy Taylor, John Locke, Robert Clayton, Dr. Watts, and Le Clerc."¹ A similar series of selections upon religious subjects, taken from the early Church Fathers, the great writers of the mediæval and modern church, and perhaps from some of the great souls of antiquity, from Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus, Seneca, Plutarch, Plato, the Greek poets, the Vedic psalms and Egyptian hymns, might prove an historic revelation² to open-minded readers in our time.

The principles which Mr. Sparks adopted in editing the "Essays and Tracts" are clearly stated in his preface: "It will be a general rule to give the articles entire, nor will an alteration or abridgment of them ever be made in consequence of the sentiments which they express. Some-

¹ Biographical sketches of all these writers were prepared by Mr. Sparks, and are the beginnings of all his published biographical writings. The "Life of Ledyard" did not appear until 1826.

² Since this was written, there has been published a remarkable work on "The Unknown God," by Mr. Charles Loring Brace (1826-1890), author of that suggestive volume called "Gesta Christi." The new work shows with wonderful power God's revelation to the Greeks and other Gentile nations, who had the divine law written in their hearts.

times such parts may be omitted as are local, and have no immediate bearing on the subject at large; but this will seldom happen, and never unless it be notified to the reader. It is deemed highly important that the language of the authors should be faithfully and exactly retained." There can be no doubt that Mr. Sparks clearly understood the duties of an editor, and did exactly what he undertook to do.

SPARKS' THEOLOGICAL LIBRARY.

For the proper editorial conduct of the "Unitarian Miscellany" and of his "Collection of Essays and Tracts in Theology," Mr. Sparks needed the resources of a well-selected theological library, and this he had built up for himself during those three or four years of scholastic isolation in Baltimore. As early as December 23, 1819, he wrote to the Rev. Robert Aspland, in London, saying, "I wish to procure every work of merit which has been written by the earlier English Unitarians." He authorized an agent "to select all the Unitarian tracts and single sermons which have sufficient merit to recommend them." We see an eminently historical spirit in this search for the English sources of Unitarian thought. But he was not content with discovering these. He pushed his inquiries into continental fields, and gathered a rare collection of French, German, and Latin authorities upon theological matters. There is a printed catalogue of Mr. Sparks' library¹ of "Theological and Miscellaneous Books,"

¹ Mr. Sparks said to Ansel Young, March 29, 1823: "I have expended much for books and am now in debt on that score. My library consists of about 1,500 volumes, and has cost from three to four thousand dollars." The prices at which the theological works in this library were sold, together with the names of the purchasers, were marked upon a printed catalogue by Charles Folsom, one of Mr. Sparks' best friends. Three hundred and fifty-three separate lots, embracing 625 volumes, brought only \$657. It was a

which was sold at auction in Boston, May 28, 1824, at the office of the "North American Review," 13 Cornhill, after his retirement from the ministry. The list embraces three hundred and fifty-three distinct titles or lots, and very many more than that number of separate volumes and pamphlets. Dr. Ellis says that the works were "then for the most part rare, not only in private, but in our public libraries. . . . The list of titles is itself a most significant witness to his assiduity in collecting and examining works, for the mere gathering of which he must have enlisted the kindly aid of friends¹ visiting Europe, and have spent all that he could spare from a small salary after he had met the charges of a frugal mode of life."

Mr. Sparks' salary during his Baltimore pastorate was \$2,000 a year. During this period, he found a delightful home in the family of Mr. Amos A. Williams,² a gentleman and a manufacturer of Massachusetts origin, who was one of the prominent members of Mr. Sparks' congregation. Over this household presided Miss Susan Williams, a sister of Mr. Williams, a lady for whom the young clergyman had the deepest respect and kindest regard. The daughter of the house afterwards became the wife of the Rev. George W. Burnap, one of Mr. Sparks' successors as Unitarian pastor in Baltimore. In after years, Mr. Sparks frequently visited the Williams family when he was passing through Baltimore, and he never forgot the Williams' flower-garden with its jessamine and honeysuckles, nor the vines that encircled the windows of his room in that charming Williams home. He was always library from which a history of English and American Unitarianism might have been written.

¹ Mr. Sparks' cash accounts show that Mr. William Havard Eliot bought books in London for his friend. Charles Folsom also served Mr. Sparks in making book-purchases abroad.

² Mr. Williams lived on the northeast corner of Calvert and Lexington streets.

fond of a garden and always fond of children. It is delightful to find him concluding his friendly letters to Miss Storrow with charming messages to the little blue eyed daughter of Mrs. Higginson.

RESIGNATION OF PASTORATE.

In the Records of his church, under the date of January 13, 1823, we find the first intimation of Mr. Sparks' desire to resign his ministerial position in Baltimore. "During the last year my health has been constantly declining. This I ascribe in some measure to the unpropitious influence of the climate; and also to the nature of my duties, and the multiplied labors in which I have been engaged. After much deliberation on the subject, I have finally concluded that I ought to resign my situation as minister of the First Independent Church. This resolution I have to-day made known to the Trustees, and signified that I shall retire as soon as July 1st."

On the 17th of March, in that year, he makes this announcement to Miss Storrow: "The point is finally settled, that I shall resign my place here in July next. I have no future plans or prospects. It is hardly probable that I shall return to New England to reside very soon, if ever. But I will make no predictions, as I hope in all cases to be ready to submit cheerfully to the will of Providence." Mr. Sparks had expressed the apprehension as early as 1819 that the arduous duties of his position would ruin his health. The climate of the South had never agreed with his constitution, and he had been repeatedly forced, on the approach of warm weather, to leave the city for some health-resort in Pennsylvania or Virginia.

Mr. Sparks' letter announcing his resignation was communicated to his congregation on the 19th of April, 1823. After reviewing the grounds for his withdrawal, he said: "Allow me to add, that I have not forced myself to this

decision without many feelings of painful regret. From you I have experienced a degree of kindness and friendship which has made impressions too deep to be obliterated, and formed ties too strong to be broken. . . . If I know my own heart, there is not among your members an individual whom I do not esteem as a friend, and in whose happiness and welfare I feel not a lively concern.

“I should not do justice to you, nor to my feelings, if I did not, on the present occasion, acknowledge the very great pleasure which I have derived from the perfect harmony and good-fellowship which have prevailed, not only between you and your pastor, but among yourselves, from the time you were organized into a separate religious society. . . . My labors with you have been according to my ability and strength; and however little these may have effected, I have at least endeavored to convince you that I have felt no common zeal and interest in the cause which you have united under many discouragements to promote. . . . I have never felt myself more closely allied to you, or more devotedly attached to your interests, than at this moment; and, although it is the will of Providence that our connection shall be dissolved, let me assure you that I have not been influenced by any motives bearing on the condition, circumstances, or prospects of the society. Every consideration of this sort would tend to bind us more firmly together.”

After hearing this letter, the society appointed a committee, of which the Hon. Theodorick Bland was chairman, to prepare a reply, which was sent to Mr. Sparks, May 4, 1823. The following extracts indicate the estimation in which he was held by his parishioners: “Your communication of the 19th ult., announcing your intention of resigning the office of pastor of the First Independent Church, has been received by the society with sentiments of the deepest sorrow and regret. It has caused us to re-

alize, more sensibly than perhaps we have ever done, the value of your past connection with us, and the magnitude of the loss which we must sustain by its dissolution. . . . The difficulties generally incident to the formation of a new society were in our case peculiarly embarrassing; but by the aid of your talents and exertions they have been greatly alleviated, and by your example, your counsel, your public instructions, and your writings, we have been taught to encounter and bear them. You have given firmness to our resolutions, energy to our endeavors, and confidence to our hopes. . . . Nor has the influence of your virtues, your industry, and talents been confined within the limits of your parochial charge; it has diffused itself throughout our country, and we have been again visited by its reflected brightness. . . . For your welfare and success, dear sir, we entertain no fears. Should your life be spared, you cannot fail of rendering it useful to society, and honorable to yourself. That the blessing of God may follow you wherever you go, and rest on all you do, is the prayer of your respectful and affectionate friends.”¹

WESTERN TOUR.

Mr. Sparks continued to preach until the 8th of June, when his health became so impaired that he was obliged to desist and remove from the city. He spent a week at the country house of Mr. Appleton, one of his most helpful parishioners. He then went for three weeks to Bedford Springs, his former resort in Pennsylvania. Not finding himself improved, he wisely resolved to pass the remainder of the summer “in traveling and constant exercise.” These were the things needful for the diversion of his mind and the recuperation of his bodily health. He

¹ This letter, signed by Theodorick Bland, is published in full, together with the letter of Mr. Sparks, in the “Unitarian Miscellany,” vol. iv., 290–296.

went westward to Pittsburgh, thence to Erie and Niagara Falls, then homewards across New York State to New England and Boston.

The following interesting comment on the rapid growth of western New York is taken from a letter written at Auburn, July 22, 1823, to Miss Williams, of Baltimore: "The very spirit of magic is at work in this country. People are everywhere as numerous as bees in swarming time, and the face of things looks as old as in New England. There is more than double the traveling every day between Albany and Buffalo to what there is between Baltimore and Washington during the session of Congress. There is no telling to what the great State of New York will one day arrive."

In his diary there are some amusing observations upon the classical names of places in the State of New York. Mr. Sparks writes in the month of July, while traveling: "The whimsical mode of naming towns in this country has often been the subject of complaint with travelers. Your ears are perpetually greeted with the names of the heroes of antiquity, brought together in the most odd combinations. The canal boats are usually named in connection with the towns to which they belong. I observed the following, namely, 'The Venus of Cato,' 'The Franklin of Brutus;' and others equally ridiculous. . . . Had I pursued my route, I should have been in half a day at Rome, and next in Athens. I am now in Aurelius, and I am shortly to pass through Manlius. I shall think myself happy, indeed, if I can escape Homer and Virgil."

On the 19th of September, 1823, we find Mr. Sparks back again in Baltimore and writing to his old friend, Davis Hurd, then living in Lockport,¹ Niagara County,

¹ A subsequent letter to Mr. Hurd, dated Boston, December 29, 1823, indicates that Mr. Sparks' old friend from Vermont had aban-

New York. "I have just returned from a tour to the West, and it was a part of my plan to visit you at Scipio, where I supposed you resided. You may well imagine my disappointment, therefore, at finding, after I had passed over the Ridge Road from Niagara, that I had been within three miles of you without knowing it. The shortness of my time would not allow me to return. . . . My health is considerably recovered, although the climate is so unfavorable to my health in this place that I am obliged to resign my situation. I have been here more than four years, settled as a preacher of Unitarian sentiments. Hereafter I shall reside in Boston, and take charge of the 'North American Review,'¹ a periodical done school-keeping and surveying, and was now advancing with the progress of the country. "I have no doubt your plan of following the canal business is a good one. The whole country is running crazy after canals, and the employment of a good engineer must, for a time at least, be profitable." Mr. Hurd afterwards applied his engineering talent at Farmington, Conn., upon the construction of the canal through that region now traversed by the New Haven and Northampton Railroad, or the old "Canal Road." In a letter dated Hamden, Conn., December 18, 1825, Davis Hurd informs Sparks: "I have since last June been engaged as engineer for the Farmington Canal Company, of which work I have the principal charge." Later at various times he appears as a member of the New York Legislature at Albany, and always "on the side of sound privileges and good government."

¹ The first proposition to resume the editorship of the "North American Review" came to Mr. Sparks in Baltimore, May 29, 1823. At the time, there was some disagreement between Mr. Everett and the other proprietors. Mr. Everett proposed to buy them out, or else to start an opposition journal. At first, Mr. Sparks offered to take charge of the "North American," provided the proprietors would consent to transfer it to Philadelphia. He said in his diary: "I think the country will support two journals, if one is at the east and the other at the south." On the 1st of August, 1823, Mr. Sparks wrote in his diary, at Boston: "Mr. Everett is disposed to give up the editorship of the 'North American Review,' if the proprietors will choose me to succeed him."

work, which has gained a very extensive circulation, and holds a high place in public estimation. The labors of conducting it will be less arduous than my present duties, and the climate is better suited to my health."

SPARKS' SUCCESSORS IN BALTIMORE.

The history of ministerial succession in the First Independent Church of Baltimore, from 1823 to 1848, is briefly told by the Rev. George Washington Burnap (1802-1859) in his valuable historical discourse preached and published that year. When Mr. Sparks resigned, "his place as pastor of the church and editor of the 'Miscellany' was temporarily supplied by Rev. Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Greenwood, who had lately retired in ill-health from Church Green in Boston, and had sought restoration in a milder climate. Under his management the 'Miscellany' lost nothing of its literary power, though perhaps something of the depth of its theological discussions. As a preacher, Mr. Greenwood¹ had few superiors. He was made for a clergyman. His taste in composition was perfect; his voice deep and sonorous; his manner serious, affectionate, and impressive. And he was long a bright and shining light in the churches. On the restoration of his health he returned to Boston, and became the colleague of Dr. Freeman. . . . With his departure, the 'Miscellany' was discontinued, having reached its sixth volume and done much good. . . . From 1824 to 1827, the pulpit was supplied by different clergymen, generally from Boston and the neighborhood, many of them highly distinguished by position, talents, and acquirements. In September of 1827, the present pastor [Mr. Burnap] preached for the first time from this pulpit. In the following April

¹ A commemoration discourse on the death of the Rev. F. W. P. Greenwood, D. D., was delivered by Dr. Burnap, September 17, 1843, and was reprinted in Burnap's "Miscellaneous Writings."

he was ordained, and from that time to this [1848] the pulpit has been closed but three half days on account of the pastor's failure to officiate." ¹

CORRESPONDENCE WITH RAMOHUN ROY.

Mr. Sparks' ministerial and editorial career in Baltimore was not without influence upon men in other countries besides his own. The following letter, written in Calcutta, December 9, 1822, by Ramohun Roy, the pioneer of Liberal Christianity in India, shows that Mr. Sparks' writings had been received with favor in that far-off land.

¹ An excellent biographical sketch of the life and writings of George Washington Burnap, by Dr. N. H. Morison, late Provost of the Peabody Institute, was published in the Memorial Biographies of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, vol. iii., 447, 1883. In his long and faithful pastorate of thirty-two years, 1827-1859, Dr. Burnap rendered noble service to religion and sound learning in Baltimore. He was one of the founders of the Maryland Historical Society, and one of the original trustees of the Peabody Institute, in fact the only clergyman appointed. He was the author of many valuable papers, historical, literary, and occasional. His "Life of Leonard Calvert" was published in Sparks' "American Biography," second series, vol. ix., 1845. He delivered a discourse before the Maryland Historical Society, December 20, 1853, on "The Origin and Causes of Democracy in America." He published ten separate volumes, which were highly successful. His miscellaneous writings were collected and revised by the author, and were published in Baltimore in 1845.

Upon a tablet in the Unitarian Church in Baltimore are recorded the names and dates of the settled pastors, from Jared Sparks, 1819-1823, to the present time. Succeeding George W. Burnap, who died in 1859, came Nathan H. Chamberlain, who was installed in 1860 and resigned in 1863. John F. W. Ware was installed in 1864, and resigned in 1867. Edward C. Guild was installed in 1869, and resigned in 1872. Charles R. Weld was ordained in 1873, and has continued the pastoral succession down to the present. Besides his ministering service in the church proper, Dr. Weld is the active leader of a well-organized guild for educational and industrial work in juvenile classes.

Ramohun Roy¹ was the first of that remarkable line of religious reformers who have attempted to graft English enlightened Christianity upon the native trunk of historic and natural religion in India. Keshub Chunder Sen and Protap Chunder Mozoomdar were his apostolic successors, and the Brahma-Somaj, or the Church of God, is the living embodiment of their devoted work. Ramohun Roy wrote Mr. Sparks from Calcutta, December 9, 1822: "As our friend, Mr. Poole, is about to leave Bengal for America, I embrace the opportunity afforded me of repeating my acknowledgments for your letter and publications, and of assuring you of my continued esteem for yourself, and regard for the country of which you are a native, and where the truths of religion may be so freely discussed. We have been very much gratified by the perusal of the publications with which you have favored us, and cannot but anticipate a day when enlightened reason and sound learning will obtain a signal triumph over polytheism and bigotry. Any publications, particularly those that are periodical, with which you may favor us, will be gratefully received, and we, on the other hand, will be glad to supply you with works connected with this country which may be calculated to interest you. Although our adversaries are both numerous and zealous, as the adversaries of truth always have been, yet our prospects are by no means discouraging, if we only have the means of following up what has already been done. We rejoice to hear your prospects in America are equally encouraging, and your success much greater. We confidently hope that,

¹ For an interesting account of Ramohun Roy and Chunder Sen, see Max Müller's "Biographical Essays." A reasonable interpretation of Christian teaching may be seen in Mozoomdar's book, "The Oriental Christ." Unimaginative Occidentals, with cast-iron creeds and Roman inflexibility of doctrine, often forget that Christ and the prophets were Orientals, needing an Oriental interpreter before their language of poetry and parable can be fully understood.

through these various means, that period will be accelerated when the belief in the divine unity, and in the mission of Christ, will universally prevail. . . . I shall in all probability visit America in 1824, when I hope I shall be able to derive personal advantage from your company."

Mr. Sparks received several letters from Ramohun Roy, and published extracts from them in the "Unitarian Miscellany." Copies of his own letters to the East Indian apostle of Unitarianism are preserved. One, dated Baltimore, March 3, 1822, contains the following: "Your labors in the cause of learning and religion are well known in this country; and much curiosity has been excited respecting the results to which you have come in relation to the unity of God. The pamphlets which you published five or six years ago in the English language, concerning the Hindoo theology, have been read here, by such persons as could procure them, with much interest. Although we know little of the subject in general, yet it is easy to discover the force of your reasoning, and the novelty, extent, and accuracy of your views. But your later writings, on the operations and progress of the missionaries in India, have attracted a more immediate notice, because they relate to subjects in which all Christians are intimately concerned. Your works, entitled 'The Precepts of Jesus the Guide to Peace and Happiness,' and also 'An Appeal to the Christian Public in Defense of the Precepts of Jesus,' have not, I believe, come to this country. We have been made acquainted with them through the medium of publications received from England. The extracts contained in these have been circulated in several of our journals, and contain important information respecting the doings of the missionaries. It has long been the opinion of many Christians that the missionaries defeat their own purpose by teaching doctrines wholly unintelligible, and which have no necessary connection with the

religion of Christ. The truths contained in your writings confirm this impression."

Writing again from Baltimore, May 23, 1823, Mr. Sparks says: "I embrace the first opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of two kind letters from you, one dated October 17, the other December 9, 1822, and to express the high gratification which I have derived from their contents, as well as from so flattering a token of your regard. It is but an imperfect indication of my feelings to say, that I am delighted with your zeal in the cause of religious truth, and admire the firmness and ability with which you engage in the work of reformation. . . . As you express a desire to receive periodical works from this country, I send the following from their commencement: viz.: 'Christian Disciple,' 36 nos.; 'Unitarian Miscellany,' 30 nos.; 'Collection of Theological Essays and Tracts,' 2 nos. This last work is intended to contain extracts from the writings of some of the most eminent modern divines. . . . I should be glad to have a copy of all the works you have written in English; and also a copy of the 'Friend of India,' from the beginning, if it can be procured without too much trouble on your part. . . . Please to give my best regards to Mr. Adam, and tell him that he has the prayers and good wishes of all the friends of the Unitarian cause in America. His motto must be like that of many others, 'Labor and Hope.'"

CHAPTER VIII.

EDITOR OF THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

1823-1830.

THE origin and development of American periodical literature is a subject which deserves historical attention. Materials for the study are numerous, but widely scattered. Doubtless each of the older States and sections of country can contribute something to aid the coming historian in this field of inquiry, which will reveal more clearly perhaps than individual authors the gradual growth of independence and critical power in American thought and literary endeavor. While the periodicals of the old South will some day attract students of literature, New England, and especially Massachusetts, will always remain conspicuous for the steady and continuous flow of magazine life from colonial times until now. It will be seen that the historic sources¹ of this modern current lie back of the present century.

¹ The "Boston Journal," in an editorial on "The North American Review," August 2, 1859, says: "The French were the first to establish critical reviews, the 'Journal des Savants' having been started in 1665, a leading feature of which was the reviewing of new works. The first monthly periodical in England was the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' established in 1731, and which is still in existence. The contents were at first quite miscellaneous, and consisted mainly of selections. The 'Monthly Review,' started in 1749, was the first critical journal established in that country, and is still in existence. But British preëminence in periodical literature dates from the foundation of the 'Edinburgh Review' in 1802, which was the pioneer of the 'London Quarterly,' the 'Westminster,' the 'Foreign Quarterly,' 'Blackwood,' and other leading periodicals of a like character, that have attained world-wide reputation, and have largely contributed to the elevation of British literature."

FIRST MAGAZINES IN MASSACHUSETTS.

In the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston, there are various interesting specimens of the beginnings of periodical literature in the old Bay State. Through the courtesy of the librarian, Dr. Samuel Abbot Green, the following literary curiosities were exhibited to the present writer, who was seeking historic forerunners of the "North American Review:" —

(1.) "The Christian History, containing Accounts of the Revival and Propagation of Religion in Great Britain and America." This literary outgrowth of Boston Puritanism first appeared in 1743, and was published weekly. It contained some good historical matter relating to the Christian beginnings of New England; for example, Prince's account of the original settlement.

(2.) "The American Magazine and Historical Chronicle," Boston, 1743-44. This short-lived periodical had "Jocunda Varietas" for its motto, and sought to collect "the best and most approved pieces published in Great Britain and the Plantations, with summary rehearsals and quotations from the best Authors." The magazine opens very naturally with a "Dissertation on the State of Religion." Translations of Papal Bulls are included with other interesting historical matters, — for example, the treaty with the Six Nations, — while poetry and miscellany find their proper place.

(3.) "The Royal American Magazine, or Universal Repository of Instruction and Amusement," Boston, 1774. This professedly royal and loyal periodical, devoted to history, politics, religion, poetry, and polite literature, did not survive the outbreak of the Revolutionary War.

(4.) "Massachusetts Magazine, or Monthly Museum" (of Knowledge and Rational Amusement), Boston, 1789. This literary exponent of a newly established State was

devoted to all the arts and sciences, to history, geography, morality, criticism, philosophy, agriculture, architecture, music, poetry, chemistry, biography, news, marriages, deaths, and meteorological observations. This miscellaneous, all-embracing periodical lived for several years, and probably died from literary indigestion.

(5.) "The Monthly Anthology," 10 vols., 1803-1811.

Of this periodical we have an interesting account in "Miscellanies" by William Tudor,¹ author of the "Life of

¹ Mr. Tudor, in his article on "The Monthly Anthology," pp. 6, 7, says: "The following lists contain the titles of all the magazines that have been published in Massachusetts. They are placed in the order of their dates, the first part containing those which have been discontinued:—

American Magazine and Historical Chronicle	3 vols.	1740 to 1743.
Royal American Magazine	1 vol.	1774.
Boston Magazine	1 vol.	1784.
Massachusetts Magazine	8 vols.	1789 to 1796.
Columbian Phenix and Boston Review	1 vol.	1800.
New-England Quarterly Magazine	1 vol.	1802.
Monthly Anthology	10 vols.	1803 to 1811.
Literary Miscellany	2 vols.	1805 and 1806.
Emerald or Miscellany of Literature	2 vols.	1806 to 1808.
Ordeal	1 vol.	1800.
Something, by Nemo Nobody	1 vol.	1809.
Omnium Gatherum	1 vol.	1810.
Cabinet and Repository of Polite Literature	1 vol.	1811.
General Repository and Review	4 vols.	1812 to 1813.
Panoplist (Calvinistic), monthly	28 vols.	1806 to 1820.

"The following are still published:—

New England Medical Journal, quarterly, 1812.

North American Review, quarterly, 1815.

Athenæum (selections from foreign magazines), twice a month, 1816.

Massachusetts Agricultural Repository and Journal, 1816.

The Christian Disciple (Unitarian), every two months.

The Gospel Advocate (Episcopalian), monthly.

James Otis," and the first editor of the "North American Review," who was one of the leading contributors to the

American Baptist Magazine, monthly.

The Missionary Herald, monthly.

"This last is a continuation of the 'Panoplist,' but containing only the details that relate to missions, which have now become so numerous and important that their concerns furnish matter enough to fill a monthly magazine.

"In addition to these periodical works, there are publications by three learned societies : —

"1. The 'American Academy' has printed four volumes 4to, and completes a volume in two parts in about four or five years.

"2. The 'Historical Society' has now in press its nineteenth volume ; the form is octavo.

"3. The 'Antiquarian Society' has published its first volume in octavo."

In the "Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society," October 23, 1889, there is a valuable contribution by Dr. A. P. Peabody, to the history of American periodical literature. The article is entitled "The Farmers' Weekly Museum" (1793-1810), a paper started by David Carlisle at Walpole, N. H., by the aid of capital furnished by Isaiah Thomas, founder of the American Antiquarian Society, and proprietor of the "Massachusetts Spy" (now the "Worcester Spy"), the oldest (1770) newspaper in the Commonwealth. Dr. Peabody says : "The 'Museum' obtained a circulation extending from Maine to Georgia, and as far west as Ohio, filling weekly a large extra mail-bag." The account given of the original contributions of Joseph Dennie (1768-1812) to the "Museum" is highly suggestive. "Joseph Dennie had, in my opinion," says Dr. Peabody, "and I think in that of the best judges of his own time, no contemporary equal among the prose-writers of America." Dennie was a good Federalist, and in 1799 became the private secretary of Timothy Pickering, the Secretary of State. In 1800 he began in Philadelphia to edit a weekly literary journal called "The Portfolio," which obtained at once an extensive circulation, had a very vigorous existence under a series of able editors till 1825, and expired in 1827. Dennie took for his *nom de plume* as editor the title of "Oliver Oldschool, Esq." The influence of "The Portfolio," a forerunner of Philadelphia's later literary organ, "The American," and the character of Robert Walsh's "Quarterly Review," the Philadelphia rival of the "North American," are subjects worthy of careful historical inquiry.

“Anthology.” He says it was begun by Mr. Phineas Adams, a graduate of Harvard College, who was teaching school in Boston. After six months’ experience as an editor, Mr. Adams transferred the magazine to the Rev. Mr. Emerson, who persuaded two or three gentlemen to support his undertaking, and thus laid the foundation for the Anthology Club, which gradually increased its resident membership, which varied from seven to fifteen or more. There were a few honorary members in other towns and States. Tudor mentions the following names which deserve perpetuation, for these were the fathers of the first really critical and scholarly magazine in New England: the Rev. Drs. Gardner, Kirkland, M’Keán; the Rev. Messrs. Emerson, Buckminster, S. C. Thacher, and Tuckerman; Drs. Jackson, Warren, Gorham, and Bigelow; Messrs. W. S. Shaw, P. Thacher, W. Tudor, A. M. Walter, E. J. Dana, William Wells, R. H. Gardiner, B. Welles, J. Savage, J. Field, Professor Willard, Winthrop Sargent, J. Stickney, Alexander H. Everett, J. Head, Jr., and George Ticknor.

THE ANTHOLOGY CLUB.

The Anthology Club was a social as well as a literary society. It met once a week in the evening, and after deciding what papers were worthy of acceptance by the magazine, indulged in a “plain supper” and “literary chat.” These Attic Nights were evidently very enjoyable, and the sessions were usually prolonged to a late hour. The original records of the Anthology Club have been preserved in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and are described in the latter’s “Proceedings,” vol. xi., 387. The last meeting of the club was held July 2, 1811.

Of the records of the Anthology Club Mr. Tudor said in his “Miscellanies:” “If in the next century some collector of literary anecdotes should examine these docu-

ments, he will find materials connected with the early state of American literature which may then be interesting."

Regarding the "Monthly Anthology," Mr. Tudor observed: "The work undoubtedly rendered service to our literature, and aided the diffusion of good taste in the community. It was one of the first efforts of regular criticism on American books, and it suffered few productions of the day to escape its notice. Some repining and dissatisfaction arose amongst some of the authors who were the subjects of remark, but the public at large generally assented to the principles and decisions of the critics."

From a business point of view, the "Monthly Anthology" was never a success. Mr. Tudor admits with evident satisfaction that the profits from sales never amounted to enough to pay even the moderate expense of club supporters. The members wrote articles for "the pleasure of the employment, and the satisfaction of doing the State some good." The club was able and willing to pay for these literary privileges. It may be questioned whether Mr. Tudor and his friends were not quite correct in their supposition that all literary labor with a view to pecuniary profit is doomed to disappointment. At any rate, their early experiments in the conduct of a magazine were far from being mercenary in character, and undoubtedly served a generous purpose.

Mr. O. B. Frothingham, in his recent work on Boston Unitarianism, says (p. 206) that the "Monthly Anthology" was "half theological and half literary," and adds that the club was made up of Unitarian ministers and laymen. Their magazine seems to have given rise to two independent currents of periodical literature, one religious but liberal, the other literary and critical. Representative of the first dividing stream are (1), the "General Repository¹ and Review" (1812), edited by Andrews Norton,

¹ Norton published in this magazine his "Defense of Liberal Christianity."

sustained by J. S. Buckminster and Edward Everett; (2), the "Christian Disciple" (1813), at first edited by Noah Webster; (3), the "Christian Examiner" (1824); (4), "Old and New" (1870-1872), in which the "Examiner" was merged by Edward Everett Hale; (5), the "Unitarian Review," a revival of the "Examiner," by Rev. Joseph Henry Allen, its former editor; (6), the "Christian Register," a weekly paper, and an organ of present Unitarianism; (7), "Lend a Hand," edited by Dr. Hale, and representing, as do most contemporary magazines and newspapers, a triumph of the practical and secular spirit in modern literature. The genealogy of American journals and periodicals would be almost as interesting a line of study as the historic succession of laws and institutions.

THE BOSTON ATHENÆUM.

Besides developing a literary and critical spirit, and transmitting the same to the "North American Review," as we shall shortly describe, the Anthology Club left one other living memorial of itself, namely, that noble institution, the Boston Athenæum, which was the historic outgrowth of a plan for an Anthology Reading Room and Library, originally proposed by Mr. W. S. Shaw, and afterwards developed by him and other public-spirited men in Boston. "When it was talked about in the club," says Mr. Tudor, "several of the members volunteered at once a gift of books, and a considerable number of volumes were thus immediately obtained. It is but justice to mention, that in the beginning of this business the Rev. Dr. Gardiner contributed much to its success, both by his decided opinion in its favor, and by his liberal present of books. When the plan was afterwards extended, and many public-spirited individuals joined in a subscription, that made the establishment at once solid and respectable. The members of the Anthology, in consequence of the

books they contributed, and various periodical works which were received in exchange for their journal, were admitted to a life-right in the institution; several of the members became, besides, proprietors by subscription. Some merit is due to them for their agency in bringing forward this measure; and as this excellent institution flourishes, it will serve to perpetuate the memory of the Anthology Club." If Mr. Tudor, whose "Miscellanies" were published in 1821, could have lived to see the wonderful development of the Boston Athenæum¹ and of the Boston Public Library, his joy would have been even more abundant at the institutional fruit of that early and unselfish planting by his friends and associates.

"NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW." — WILLIAM TUDOR.

The "North American Review"² was first issued in May, 1815, and was published every two months in numbers of one hundred and fifty pages each. In December, 1818, it became a quarterly, and was published in numbers of two hundred and fifty pages each. This review should be regarded as the literary successor and historical heir of the "Monthly Anthology." The man who wrote the obituary notice of the old magazine became the editor

¹ "The History of the Boston Athenæum," by Josiah Quincy, contains the best account of that remarkable institution.

² The "North American Review" was first printed and published by Wells & Lilly, of Boston. "At the outset," says the "Boston Journal," August 2, 1859, "the contents conformed more nearly than at present to the general character of the popular magazines of our own day, including, besides reviews, the variety of miscellaneous and poetical articles usually found in magazines. Mr. Tudor was the principal contributor, all the articles in the first number, except a poetical contribution, being from his pen. . . . After the seventh volume . . . the departments of poetry and intelligence were suppressed, and the contents were made to consist entirely of reviews and miscellaneous essays, — thus approximating to the general character of the leading British reviews."

of the new. The same coterie of Boston gentlemen and scholars, who had supported the "Anthology" in a somewhat dilettante way, gave to the "North American" its more vigorous life and its national, patriotic tone. The larger scope and spirit of the new magazine were simply an historic expression of the growing thought of nationality and of literary independence which resulted from the War of 1812. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic régime had produced in New England a kind of intellectual reaction in favor of our mother country. The War of 1812, while unpopular in some parts of the country, undoubtedly caused a firmer consolidation of national sentiment and of the American Union.¹ The second successful assertion of political independence by the United States prepared the way for an American reaction in matters of literary criticism. While admiration was justly felt in America for the great standards of English literature, Americans began to discover that they had a right to their own judgments over against those of English and Scotch reviewers. The "North American Review" was a patriotic assertion, not of a mere geographical idea, but of a growing feeling of literary independence of Great Britain.

William Tudor published in his "Miscellanies" an article on the origin of the "North American Review," and characterized the literary Anglomania which had hitherto prevailed among American writers as "a want, or rather a suppression, of national feeling and independent judgment, that would sooner or later have become highly injurious." Speaking of the new review, he said: "The spirit of the work was national and independent as regarded foreign countries, yet not falling under the dominion of party at home; and the tone of it, in these respects, is I think

¹ "The Influence of the War of 1812 upon the Consolidation of the American Union," by Nicholas Murray Butler, Ph. D. : Johns Hopkins University Studies, vol. v. No. 7.

different from that of any preceding journal. This tone it has always preserved, with one or two slight exceptions, and I do not know how far my vanity will be pardoned in making a claim to some agency in establishing it as the only one I have to any merit connected with that work.

“The citizens of the United States are not yet emancipated, nor can they expect to be for some time to come, from a degree of dependence on foreign opinion in everything regarding literature. Yet criticism is every day gaining ground among us, obtaining wider influence as it displays greater talent, and the period is perhaps not very distant when foreign literary decisions will be sought for principally under the impulse of curiosity, and our own tribunals will be esteemed the supreme authority. The ‘North American Review’ is contributing in every number to produce this effect; and it certainly shows that there is a considerable stock of literature already accumulated in the country, when such a journal should have continued for several years increasing in value, and preserving itself from the bigoted sway of any political or religious party. When we consider what the ‘Monthly Anthology’ was in 1810, and what the ‘North American Review’ is in 1820, the increase, in this department at least, rivals any other in this most prolific and expanding country. The enlightened observer will find it to keep pace with most of the statistical facts connected with production or population, that are obvious enough to excite admiration in many who are indifferent to the progress of intellectual efforts.

“The ‘Review’ passed from my hands into the possession of a few gentlemen,¹ who own it in common; writing

¹ The “Boston Journal,” for August 2, 1859, says: “In March, 1817, the work was transferred by Mr. Tudor to Mr. Willard Phillips (Judge Phillips), and by him, in the course of the same year, to a small association of gentlemen, who at frequent meetings took

in it occasionally themselves, and procuring literary contributions from others. The principal charge of editing it is in the care of a gentleman singularly qualified for the task, and well prepared for the highest departments of editorship. In originally undertaking the work, I flattered myself that it would eventually come under his direction, and I trust it will continue for a long period to add to his reputation and to that of American literature."

This was written by Mr. Tudor in December, 1820, two years after he had retired from the editorship. During the interval he had contributed nothing to the "Review," so that his observations were those of a disinterested and impartial looker-on. A modern reader, looking backwards through those early columns of the first really successful American review, will quickly discover why, of all those pioneer magazines, it was the fittest to survive. From the beginning it contained so many articles of real literary merit and solid historical worth that it not only attracted the attention, but held the favor of the most cultivated people in New England. The very first number opened with a valuable article by Mr. Tudor on "Books relating to America," and the subject was continued by him through a long series of bi-monthly issues. From the start, the "North American" was strong in literary intelligence and substantial reviews. It published also brief reports of the proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and of the Linnæan Society, all of which learned bodies had their chief support in Boston and Cambridge. It gave publicity to the inaugural addresses of Harvard professors. It even reviewed President Kirkland's election sermon preached before the governor, council, and legislature of measures for carrying it on, the execution of which was confided to Mr. Jared Sparks, then a tutor at college."

Massachusetts. When William Tudor, the editor, gave an address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard College, what more natural way of preserving the text than to print it in his own magazine, the literary organ of Boston and Cambridge?

The "North American" was, however, far from being local or provincial.¹ It was patriotic and national. It published extracts from foreign literary journals; it kept its readers informed on foreign affairs; and noted the transactions of the French Institute, and of other learned societies in Europe. It kept an eye on the work of universities in the Old World, and recorded the most important scientific observations, wherever made. It followed with interest the career of American artists abroad, and encouraged the growth of all forms of cultivation at home. Whoever undertakes to write the history of American thought in the nineteenth century, and to trace the gradual development of literary and scientific independence in this country, must study the early series of volumes justly called the "*North American Review*," and then follow the development of the more recent and more attractive periodical literature of which Americans have reason to be proud.

JARED SPARKS.

To the evolutionary process, in the first instance, Jared Sparks, the immediate successor of Mr. William Tudor,²

¹ Speaking of the "North American Review" in a letter to Sparks, March 12, 1817, Tudor said: "My object in conducting it was to abstract myself from the narrow prejudices of locality, however I might feel them. I considered the work written for the citizens of the United States and not for the district of New England, and therefore avoided the phraseology that indicated views bounded by a more contracted horizon. I have always believed that a work of this kind, conducted in such a way as to give it a *general* circulation, would be both useful and honorable to this part of the country."

² The following excellent sketch of Mr. Tudor appeared in the

was an editorial contributor whose wide-reaching influence throughout this country has never been duly appreciated, even by his best friends. It is only by tracing out the various lines of thought by him introduced into the "North American," and by reading selections from his extensive correspondence as editor of the magazine, that we can even begin to realize what he did towards widening the American range of interest and developing American independence in literature and science. Mr. Sparks' first connection with the "North American Review" in 1817 and 1818, when he was a tutor¹ and a theological student

"Boston Journal" August 2, 1859: "He was a gentleman of fine literary taste, and a lively and entertaining writer. He had traveled much in foreign lands, and had mingled in literary circles abroad. He took an active part in founding the club immediately after a trip to Europe. In 1809, he delivered the Fourth of July oration in Boston, and in 1810 prepared the Phi Beta Kappa address for Harvard, and about this time represented Boston in the legislature. He was the first to conceive the design of erecting on Bunker Hill a monument in commemoration of the great conflict of the 17th of June, 1775. We may add in this connection, to complete this outline of his life, that in 1823 he received the appointment of Consul of the United States at Lima and the ports of Peru, and went abroad never to return. He was transferred to Rio Janeiro in 1827, as Chargé d'Affairs, and died there in 1830; having rendered important diplomatic services to his country, both in Peru and at Rio Janeiro."

¹ Sparks' classmate at Exeter and Harvard, Charles Briggs, then a tutor at Bowdoin College, wrote him from that institution, February 22, 1817: "I saw a letter the other day from Tudor, editor of the 'North American Review,' to Professor Cleaveland, saying that 'in future the "Review" will be conducted by Mr. Sparks, a resident graduate at Harvard University, with whom I am not acquainted, but who is spoken of in very high terms.' Shall I now call you Dennie or Jeffrey?"

This pleasant allusion to the most famous editors known to the American public is especially interesting in the light of Dr. A. P. Peabody's recently published tribute to Joseph Dennie, editor of "The Portfolio," in Philadelphia. "Proceedings American Antiquarian Society," October 23, 1889.

at Cambridge, has already been described in a previous chapter. We have seen how, even at that early period, he introduced into the "Review" a fresh current of original contributions to American history, together with interesting reviews of African exploration. That current has broadened and deepened in American literature, until now its yearly volume dismays the boldest student. That interest in the Dark Continent which Sparks was one of the first to quicken in America has grown from more to more, until modern newspapers and magazines have been filled with the achievements of Livingstone and Stanley.

EDWARD T. CHANNING.

When in 1819 Mr. Sparks resigned his first editorial connection with the "North American Review," in order to devote himself to the Unitarian ministry, the management of the magazine was transferred to Edward T. Channing, a brother of William Ellery Channing. The new editor conducted the "Review" with ability and success. He kept up a correspondence with Mr. Sparks after the latter's removal to Baltimore, where he continued in various practical ways to promote the circulation of the Northern periodical. Mr. Tudor, by his own confession, had never attempted to extend his subscription list by the ordinary business methods. He said, however: "I believe I was more indebted to some person in Baltimore,¹ wholly unknown to me, for friendly notices of the work, than to any other quarter." This early recognition and patronage of the "North American Review" in Maryland are noteworthy. The spirit of cordial appreciation continued during the first editorship of Jared Sparks. His friend, Edward Hinkley, a Harvard graduate studying law in

¹ Edward Hinkley wrote Sparks April 10, 1817, that there were forty subscribers to the "North American Review" in Baltimore. Coale & Maxwell were the agents there.

Baltimore, wrote him from that city, December 15, 1817: "Your 'Review' is in high reputation here. I have heard it called, by persons of respectable judgment, *the first work of the kind in the United States.*"

When Mr. Sparks settled in Baltimore, he was in position to represent the editorial and business interests of the "North American Review." Many were the letters and communications which he received from the Boston managers; numerous and important were the services rendered by the Baltimore pastor to his Northern literary friends. In fact, Jared Sparks, more than all other men, widened the influence of the "North American Review," and made it truly national in its character. He also widened the reputation of Boston books through the "National Intelligencer." It was a favorite amusement of Channing and others to send literary notices to Sparks for use in Baltimore or Washington papers. Such a review was of course promptly reprinted or reported in Boston, and had a stimulating effect upon that community and its book trade.

The relation of the new management of the "North American Review" to Mr. Sparks, after his first withdrawal from the editorship, is well illustrated by the following extract from a letter of Edward T. Channing, dated Boston, November 9, 1818: "I thank you for your kind offer to do any service in your power for the 'North American Review' during your present journey to the South. I give you full power to do anything you may think useful for it. I shall name the agents in the principal cities you will pass through. I wish the agency to be changed wherever you think proper. Especially should something effectual be done in New York. I want the agents to settle with me immediately for 7th and 8th vols. My agency began with the 7th. I wish them to render full accounts, the number of subscribers, the number of unsold copies, and what state they are in. If, as you return,

you can bring any money from the agents, I should be particularly obliged. If the numbers are not received early in distant places, will you inquire what better mode of conveyance can be found? Be good enough to make a minute of all important information, and if convenient, will you write me? I suppose you are acquainted with Mr. Sedgwick, of New York. If not, my sister will assist you in seeing him, if you think it worth while. I give you a line to him." Channing furnished Sparks with the following list of agents for the "Review" in the cities he was likely to visit *en route* to the South. The number of copies taken in the chief towns outside New England is interesting. Baltimore compares favorably with Philadelphia and New York:—

Hartford, S. G. Goodrich, agent for	6 copies.
New Haven, Hezekiah Howe	12 "
New York, Kirk & Meriam	70 "
Philadelphia, Edward Earle	16 "
Baltimore, E. J. Coale	49 "
Georgetown, D. C., Joseph Milligan	6 "
Washington, D. C., Daniel Rapine	10 "
Albany, E. F. Backus	20 "
Richmond, William H. Fitzwhyllson	10 "

The following extract from a letter of Channing to Sparks, dated Boston, September 4, 1819, shows that the American spirit of the "Review" was becoming very pronounced. It was the year before the Missouri Compromise, and the Boston editor was clearly of the opinion that politics were history in the making:—

"I wish most earnestly that you would take up an American subject. Our object is to confine ourselves, as much as possible, to such subjects. There is *slavery, colonization of blacks, and the introduction of slaves into the new States to be made in the West.* This last is a most important subject, and so are the others. They are now in everybody's thoughts. You have considered them.

You have facilities for studying them thoroughly. Say, will you write upon them for the January number, and do great good to your countrymen? Write me soon about this, for we must set somebody at work. Any pamphlet will do for a title." The suggestion regarding the colonization movement afterwards bore fruit, during the second editorship of Mr. Sparks.

Mr. Channing retired from the "North American"¹ in 1819, when he was appointed professor of rhetoric and oratory in Harvard University. He nevertheless kept up a correspondence with Mr. Sparks upon literary subjects. In a letter dated at Cambridge, September 11, 1821, he mentions the publication of Tudor's "Miscellanies," and expresses some dissatisfaction with Tudor's short history of the "North American Review." Channing justly complains because "our three years of editorship, and Phillips' services and my own previously to Tudor's leaving, are as nothing, or less. . . . I wish you would feel it important enough to let the truth reach us from one of your newspapers. I should like to send you a squib."

LITERARY CLUBS IN BOSTON.

Great periodicals, like great rivers, always have their tributaries or sources of supply. The city of Boston and the university town of Cambridge, the Albert and the Victoria Nyanza of American letters, poured a steady current of contributions into the "North American Review," and together filled it with a strength and volume capable of long flow through a dry and thirsty land. There was a source of supply in the literary and social club founded by the historian, William H. Prescott. Jared Sparks was one of the original and active members.

¹ Palfrey to Sparks, January 17, 1820: "I forgot whether I ever told you that Channing and Dana had left the North American Review Club, and that I have Channing's place."

Ticknor, in his "Life of Prescott," pp. 52-54, has given us a pleasant account of the origin of this club, which flourished for more than forty years: "A little before his marriage he [Prescott] had, with a few friends nearly of his own age and of similar tastes, instituted a club for purposes both social and literary. Their earliest informal meeting was in June, 1818. On the first evening they numbered nine, and on the second twelve. Soon the number was still further enlarged, but only twenty-four were at any time brought within its circle; and of these, after an interval of above forty years, eleven still survive (1862)."

Ticknor gives the following list of members, a star indicating all who were dead at the time the "Life of Prescott" was written: Alexander Bliss,* John Brazer,* George Augustus Frederic Dawson,* Franklin Dexter,* Samuel Atkins Eliot,* William Havard Eliot,* Charles Folsom, whom Prescott used to call his "Cambridge Aldus," William Howard Gardiner, John Chipman Gray, Francis William Pitt Greenwood,* Enoch Hale,* Charles Greeley Loring, William Powell Mason, John Gorham Palfrey, Theophilus Parsons, Octavius Pickering, William Hickling Prescott,* Jared Sparks, William Jones Spooner,* Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright,* John Ware, Henry Warren, Martin Whiting,* and Francis William Winthrop.*

Of these men Ticknor says: "Although several of the most promising members of the club died so young that the time for their distinction never came, more than half of the whole number have been known as authors, no one of whom has failed to do credit to the association in which his youth, in part, was trained." This club, in which Prescott was undoubtedly the leading spirit, was a kind of literary *Seminarium*. Papers were read and discussed. The members criticised one another freely, and we may be sure that good standards of thought and style were cultivated in that little coterie. At the suggestion of

Prescott, a periodical called "The Club Room" was instituted, although its publication was soon suspended. The first number appeared February 5, 1820, and the last July 19, 1820. During that time Prescott made three contributions to the journal. In Ticknor's opinion, Franklin Dexter, Prescott's brother-in-law, was one of the best writers for "The Club Room."

During Sparks' residence in Baltimore, the following letters were received by him from William H. Prescott regarding the affairs of the club. The first letter was dated Boston, February 9, 1820: "I send you a copy of 'The Club Room,' a paper which is to be furnished out of the wits of the Tuesday evening club, of which you were a member. You will perceive that it is miscellaneous; and we have no subscription, and do not intend to pledge ourselves for its periodical appearance. As the literary merits of most of our members have already been decided by their public performances, we have little reason to doubt our ability to support such a work. If you can assist our cause by your recommendations, or in any *other way* for which you have inclination and leisure (although I suspect you are but poorly off for the last), you will much oblige the club in general, and me in particular as the editor. The pieces in this number were written in the following order by Warren, Parsons, Dexter, Ware."

Prescott's second letter to Sparks is dated Boston, June 29, 1820: "I am very sorry to give you so much trouble about the affairs of the club, and the best apology I can find is, that, as you were one of the founders, you no doubt take as much interest as any one else in the success of its enterprises. Swan, who first published 'The Club Room,' has failed, and I have now put the work into Cummings & Hilliard's hands. Swan is a young man, and my principal motive for putting the work into his hands at all was to benefit him. In town it has taken

care of itself, and each number has considerably more than paid its expenses, but out of town it has not been well managed. The agent in Baltimore knew nothing and cared nothing about Swan, and seems to have paid little attention to his orders. C. & Hilliard have put the work into the hands of Coale, and the greater number into those of Cushing & Jewett. They are associated in the profits of the work, and as they are better known, probably their wishes will be attended to. You will much oblige me if, in some of your perambulations that way, you would call upon these gentlemen, and request them to advertise the numbers, and give them a fair exposure on their counters; and if you are disposed to assist us in any way that will not cost you too much time and trouble, the club will take it very kindly of you. The third number was made up by Gray, Dexter, Ware, Everett, Dr. Fisher, and myself. The fourth will be published in the course of a week."

Prescott's club was of course very social in its spirit. A supper or a dinner was an essential feature of every meeting, as was the case in the old Anthology Club. Indeed, the time-honored institution of a dining club, composed of literary and scholarly men, has never died out in either Cambridge or Boston. The old type has increased and multiplied, until now it may be found in many inland towns and cities of New England. The influence of these literary and social reunions upon the intellectual life of the members is very remarkable. In such a municipal neighborhood as that of Boston and Cambridge, a club like that to which Jared Sparks, John G. Palfrey, Charles Folsom, and William H. Prescott belonged was of incalculable benefit, not only to themselves, but to the cause of good literature which they all represented. It may safely be said that, through such a literary and social exchange, Jared Sparks became able, during his second editorship,

to procure desirable contributions to the "Review," and that the club long remained one of the literary fountain heads of Boston and Cambridge.

The North American Review Club was another and far more constant source of supply for the above magazine. This club stood in much the same relation to the "Review" as did the old Anthology to its monthly journal. The Review Club was a society of gentlemen, some of them with a proprietary interest in the magazine, and all with pronounced literary and critical tastes. For several years this club controlled the policy of the "Review," and exercised a marked influence upon the choice of writers and the fate of contributions. There is still preserved a letter from the chief proprietor, Judge Willard Phillips, to Jared Sparks, written March 26, 1817, which shows that the club, at that time at least, was a real power behind both capitalist and editor. The judge said: "I find that there was an impression on the minds of those constituting our club, that the work would be within their control, and that the editor would coöperate with them, but on the whole be governed very much by their views, in the admission of articles, etc." Speaking of the members of the club, Judge Phillips said: "They are the best sort of people, as you know, and esteem you from acquaintance or from your reputation, and will doubtless esteem you still more if you come in sometimes to read and talk with us." Mr. Sparks early became a member of the North American Review Club, and continued his connection with it throughout his ministerial career in Baltimore.

SPARKS ON NORTH CAROLINA.

On the 15th of January, 1820, Edward Everett, who had succeeded Channing as editor of the "North American," wrote to Sparks: "The North American Club¹

¹ Everett wrote Sparks April 29, 1820: "My office of editor, and

voted to ask you to write a paper on African Colonization for the next number. Pray do it, and take the leisure week which my coming will procure you. . . . They say you are master of the topic." Everett had promised to preach for Sparks the first Sunday in February. The article on African Colonization was not to be written, however, upon such short notice. Mr. Sparks promised a review of internal improvements in North Carolina. His ministerial trip through that section of Southern country, and the appearance of certain public documents, such as the memoir by his friend and correspondent, Joseph Gales, of Raleigh, inspired Sparks to make this original contribution to American economic history. The article, valuable even to the modern university student, was published in January, 1821. It was one of a series of papers upon public works in Virginia and the Carolinas, which may be found in the "North American Review" of that period. In the above article Mr. Sparks takes occasion to review the niggardly policy of the general government in the matter of public works. He asks with some feeling: "What has become of the noble project for a national university? . . . While small states in Europe, whose positions we can hardly trace on our maps, are endowing universities, establishing and affording patronage to numerous institutions, we are contented tamely to submit to the reproach of doing absolutely nothing." He then reviews the more generous examples of public policy set by Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina. "We cannot forbear mentioning here the University of Vir-

your duty as a member of the club, authorize me to put you thus in requisition." Nothing was paid at this time for articles. Mr. T. Parsons wrote Mr. Sparks from Taunton, November 24, 1822: "I shall never write again for the North American without being paid for it, and the question of pay or not pay is now agitating in the club. None of the owners of the book work but Everett and you."

ginia, not only as bearing honorable testimony to the liberality of the State, but as affording one of the finest specimens of the arts in this country. We do not hesitate to say that, in elegance of design, in correctness and beauty of architecture, nothing on this side of the Atlantic surpasses the group of colleges now building near Charlottesville under the immediate direction of Mr. Jefferson. . . . We are happy to learn also that the University of Maryland has, by the spirited exertions of a few individuals, lately been gaining ground. By a late valuable acquisition it promises, in its medical department, soon to rival the first schools in this country."

Concerning the educational policy of North Carolina, Mr. Sparks observes: "In an ardent and increasing zeal for the establishment of schools and academies for several years past, we do not believe it has been outdone by a single State. The academy at Raleigh was founded in 1804, previously to which there were only two institutions of the kind in the State. The number at present is nearly fifty, and is rapidly increasing. Great pains are taken to procure the best instructors from different parts of the country; and we have the best authority for our opinion, that in no part of the Union are the interests of education better understood, and under better regulations, than in the middle counties of North Carolina. The schools for females are particularly celebrated, and are much resorted to from Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia. In the year 1816 the number of students at academies, within the compass of forty miles, amounted to more than one thousand. This space comprised the counties of Warren, Granville, Orange, Wake, Franklin, and two or three adjoining. All the useful and ornamental branches of knowledge are taught at most of these institutions.

"The University of North Carolina, which is at Chapel Hill, in Orange County, was incorporated about thirty

years ago, but did not go into active operation for nearly ten years after. It is at present flourishing, contains more than a hundred students, and promises to become a useful and important institution. It is under the direction of fifty-five trustees, a number which we think five times too many. . . . Another practice, which is followed in some of the States, must effectually stop the progress of any literary institution. We mean the custom of making the professors' salaries depend on the annual grants of the legislature." Thus, with critical as well as appreciative observations, Mr. Sparks reviewed the educational systems of North Carolina and the South. His elaborate description of the historic progress of, and the plans for the internal improvement of the State, the student specialist alone can appreciate and utilize.

Of more general interest is Mr. Sparks' account of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, in 1775, for the proof of which anticipation of the spirit of '76, documents had recently been published by Mr. Joseph Gales,¹ editor of the "Raleigh Register." Mr. Sparks says a convention was held in the town of Charlotte, with two members from each of the military companies in Mecklenburg County. Resolutions of independence were passed on the 19th of May, 1775, more than thirteen months before the declaration by Congress. The following resolves show of what stuff the North Carolinians were made:—

¹ With members of the Gales family in Raleigh, Mr. Sparks kept up an active correspondence. One of the editors of the "National Intelligencer," Mr. Gales, of Gales & Seaton, came to Washington from Raleigh, N. C. "Documents showing that Mecklenburg County, N. C., declared Independence of Great Britain, May 20, 1775," were published in Raleigh by Joseph Gales & Son in 1822. There is an extensive literature upon this vexed subject. Among the recent contributions are those of General C. M. Wilcox and President James C. Welling, in the "Magazine of American History" for January and March, 1889.

Resolved, That we, the citizens of Mecklenburgh County, do hereby dissolve the political bands which have connected us to the mother country, and hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British crown, and abjure all political connection, contract, or association with that nation, which has wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties, and inhumanly shed the innocent blood of American patriots at Lexington. *Resolved*, That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people, are, and of right ought to be, a sovereign and self-governing association, under the control of no power other than that of God, and the general government of the congress; to the maintenance of which independence we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual coöperation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor."

Mr. Sparks had a poor opinion of Dr. Williamson's "History of North Carolina," and severely criticised it in the concluding paragraph of the article on internal improvements. He adds this valuable suggestion for the coming historian of the old North State: "North Carolina was among the first States that were settled; many events in its history are of the most interesting kind; and it would be no less a gratification and benefit to the public than an honor to the State to have them faithfully and fully recorded by some able hand."

Concerning Sparks' valuable contribution, Everett wrote, April 13, 1821, "Your article on North Carolina gave great satisfaction here." On another occasion, May 17, 1821, Mr. Everett jocosely said, "Your North Carolina piece was a powerful means of grace." In the same letter Everett, who had rapidly conformed his magazine to the English type, makes this frank confession: "Your remarks about the 'North American' are highly acceptable to me, since I seek nothing so much as hints toward its improvement. Your remark against its want of Amer-

icanism is just, but you must remember some things: 1st. You cannot pour anything out of the vessel but what is in it. I am obliged to depend on myself more than on any other person, and I must write that which will run fastest. I am ashamed of this, but cannot help it. 2d. There is really a dearth of American topics; the American books are too poor to praise, and to abuse them will not do. 3d. The people round here, our most numerous and oldest friends, have not the raging Americanism that reigns in your quarter. As the vulgar song says, 'While one's back is in joint, another's is out.' "

SPARKS ON LAND GRANTS FOR SCHOOLS.

Writing again to Mr. Sparks, June 2, 1821, Mr. Everett said, "You will not complain of the want of American topics in the next number." In this letter, Everett states that he had sent to the press an American article of his own upon Maxcy's reports and the Maryland memorial concerning the appropriations of public land for educational purposes; but, hearing that Sparks was about to contribute a paper upon the same subject, he had taken back his article. He adds that he "will keep it till I get yours, and then make up something out of both, unless, what is very likely, I find you exhaust the subject." On the 14th of June, 1821, Mr. Everett sent this acknowledgment: "Your article, put into the post the 7th, has just arrived, so that you see the return of mail is a slower process than you thought. I told you if I liked my article best I would honestly print it. I find yours, however, a good deal better. Mine was written in about three hours' space, and was chiefly an analysis of Mr. Maxcy's, &c., 'Refutation of Mr. Thomas' Report.' What I find you have omitted I will take the liberty to add from mine. If the rest is not already despatched, pray lose no time."

Mr. Sparks' sojourn in Maryland was the occasion of

the above contribution to the "North American Review" upon the "Appropriation of Land for Schools," published in October, 1821. The article was substantially a review of Maxcy's report upon this subject to the Senate of Maryland, January 30, 1821, and of two other documents of like character. Maryland, as early as the year 1777, had taken the national position that the Western lands rightfully belonged to the States in their collective capacity, and refused to ratify the Articles of Confederation until Virginia and New York would agree to cede their respective claims to the United States. This position established the territorial basis of the American Union.¹ In 1821 the General Assembly of Maryland asserted the same underlying principle with respect to the distribution of public lands for educational purposes. The legislature resolved that "each of the United States has an equal right to participate in the benefit of the public lands, the common property of the Union." It was also declared that "the States in whose favor Congress has not made appropriations of land for the purposes of education are entitled to such appropriations as will correspond in a just proportion with those heretofore made in favor of the other States." Resolutions of this character were transmitted to every member of Congress, and to all the state governors, with the request that legislative action be taken in the matter. Virginia and Connecticut received the resolutions with favor, but in New York Mr. G. C. Verplanck, chairman of the committee on colleges, academies, and schools, reported adversely to the Maryland resolutions, and his report² was accepted by the New York legislature.

¹ "Maryland's Influence upon Land Cessions to the United States," by Herbert B. Adams, Johns Hopkins University Studies, vol. iii., No. 1.

² "Report of the Committee on Colleges, Academies, and Common

It was primarily to refute the points urged in Verplanck's report that Mr. Sparks wrote his valuable historic article upon the "Appropriation of Public Lands for Schools." He appears to have had the confidence and cooperation of Maxcy,¹ for there is preserved among the Sparks papers a long letter dated Belvidere, the Baltimore home of the Howard family, May 23, 1821, and written by the Maryland statesman, who gives some suggestions regarding weak points in the position taken by New York. In espousing the cause of Maryland, Mr. Sparks took occasion to review the whole history of the American land question, from the original charters and various land cessions down to the matter then in dispute. Without entering into the details of the historic and constitutional arguments by which Mr. Sparks sustained the views of Maryland, it may be confidently stated that the student of American agrarian laws and of American educational history cannot well afford to neglect the materials so well reviewed by Jared Sparks in 1821. It may be added that the historic account of education in Maryland, appended by Mr. Sparks to the above article, is both interesting and valuable. Sparks pays this suggestive tribute to the Maryland spirit of toleration in educational matters: "It is, indeed, a fact, which redounds much to the honor of the State, that in all its charters to literary institutions, from the time of its first acts, it is formally and explicitly stated that no distinctions shall be made in favor of any religious sentiments, but that students,

Schools, in the Legislature of New York, March 30, 1821, upon the Message of his Excellency the Governor communicating the Resolutions of the Legislature of Maryland," by G. C. Verplanck, chairman of the committee.

¹ Maxcy wrote to Sparks, September 30, 1822: "It is upon your exposition of the subject, in such a publication as the 'North American Review,' that I rely for making a deep impression upon the nation."

professors, visitors, and regents shall be taken from all denominations and be admitted to equal privileges."

The project that Mr. Sparks should resume editorial management of the "North American Review" appears in a letter to him from J. G. Palfrey, who wrote from Boston, July 29, 1823: "Everett informs us, in a note which I have received this morning, that he has informed you that he resigns the 'North American Review' to you on condition of your editing it in Boston, and on the same terms that he has done. If he has written to Baltimore, as is probable, I suppose you will not get his letter in New York. We have had no meeting on the subject, but I apprehend there will be no obstacle to the arrangement being made, unless it be on your part; and if, as I earnestly wish may be the case, it is agreeable to you, I should think you would come directly to Boston from New York to make provision for the January number."

SPARKS ON COLONIZATION.

While living in Maryland, Mr. Sparks' interest in the "North American Review" never ceased. When he returned to Massachusetts he remained friendly to the South. After his removal from Baltimore to Boston in the autumn of 1823, once more to take editorial charge of that famous magazine, his first important contribution was upon a subject which happily combined his Northern training and Southern experience, his religious zeal and spirit of propaganda, with that early enthusiasm for the Dark Continent. Sparks' article on "The Colonization Society, or the Advantages and Practicability of Colonization in Africa," was published in January, 1824. It was nominally a review of "The Sixth Annual Report of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States;" but in reality it was the whole history of the colonization movement, from its first suggestion by

Thomas Jefferson and the Rev. Dr. Finley. The Colonization Society was organized in the city of Washington in 1816, through the active agency of Dr. Finley,¹ then of New Jersey, supported by prominent statesmen from the South, among others by Henry Clay, John Randolph, and General Robert G. Harper. Judge Washington, of the Supreme Court, was chosen president of the society. An auxiliary was established at Richmond under the leadership of Chief Justice Marshall. From the high character of these officers and members we must believe that the Colonization Society represented in some measure an earnest and philanthropic enterprise. The primary intention was to provide an asylum on the west coast of Africa for the free blacks and emancipated negroes, who could never expect in this country to acquire full civil rights. At the same time, there was a strong desire on the part of the slave-owners to get rid of these freemen and freedmen, for they were looked upon as dangerous elements in a slaveholding country. Mr. Sparks himself says: —

“The character of slavery, as it exists in this country, renders emancipation to any practicable extent impossible, unless there shall be some place out of the United States to which free persons of color may be sent, where they may enjoy the civil privileges of which, for wise purposes, it is here necessary that the laws should deprive them, and where they may obtain those means of happiness which freedom and self-government will put into their hands. No dream can be more wild than that of emanci-

¹ The Rev. Dr. Finley, whose memoirs are published, was educated at the College of New Jersey during the administration of the famous Dr. Witherspoon. Dr. Finley was himself an eminent scholar and a Christian philanthropist. He wrote a pamphlet in the interest of African colonization, and was really the founder of the Colonization Society in Washington and of an auxiliary society in New Jersey. He afterwards removed to Athens, Georgia, where he had been chosen president of Franklin College, and where he soon died.

pating slaves who are still to remain among us free. We unhesitatingly express it as our belief — and we speak from some experience — that the free people of color as a class in the slaveholding States are a greater nuisance to society, more comfortless, tempted to more vices, and actually less qualified to enjoy existence, than the slaves themselves. In such a state of things, manumission is no blessing to the slave, while it is an evil of the most serious kind to the whites.

“ This we deem an important consideration, because it brings the subject of emancipation to a single point. We suppose it is the cherished hope of every true patriot, as well as of every benevolent man, that the day will come when the scourge of slavery shall no longer be felt in the land, when the rod of chastisement shall be withdrawn, and all voices shall join in the song of freedom. There is one possible way, and only one, in which this event can be accomplished, or even approximated. It is by colonization, and by this alone, that the mischiefs of slavery, and, what is more to be dreaded than slavery, the living pestilence of a free black population, can be lessened. We take the position to be settled, that no possible remedy can be imagined, while the people of color continue with us, whether as slaves, or as freemen subject to their present legal disabilities. Can any combination of facts more clearly demonstrate the necessity of procuring an asylum for these people in some place remote from our own territory, or more loudly demand the union of all hearts and hands in aiding the benevolent and well-designed beginnings of the Colonization Society? As all hope of future relief rests on some experiment of this sort, who does not see that the sooner it is begun, the less formidable will be the obstacles to contend against, and the more encouraging the prospects of success? ”

Mr. Sparks reviews in considerable detail, from the

year 1817 to 1823, all the explorations and negotiations leading up to the first abortive attempts at African colonization in unhealthy districts just before the rainy season. Recognizing all the discouraging facts connected with the first dismal failure of the movement, Mr. Sparks proceeds to discuss the advantages and practicability of the experiment when conducted under proper conditions.

Among the advantages of African colonization, Mr. Sparks suggested the promotion of commerce and the suppression of the slave trade. He recognized "the open sore of the world" as clearly as Livingstone, Stanley, and Drummond have done in our times. Sparks saw that the grand secret of African degradation was hid in the slave trade. He said all the navies of the world could not successfully police the coasts of Africa. The remedy must come from within the country itself. "A colony on the coast, at the same time it affords facilities for carrying into effect the laws against the slave trade, will be a post of observation to detect illegal traffickers, and, by heightening the risk, to discourage the boldness of adventurers." The truth of these words has been historically demonstrated by the services already rendered by colonies on the coast of Western Africa in checking and suppressing the slave trade.

To show the practicability of colonizing the African coast, Mr. Sparks pointed out the fact that there were already colonial settlements, Portuguese, French, Danish, and English, along the western shore of Africa from Cape Verde to the Cape of Good Hope. He cited the case of Sierra Leone as a good example of African colonization by American negroes. "At the close of the American Revolution," says Mr. Sparks, "many negroes who had left their masters during the war, and gone over to the British standard, were dispersed in the Bahama Islands and Nova Scotia, where the white loyalists took refuge.

Some found their way to London. Four hundred of these were shipped by their own consent to Sierra Leone in 1787. The black settlers in Nova Scotia became dissatisfied with the rigorous treatment they received, and complained to the British ministry. Emigration was thought the only remedy, and twelve hundred accepted the invitation to be transported at the expense of the government to Sierra Leone, where they arrived five years after those from London. It thus appears that the colony at Sierra Leone was first settled by negroes, who had been slaves in this country, habituated to the same climate, and possessing the same character, as the persons with whom it is contemplated to supply the new American colony."

The effect in Baltimore of Sparks' article on colonization, and at the same time his continued connections with friends in that city, are shown in the following letter, dated January 28, 1824, from Mr. F. W. P. Greenwood, his successor as Unitarian minister and as editor of the "Miscellany:" "Everybody is highly pleased here with your first number of the 'North American Review.' The Colonization article is in great favor. I am just now beginning to breathe. To-morrow I shall finish the February number of the 'Miscellany,' and then shall immediately go to work on Wordsworth.¹ You will have it, not on the 1st, but about the 12th of the month. . . . A great deal of love is sent you from all quarters. Accept mine."

Mr. Sparks' article on African Colonization was heartily commended by friends of the movement. Mr. R. R. Gurley, the secretary of the colonization Society, wrote

¹ Greenwood's appreciative review of the "Miscellaneous Poems of Wordsworth" was printed in the "North American Review," April, 1824, and well illustrates the American spirit of revolt from the literary dogmatism of the Scotch reviewers, who at first had little sense for the merits of the Lake poet.

grateful letters from Georgetown. In one letter, dated January 14, 1824, Gurley innocently inquires "whether the Massachusetts society to suppress the slave trade cannot be aroused to some vigorous effort in our cause, and whether, through this institution, New England generally may not be excited to aid our enterprise." The strongest commendation came from the Hon. C. F. Mercer, in a long and historically interesting letter, dated Washington, January 5, 1824. Mercer said: "I have seldom met with a pamphlet which afforded me more lively enjoyment than I have derived from that which accompanied your obliging letter of the 31st ult. Apart from its main purpose, which is worthy of the deepest interest and which you justly appreciate, how many unfounded prejudices between the North and the South would the diffusion of such works infallibly remove!" Mercer proceeds to explain his own interest and faith in the colonization movement. He narrates some very interesting facts concerning the origin and history of the Colonization Society, and the early attempts of Virginia to get rid of slavery by legislative methods.

"In the winter of 1815-16, near a twelvemonth before the society existed, I learnt by the merest accident that the legislature of Virginia, of which I had the honor to be a member, had fourteen years before endeavored to obtain through the instrumentality of the federal government a territory beyond the United States for the purpose of colonizing this class of our population. So well had this state secret been kept that until a quarrel between a member of the legislature and an eminent lawyer, to which I happened to be privy, disclosed it, I never even imagined that such a measure had been agitated in our state councils, and much less that it had twice received the unanimous support of both branches of our legislature."

Mercer then narrates very circumstantially how he, in conjunction with Francis T. Key, of Georgetown, and Elias B. Caldwell, of Washington, had renewed the old project; how in December, 1816, he had introduced a resolution in the Virginia House of Delegates, authorizing the Governor of the State to seek the aid of the President of the United States in procuring a place suitable for colonizing the free blacks, and such as might be afterwards emancipated. The resolution passed the popular branch of the legislature with but nine opposing votes, out of a total of one hundred and forty-six; and it passed the senate with but one dissenting voice. Maryland, Tennessee, and Georgia passed resolutions similar to those of Virginia. The Colonization Society was the outgrowth of this spirit. Mercer said that he prepared the second and third annual reports of the Colonization Society, and "every bill, resolution, and report relative to the slave trade, since the session of Congress of 1818, I have prepared in conformity with these reports." Mercer confesses that, while piety and benevolence had their influence even with him, yet love for his native State was his paramount motive in laboring for colonization. He mourns over the declining fortunes of Virginia, and says, "I impute them to the prevalence of slavery through the territory."

JEFFERSON ON COLONIZATION.

Thomas Jefferson was deeply interested in the colonization movement, and Jared Sparks' able article upon the subject called forth from the old statesman the following interesting and valuable letter, dated Monticello, February 4, 1824: —

"I duly received your favor of the 13th and, with it, the last N^o. of the N. A. Review. this has anticipated the one I should receive in course, but have not yet re-

ceived under my subscription to the new series. the article on the African colonisation of the people of colour, to which you invite my attention, I have read with great consideration. it is indeed a fine one, and will do much good. I learn from it more too than I had before known of the degree of success and promise of that colony.

“ In the disposition of these unfortunate people, there are two rational objects to be distinctly kept in view. 1. the establishment of a colony on the coast of Africa, which may introduce among the Aborigines the arts of cultivated life, and the blessings of civilisation and science. by doing this, we may make to them some retribution for the long course of injuries we have been committing on their population. and considering that these blessings will descend to the ‘natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis,’ we shall, in the long run, have rendered them perhaps more good than evil. to fulfil this object the colony of Sierraleone promises well, and that of Mesurado adds to our prospect of success. under this view the colonisation society is to be considered as a Missionary society, having in view however objects more humane, more justifiable, and less aggressive on the peace of other nations than the others of that appellation.

“ The 2^d object, and the most interesting to us, as coming home to our physical and moral characters, to our happiness and safety, is to provide an asylum to which we can, by degrees, send the whole of that population from among us, and establish them under our patronage and protection, as a separate, free and independant people, in some country and climate friendly to human life and happiness. that any place on the coast of Africa should answer the latter purpose, I have ever deemed entirely impossible. and, without repeating the other arguments which have been used by others, I will appeal to figures only, which admit no controversy. I shall speak in round

numbers, not absolutely accurate, yet not so wide from truth as to vary the result materially. there are in the U. S. a million and a half of people of colour in slavery. to send off the whole of these at once nobody conceives to be practicable for us, or expedient for them. let us take 25. years for its accomplishment, within which time they will be doubled, their estimated value as property, in the first place, (for actual property has been lawfully vested in that form, and who can lawfully take it from the possessor?) at an average of 200. D. each, young and old, would amount to 600. millions of Dollars, which must be paid or lost by somebody. to this add the cost of their transportation by land & sea to Mesurado, a year's provision of food and clothing, implements of husbandry and of their trades which will amount to 300. millions more, making 36. millions of Dollars a year for 25. years, with ensurance of peace all that time, and it is impossible to look at the question a second time. I am aware that at the end of about 16. years, a gradual detraction from this sum will commence, from the gradual diminution of breeders, and go on during the remaining 9. years. calculate this deduction, and it is still impossible to look at the enterprise a second time. I do not say this to induce an inference that the getting rid of them is for ever impossible. for that is neither my opinion, nor my hope. but only that it cannot be done in this way. there is, I think, a way in which it can be done, that is, by emancipating the after-born, leaving them, on due compensation, with their mothers, until their services are worth their maintenance, and then putting them to industrious occupations, until a proper age for deportation. this was the result of my reflections on the subject five and forty years ago, and I have never yet been able to conceive any other practicable plan. it was sketched in the Notes on Virginia, under the 14th Query. the estimated value of the

new-born infant is so low (say $12\frac{1}{2}$ Dollars) that it would probably be yielded by the owner gratis, and would thus reduce the 600. millions of Dollars, the first head of expence, to 37. millions & a half, leaving only the expences of nourishment while with the mother, and of transportation. and from what fund are these expences to be furnished? why not from that of the lands which have been ceded by the very states now needing this relief? and ceded on no consideration, for the most part, but that of the general good of the whole. these cessions already constitute one fourth of the states of the Union. it may be said that these lands have been sold, are now the property of the citizens composing those states, and the money long ago received and expended. but an equivalent of lands in the territories since acquired, may be appropriated to that object, or so much, at least, as may be sufficient; and the object, altho' more important to the slave-states, is highly so to the others also, if they were serious in their arguments on the Missouri question. the slave-states too, if more interested, would also contribute more by their gratuitous liberation, thus taking on themselves alone the first and heaviest item of expence. in the plan sketched in the Notes on Virginia no particular place of asylum was specified; because it was thought possible that, in the revolutionary state of America, then commenced, events might open to us some one within practicable distance. this has now happened. St. Domingo is become independant, and with a population of that colour only; and, if the public papers are to be credited, their Chief offers to pay their passage, to receive them as free citizens, and to provide them employment. this leaves then for the general confederacy no expence but of nurture with the mother a few years, and would call of course for a very moderate appropriation of the vacant lands. suppose the whole annual increase to be of 60.

thousand effective births. 50. vessels of 400. tons burthen each, constantly employed in that short run, would carry off the increase of every year, & the old stock would die off in the ordinary course of nature, lessening from the commencement until it's final disappearance. in this way no violation of private right is proposed. voluntary surrenders would probably come in as fast as the means to be provided for their care would be competent to. looking at my own state only, and I presume not to speak for the others, I verily believe that this surrender of property would not amount to more annually than half our present direct taxes, to be continued fully about 20. or 25. years, and then gradually diminishing for as many more until their final extinction; and even this half tax would not be paid in cash, but by the delivery of an object which they have never yet known or counted as part of their property: and those not possessing the object, will be called on for nothing. I do not go into all the details of the burthens and benefits of this operation. and who could estimate it's blessed effects? I leave this to those who will live to see their accomplishment, and to enjoy a beatitude forbidden to my age. but I leave it with this admonition to rise and be doing. a million and a half are within their controul; but 6. millions (which a majority of those now living will see them attain) and one million of these fighting men, will say 'we will not go.'

"I am aware that this subject involves some constitutional scruples. but a liberal construction, justified by the object, may go far, and an amendment of the constitution the whole length necessary. The separation of infants from their mothers too would produce some scruples of humanity. but this would be straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel.

"I am much pleased to see that you have taken up the subject of the duty on imported books. I hope a crusade

will be kept up against it until those in power shall become sensible of this stain on our legislation, and shall wipe it from their code, and from the remembrance of man if possible. I salute you with assurances of high respect and esteem.

“TH. JEFFERSON.

“To J. SPARKS.”

Mr. Sparks long retained his active interest in promoting the colonization movement. To the “North American” for January, 1825, he contributed an article upon emigration to Africa and Hayti, in review of certain reports and published correspondence regarding the emigration of free people of color from the United States. While confessing his partiality for the colonial experiment in Africa, Mr. Sparks saw no reason for not encouraging negro emigration to Hayti. Its climate was healthful, and its government liberal. Special inducements had been held out to free negroes in America by President Boyer, of Hayti. This asylum seemed fitted for free negroes from the Western States on account of the easy access to the West Indies by way of the Mississippi River. Mr. Sparks described the uncomfortable situation of the free blacks in Indiana and Illinois, and the bold attempts that had been made to introduce slavery into those States. “A resident of Kentucky would sell his slave to an inhabitant of Illinois, and give him over to his new master by an indenture, in which the slave bound himself to service for *ninety-nine years*, and confirmed the agreement by a mark made with his own hand at the bottom of the instrument. Thus transferred, the slave was taken into a free State, and was said to be bound to service for a term of years.” It was found, however, that purchasers could not thus hold men as indented slaves upon free soil northwest of the Ohio. But the position of

negroes in Indiana and Illinois was nevertheless far from secure. There was constant plotting and agitation against them. It was felt by some of their best friends that emigration to Hayti would be a wise measure for all free blacks along the northern shore of the Ohio. A small colony actually removed from Illinois, and settled upon the lands of President Boyer, at Logan, twenty miles from Port au Prince.

CHAPTER IX.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO ECONOMIC HISTORY, INDIAN POLICY, ETC.

ECONOMIC HISTORY.

MR. SPARKS further showed his interest in the economic history of the South, and at the same time his loyal remembrance of the city in which he had lived for four years, by a very elaborate article of forty pages upon Baltimore, published in the "North American Review" for January, 1825. It was a time when Maryland was beginning with great vigor to develop her commercial connections between the Chesapeake Bay and the Ohio Valley. It was the year before the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was projected. General Harper and others were still advocating George Washington's early and favorite idea of a connection with western waters by means of a canal along the line of the Potomac. The Erie Canal was now completed, and the merchants of Baltimore were bending every energy to prevent the loss of their Western trade. It is interesting to see the commercial spirit and municipal enterprise of Baltimore in 1825 reflected in the pages of Mr. Sparks, who, by long acquaintance and correspondence with Baltimoreans, knew well their resolute character. After reviewing the early history, economic development, and resources of the city, he says:—

"The great national road from Wheeling to Cumberland has been continued by the banks in Baltimore, and three other banks in the western districts of Maryland. They were required by the State to make fifty-eight miles of this road on the same construction as the renewal of

their charters in 1814, and the average cost was something more than 8,000 dollars a mile. The banks are allowed to establish toll gates. A break of a few miles between the termination of this road and of the Fredericktown turnpike has since been finished, and now the line of communication between Baltimore and Wheeling is complete, over one of the best roads in the world. . . . The New York canal will draw through Lake Erie for the present the produce of the northern parts of Ohio and Indiana; but when the magnificent project of threading the Alleghanies with a canal, and uniting the Ohio, nay, the Great Lakes themselves, with the Chesapeake, shall be put into execution, which, since recent surveys would seem to prove it practicable, may be expected at no distant day, then the entire trade of these three States [Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana] will flow into this channel, as being the shortest and most expeditious route to the tide waters of the Atlantic.

“In this event, Baltimore will inevitably become the chief mart of Western produce, and possess an almost exclusive privilege of sending over the mountains supplies of home manufactures and foreign products. Georgetown, Washington, and Alexandria will doubtless be greatly benefited by such a communication to the West, but the local situation of these towns is not such as to enable any one or all of them to gain the ascendancy already held by Baltimore. . . . But without reference to this brilliant and as some think rather dubious scheme of joining the great waters of the East and West, Baltimore must in any event derive a great and an increasing profit from its intercourse with the interior, partly for reasons already suggested, and partly from the fact that manufacturing establishments cannot be advantageously erected on a large scale either to the east or the west of the mountains.”

Mr. Sparks attributed the growth of Baltimore to various economic causes : first, to its local situation, being the nearest market to the Western country ; second, fast-sailing vessels, the once famous Baltimore clippers, built in the Chesapeake ; third, a virtual monopoly of trade with San Domingo during a long period ; fourth, the handling of two great staples, flour and tobacco ; and, fifth, " by no means the least cause, the enterprising spirit of the people, much more energetic in its combined and continued action than that of any other city in the United States." This was doubtless the honest opinion of the editor of the " North American Review," — of a Northern man writing economic history in the city of Boston at the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, before the rank of American cities was in all respects determined, before the energy, enterprise, and intelligence of New England had borne their splendid municipal fruits, before Eastern capital had built up Western towns. In 1825, Baltimore appeared to Jared Sparks somewhat as Chicago or Minneapolis appears to an Eastern man to-day. Indeed, Baltimore has projected her life westward as truly as did New England. It should not be forgotten that the centre of population is in a sense the true centre of a nation's energy. That centre in the United States, as may be seen in Walker's Statistical Atlas, has moved gradually westward from Baltimore, along the line of the great national road and of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, past Cincinnati, and towards the Mississippi valley. Baltimore is now simply an Eastern terminus of a great national highway. George Washington and Jared Sparks early recognized that, for the whole Northwest, the Potomac route is the shortest cut to the sea. Upon this fact in physical geography the city of Baltimore will stand firm and continue to grow.

Concerning Mr. Sparks' article upon the Monumental

City, Mr. Bancroft wrote him from Northampton, August 25, 1827: "I think your article on Baltimore was judicious, well written, and of permanent interest, worth a dozen doses of sentimental criticism, and that similar articles on various sections of the country would be of great and general value." It is pleasant to note in this connection Mr. Bancroft's expression of interest in the economic development of the Connecticut valley and of the town (now the city) of Northampton: "The valley of the Connecticut is but just coming to a consciousness of its resources. Agriculture is fast improving, and lands, heretofore desolate, our farmers are fast bringing under culture. You know what vast expenditures, chiefly for the cotton business, have been made at Ware, Three Rivers, and Chicopee. Besides this, there are very large manufactures of paper, which are constantly increasing, and which already do a prodigious business. . . . Meantime our own village is almost the most thriving in the commonwealth. I feel myself identified with it; and indeed it is not without a joy in creation, and a sentiment of gratitude and pleasure, that from the balcony of my own house I am able to look out upon so large and so prospering a country. My prospect extends through various openings in the hills to the Monadnock of New Hampshire, on the north; on the south, the view is bounded only by the mountains in Stafford, Connecticut, and the intermediate distance crowded with objects of interest, lovely scenery, and numerous villages."

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT AND SLAVERY.

The following letter, written from Boston, December 11, 1826, to the Hon. Thomas W. Cobb, of Georgia, by Jared Sparks, shows his interest in the internal improvement of that State, and at the same time illustrates his views upon the subject of slavery: "Your favor of 22d

ult. has been this day received, together with the 'Report of the Board of Public Works in Georgia.' I regret that this document did not come till it was too late to prepare a notice of it for the January number of the 'North American Review.' A suitable notice will appear in the number following. I was in Milledgeville last May, and became acquainted with the exertions making on the part of Georgia to forward the purposes of internal improvements. A few remarks on the subject are contained in the 'North American Review' for July. The enterprise is highly creditable to the State, and I shall take care that it is properly set forth in the 'Review,' as far as the facts can be brought to my knowledge, and shall always be greatly obliged to you if you will send me any documents relating to the progress of events in Georgia.

"As to the 'inheritance of an evil' which you mention, I think you have not seen anything in the 'North American Review,' latterly at least, which is unreasonable on this subject, or which ought to give offense to any party. I agree very nearly with your doctrine, that those who suffer the 'evil,' of which we are apt to talk so much in this quarter, should be 'let alone' till they begin to complain and seek for a remedy. I have resided several years in a slave State, and understand the condition of things perfectly well, and am fully convinced that no good will be done by violent measures in this business. Slavery, in the abstract, I consider a great calamity, and a reproach to a free government, and one which every true patriot should desire to see removed as soon as it can be done; but in the present state of things we have little to do with the question in the abstract. Slavery exists by the Constitution and the laws; rights have grown out of this institution which ought to be protected, and which it is the duty of every man in the country to respect. I

hold it to be wrong, therefore, for any persons, except those immediately concerned, to interfere with those rights.

“When I travel through the Southern States, and witness the immense difference between the prosperity, wealth, progress in the arts of life, and in everything which indicates the improvements and comforts of society, between those States and the others where free labor only prevails, I cannot help thinking that slavery is a national evil, and particularly an evil to those who are obliged to endure its effects. No man can shut his eyes to these things, and they will become more and more imposing every year. If there were not a slave in Georgia, that State would be advanced as far in fifty years in property, and every kind of improvement, as it will be under the present dispensation in a hundred years. Look at Virginia and New York for the last fifty years, — the one, with slavery, going backward and becoming impoverished; the other, with free labor only, moving rapidly onward with unexampled prosperity.

“But after all this, I return to my former position, that, as it is an affair which concerns the slaveholders most intimately, it ought to be left for them to manage as they may deem expedient. When they ask for relief, let the whole country join in rendering it; while they are contented, let those who have no personal interest in the matter spare themselves the pain of being annoyed and afflicted on their account. This I believe to be the sentiment of the more enlightened part of the community in this part¹ of the country. There will be enthusiasts

¹ See O. B. Frothingham's "Boston Unitarianism," pp. 194-199. Mr. Sparks well represents the views of his time with respect to the policy of non-interference in the affairs of the South. Edward Everett even defended slavery as "a condition of life, as well as any other, to be justified by morality, religion, and international law."

and men whose zeal will outrun their knowledge and discretion everywhere; but these are not the men who give the tone to public opinion or action.

“You will excuse the freedom I have taken in speaking thus, from the hints contained in your letter. Whatever may be written in the ‘North American Review’ on the subject in question, I trust will be found discreet and respectful, having a due regard to the interests and rights of all, whatever opinion it may in the main be thought proper to support.”

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Mr. Sparks seems to have developed considerable interest in political economy during his second editorship of the “North American Review.” It was a time when the first American contributions were being made to that subject by men like Thomas Jefferson, Dr. Thomas Cooper, Daniel Raymond, of Baltimore, M. Carey¹ (father of Henry C. Carey), Edward Everett,² and his brother

¹ Carey’s “Essays on Political Economy,” Philadelphia, 1822.

² Edward Everett’s article on “The Tariff Question,” in the “North American Review” for July, 1824, has a practical as well as an historic interest to modern students. Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, referred doubtless to this article in his reply in the United States Senate, August 30, 1890, to the charge of Mr. Plumb, of Kansas, that New England was showing a disposition to lay the rest of the country under tribute through the maintenance of a high tariff. Mr. Hoar said: “These communities were driven into manufacture out of commerce by the protective policy established by the South, under the lead largely of Mr. Calhoun in the period just following the War of 1812. Among the great arguments against the protective system is a speech in the House of Representatives by Mr. Webster, and an article in the ‘North American Review’ by Edward Everett. They voiced the interest and the opinion of the communities which they represented in that day. But contrary to their protests, they were forced to take to this new occupation. They have built it up and made it what it is, not originally of their own volition.”

Alexander H. Everett.¹ During his residence in Baltimore, Mr. Sparks had probably become acquainted with Daniel Raymond's treatise, called "Thoughts on Political Economy," published in Baltimore, 1820. A second edition of this work, in two volumes, entitled "The Elements of Political Economy,"² appeared in Baltimore with the imprint of Lucas and Coale in 1823. The future histo-

¹ Alexander H. Everett's book on "Population" went through several editions. He sent an article on political economy from Madrid to the "North American Review" in 1827.

² Mr. Sparks quotes Raymond, and also Count Destutt Tracy, a translation of whose work, with an introduction by Thomas Jefferson, was published at Georgetown, D. C., in 1817. Dr. Cooper had written economic articles for "The Emporium of Arts and Sciences," which he edited from 1812 to 1814. In 1819, Dr. Cooper brought out an American adaptation of Say's "Political Economy," which, with McVickar's adaptation of McCulloch (1826), long continued to guide American classes in political economy.

In 1826, Dr. Cooper published in Charleston, S. C., his own "Lectures on the Elements of Political Economy." From the preface to this book it appears that the first proposal for a chair of political economy at South Carolina College was made at Commencement in 1824. Dr. Cooper, then president of the college and professor of chemistry, was appointed professor also of political economy. At the same time he was relieved of belles-lettres and rhetorical criticism. "In the first year of these Lectures," he says, "I made use of Mrs. Marcet's very neat compendium of political economy, in her published 'Conversations' on that subject; afterwards of McVickar's republication of McCulloch's 'Outline,' to which he has added some very useful notes." Concerning the beginnings of American political economy, see H. B. Adams' "Study of History, in American Colleges," pp. 61-63, "Thomas Jefferson," pp. 59, 136, 142. With such practical economists as Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris, Alexander Hamilton, and Albert Gallatin, America need not be ashamed of her centennial record in this modern science, which dates, some think, from the year 1776, when Adam Smith published his "Wealth of Nations." Samuel Blodget's "Economics," published in Washington in 1806, is said by Dr. G. Brown Goode to be "the first work on political economy written in America." See "Papers of the American Historical Association," vol. iv., 109.

rian of American political economy will examine with care the works of these early writers, and also the economic contributions to the "North American Review." In October, 1824, Mr. Sparks published an article on agriculture, in "Review of the American Farmer, containing Original Essays and Selections on Rural Economy and Internal Improvements," a weekly quarto journal published in Baltimore, and begun in April, 1819. In this article Sparks discusses the theories of the physiocrats with regard to the principal sources of wealth. He criticises Adam Smith's distinction between productive and unproductive labor. Sparks says: "All labor is productive which promotes the end it designs, and when this end is a benefit to the laborer himself, or to any other individual, it has value, and as far as it ministers to the wants or comforts of society, or any members of society, it is an item of the general wealth. The labor of the servant is as really productive labor as that of the cultivator or the cotton spinner, but in a different way. It produces the means of living for himself, and the means of comfort for his employer, and for every person who is benefited by his services. That is, it adds to the mass of national wealth, not in food or clothing, or any kind of manufactured fabrics, but in keeping up the order of society, and increasing the happiness of human existence to a certain number of individuals. So with the professional musician: his labor accumulates nothing; it produces the means of his own subsistence, and gives pleasure to others, or, in other words, it produces such results, in regard to human enjoyment, as accumulated wealth would produce. The same may be said of other professions, employed in preserving the intercourse of society. They add nothing to the amount of agricultural or manufactured products, they bring no new combinations of matter into existence; yet it would be a great error to say that they are unpro-

ductive, since they are among the principal agents of social order and comfort."

Thus the argument of Knies, Roscher,¹ and other German critics against the somewhat arbitrary distinction between productive and unproductive labor was anticipated by Jared Sparks long before the rise of the historical school of political economy. Sparks criticises Adam Smith for ascribing to agriculture the chief power in producing wealth, and shows that the productive powers of Nature work as much for the manufacturer, the merchant, and the mariner as for the farmer. "Nature," says Mr. Sparks, "works for the manufacturer by upholding the mechanical powers; and by lending her streams, the agency of her fires, and her great law of attraction, to put his machinery in motion, and give efficiency to his enterprise. She supplies the bounties of her forests, her mines, and fields to the shipwright, and freely offers her waves and her winds to waft the goods of the merchant from one clime to another in obedience to his will. In short, without the helping hand of Nature nothing could be

¹ "Dr. Roscher has called attention to the intrinsic absurdity of calling a violin manufacturer a productive laborer, and the artist who plays the violin an unproductive one, as is expressly done by Mr. Mill and his followers. The violin would thus be classed as wealth; the music, the sole end of its manufacture, not wealth. The product, music, satisfies a direct want, the violin only an indirect one; the latter is an instrument for producing that which satisfies direct desire. The direct want-satisfying product is, if anything, more obviously wealth than the indirect one. Relative durability and tangibility are non-essential attributes. The mechanic who makes the violin imparts utility to wood; the artist who plays it imparts utility to air vibrations. One product is perceived by the senses of sight and touch, the other by the sense of hearing. One is extremely durable, the other extremely perishable; but both alike come under our definition. In both a natural agent has received a utility through human effort; both products are wealth, and both laborers productive." — "Labor and its Relation to Wealth," by John B. Clark, p. 16.

brought to pass ; she works everywhere and at all times, and that is a fallacious theory which claims her partiality to any particular branch of human exertion. If she does more for one than another, it is because a superior ingenuity succeeds in gaining a more effectual control over her agency."

The opening of communications between the "North American Review" and the leading economist of the South appears in the following notes from J. G. Palfrey and Dr. Thomas Cooper : —

Mr. Palfrey, temporarily in charge of the "Review" during the absence of Mr. Sparks in the South, writes to him, February 22, 1826 : "With this came Cooper's 'Political Economy,'¹ two pamphlets on Materialism, and another containing two essays : 1, on the Foundation of Civil Government ; 2, on the Constitution of the United States. What shall be done with them ?" Dr. Cooper, then professor at Columbia, South Carolina, addressed the following to the editor of the "North American," November 18, 1826 : "I send you some works of mine to be reviewed, or not, as you think fit. But pray do not omit to think fit to accept them as a token of my respect and kind wishes. If you review the two small pamphlets on Materialism (both of them mine), review them as being anonymous. I promised to send Mr. Frothingham, when I was in Boston last, half a dozen copies of Cobbett's 'History of the Reformation,' but I have not yet been able to get but one copy, and that lately, which, being in separate parts, I have sent to be bound, that I may read it. Cobbett and Lingard I suppose will be in the pit as two fighting cocks, on one side. Your friends here inquire after

¹ Of Cooper's contribution to economics, McCulloch, in his "Literature of Political Economy," says : "This work, though not written in a very philosophical spirit, is the best of the American works on political economy that we have ever met with."

you with all kind wishes. Remember, I take for granted that in Politics and Metaphysics we do not agree."

Mr. Sparks endeavored to secure articles and reviews upon economic subjects from public men, for example, Daniel Webster, to whom he wrote the following letter from Boston, March 4, 1826: "A new work has reached me from London, and is in press, I understand, in this country, entitled 'Principles of Political Economy, with a Sketch of the Progress of the Science,' by J. R. McCulloch, Esq. It is the article in the supplement to the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' enlarged and made into a book. You know McCulloch is now considered a leading writer on this subject, and is Ricardo Lecturer. It will be an important thing if we can have a good review of this book in the 'North American Review,' and still more important if you can find leisure and inclination to do it. Political economy, although a science of great intrinsic value, is gaining very slowly in this country, and it seems to me a duty, for those who are skilled in the matter, to take some pains to bring it often and forcibly before the public. It has many points, too, peculiar to this country, which have not been sufficiently elucidated. If you will favor the readers of the 'North American Review' with an article on this work, you can take your own time, and I do believe your labor would be well bestowed."

In a letter to John Neal, of London, July 26, 1826, Mr. Sparks speaks of the importance of articles on political economy for the "Review," and says: "Mr. Webster has promised to write on this subject, and I hope to bring him up to the task before the next session of Congress, but it is uncertain. He is now engaged in preparing an address or oration on Adams and Jefferson, by appointment of the city of Boston, to be delivered within a week. The whole nation is expressing its astonishment at the

strange coincidence of the death of these two ancient patriots on the jubilee of independence, and the whole nation is mourning their loss with every possible demonstration of respect for their memory."

Mr. Sparks again addressed Mr. Webster, September 6, 1826: "The friends of Mr. Cardozo,¹ author of the tract on political economy, have beset me about his book, and complained that it has not been noticed in the 'North American Review.' I suppose the book has merit, and perhaps their complaints are just. I write to say, therefore, that I hope you will go on with the review, for this and many other reasons. The truth is, we have somewhat neglected the department of political economy lately, and it is desirable we should have something on the subject sound and good; and this seems a favorable opportunity for promulgating useful doctrines, and keeping alive in the community an interest in a science which must gradually exercise a wide influence. With your thorough acquaintance with the subject, it will probably not require a great demand on your time to commit your thoughts to writing. And I flatter myself, moreover, that you will not be unwilling to do a little towards adding to the value and reputation of the 'North American Review,' at the same time you are conferring a public benefit. You can refer to McCulloch's book or not, as you like, or you may connect your remarks wholly with Cardozo's tracts. If you can have an article ready by November 1, it will be in good time for the January number.

"If, from a pressure of business or any other cause, you make up your mind that you cannot furnish the article, you will do me a favor to let me know soon, as I must put Cardozo's book into a train of examination. I ardently hope, however, that not only your inclination, but your leisure, will allow you to pursue the subject in the shape of a review."

¹ Mr. Cardozo, of Charleston, S. C. : "Notes on Political Economy."

Mr. Webster wrote to Mr. Sparks, October 12, 1826 : "I have read Mr. Cardozo's book, and looked into McCulloch ; but the field spread out so wide before me that I gave up the idea of entering upon it with any view of writing. A great part of Mr. Cardozo's notes are taken up in commenting on Smith and Ricardo. The very statement of the questions in difference between him and them, so as to be intelligible to general readers, would occupy the space of a short article. I must confess, moreover, that there is a great deal of solemn commonplace, and a great deal also of a kind of metaphysics, in all or most of the writers on these subjects. There is no science that needs more to be cleared from mists than that of political economy. If we turn our eyes from books to things, from speculation to fact, we often, I think, perceive that the definitions and the rules of these writers fail in their application. If I live long enough, I intend to print my own thoughts (not, however, in any more bulky form than a speech, or an article in the 'North American') on one or two of the topics discussed by Mr. Cardozo. But when that leisure day, necessary even to so small an effort, may come, is more than I can say."

The following letter was written to Jared Sparks, February 8, 1827, by Alexander H. Everett, the American minister at Madrid: "I send you herewith through the Department of State the article on political economy mentioned in my last. The subject is highly important, and engages the public attention to a considerable extent both in Europe and America. In order to recommend it to as large a circle of readers as possible, I have treated it in a rather more popular way than perhaps strictly comports with its character. The course of thinking is in general the same as in my 'New Idea on Population,' but I have added a good many hints. The article contains the seeds of a more extended work on political economy

which I hope to publish one day or another, and which I thought, when I wrote you last, of undertaking immediately. I incline now to lay it aside for a while, and give the materials opportunity to ripen. In the mean time I shall try the public sentiment upon them by this and perhaps other detached essays."

In reply to this letter, Sparks wrote to Everett from Mt. Vernon, May 14, 1827: "Your article on political economy I trust is now in press, and I take the earliest opportunity to thank you for so excellent a contribution to the 'Review,' as well as for the pleasure and profit I have derived from the perusal. Your popular manner of discussing the subject will recommend the article to all classes of readers, and no one can read it with a fair mind and resist conviction. The scheme of Malthus is a mere invention, a castle in the air, reared with ingenuity and fancifully decorated, but which must fall to pieces the moment it is touched with the wand of truth. That such a delusion should have gained favor at any time is a wonder, but for this very reason it will cling the more firmly where it has got a hold. *Credo quia impossibile est* was not a maxim peculiar to Tertullian alone; most men are in love with it under certain circumstances. In this class Malthus will continue to have disciples, but in no other. You bear hard upon McCulloch. Perhaps you are right. I know not enough of him to say nay, and shall leave him in your hands. He seems to have a name, and if it is a humbug, let his wings be plucked off. If he is a mere spinner out of other men's false ideas, cut his thread, stop his wheel, and let him go to some other trade."

INDIAN POLICY. — VIEWS OF CASS AND SCHOOLCRAFT.

Mr. Sparks received several letters from that remarkable man, Lewis Cass, the pioneer of New England influence in Michigan, the organizer of institutions of government in the region of the old Northwest Territory, and the defender of our Indian policy. The following letter is dated Detroit, April 22, 1826: "Your letter addressed to me here, I did not receive till long after its date, in consequence of my visit to Washington. I am every way satisfied with the changes made in the review on Indian subjects, and were it not so, I should have no just cause of complaint, as I entrusted the whole arrangement of the manuscript to your discretion. The verbal alterations are all evidently improvements, and you have justly regarded the feelings and views of the literary public in the omissions. There is but one point on which I differ from you in opinion, and that is the policy of keeping terms with the 'Quarterly.' On this subject I am no doubt influenced by my feelings, and you are in a better situation than I am to ascertain the probable effects upon the character of your journal of a more *Hannibalian* mode of warfare.

"The reputation of the 'North American Review' is the property of the nation. In all questions affecting the literature, the history, or the policy of the United States, it must stand between our country and her traducers. And, thanks to the ability and taste displayed in its conduct, this defense is now a secure one. And it appears to me that the cardinal object in the management of the journal should be to make it respectable, abroad and at home, for its discussion of American affairs and its defense of American measures. But it ill becomes me, living at the very outskirts of the empire of literature, to obtrude my opinion on these subjects.

“I will furnish you with an article for the next January number of the ‘North American.’ The subject will probably be the conduct of the British and American governments towards the Indians, and the *famous* number of the ‘Quarterly’ will furnish the textbook. Some facts are certainly stated there, and stated too with an affectation of truth, from which the character of our country should be redeemed. We owe a correct disclosure of the circumstances to ourselves and to the world. In the prosecution of the subject I must refer to the slanders of the ‘Quarterly’ in order to refute them. I will endeavor to do this in a proper spirit of literary comity, but fully and fearlessly. I must ask your advice respecting the best book to place at the head of the article, — an American one, if possible. I must also ask you to send me the book, — by mail, if there is no immediate private opportunity. My public duties will probably call me into Lake Superior this season, and it is desirable I should have with me all the necessary materials. What number of pages can you allow me? It is so difficult for me to keep my industry to the *sticking* place, that I am anxious to know the extent of the field before I begin my labor. I shall endeavor not to waste a single line.”

Sparks replied to this letter, July 26, 1826: “On my return recently from a long absence of nearly four months to Georgia and the other Southern States, I found your letters of April 22 and June 17. As you mention in the latter that you were to depart immediately for Lake Superior, I know not whether this will reach you before your return to Detroit. I shall only say, therefore, that I am very glad you are resolved to go on with the article you proposed, and hope it will be in my hands as soon, at the latest, as the 10th of November.

“I shall write to Washington requesting the Reports

about Indians, presented to Congress last winter, to be sent you. These can be put at the head of the article, and also Mr. Barbour's letter, and make such critical remarks on them, in connection with your subject, as you think proper.

“As to the ‘Quarterly,’ I am fully convinced you had better say as little in the way of a direct collision as the nature of the subject will admit. Since the change of editors, no uncivil things of America have been said; and in your criticisms, I think it will be best to refer rather to the article in question than to the ‘Quarterly’ in general terms. Little is gained to any cause by vehement and indiscriminate censure, and when this is too prominent it carries the appearance of some private feeling or motive, rather than a disinterested wish to correct errors and substantiate truth. . . .

“Your other article has been very popular, and of service to the ‘North American Review.’ You have doubtless seen some of the attacks upon it in the papers. A pamphlet of some pretensions has just come from London defending Hunter; it is reprinted in the ‘National Gazette.’ I shall send you a copy. Encouraged by this attempt, I doubt not Hunter will come out in his own defense, and it may be necessary for the ‘Review’ to take up the matter again. For this purpose all the facts should be collected which can be come at. General Clark and others, I hope, will be more full and explicit.”

Governor Cass had embodied in his article General William Clark's testimony regarding the untrustworthiness of John Dunn Hunter and his “Narrative” of adventures among the Kansas and Osage Indians. Hunter's “Narrative” had attracted favorable notice in England, and he himself had been received with marked attention in that country. Cass and Clark exposed many of his blunders, and raised the suspicion in America that

Hunter was more or less of an impostor. In a letter to Cass, November 18, 1826, Sparks said: "As to Hunter, the documents furnished by Major Biddle, and published in the 'Intelligencer' of November 9, afford so decided a confirmation of all you have said, that there seems no occasion to add another word. . . .

"In the second volume of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, recently published, I observe by the advertisement that Mr. Rawle has inserted an article defending Heckewelder from some of your charges. As I have not seen the book, I know not the nature of the piece. You had better write to some person in Philadelphia to forward the book to you immediately. This article comes from so respectable a source that it ought to be noticed, and with proper respect. Perhaps it will be well to put this book, with Schoolcraft's, at the head of your article. You can judge when you see it: As there seems to be no little excitement on the subject of the theory of the Indians, drawn from Heckewelder's book, it seems desirable to discuss the matter at large. Indeed, there is so much the air of romance about Heckewelder's notions, aided by Mr. Duponceau's learning, that the public have inclined to adopt the whole, and to take those representations as the basis of the Indian character. . . .

"It is with pleasure I learn that your important public duties for the year are so far accomplished that you have leisure to take up the pen in earnest for another article. I can assure you that the readers of the 'Review' will greet your reappearance with a pleasure not less than my own. No article in the work has been more popular than yours on the Indians; and the subject is one in which the public manifestly feels so lively an interest, that I trust you will not be reluctant to communicate freely from the full stores of your knowledge. Although the world has been filled with books about In-

dians, they have been copies of copies, containing little that was true, and less that was worth knowing. It is a new thing to have the subject ably discussed by one thoroughly and practically acquainted with its details.

“The Indian treaties, and public documents relating to Indians, have just been published in a separate volume in Washington. Had you not better hereafter make this work the basis of an article devoted mainly to a consideration of the manner in which the government has treated the Indians, that is, its objects, policy, and the effects of its policy and practice, from the formation of the new government down to the present time? These will afford rich topics for a highly interesting article, particularly when connected with remarks on the comparative policy of England.”

The fruit of all this characteristic correspondence is seen in Governor Cass' letter to Jared Sparks, Detroit, October 4, 1829: “Your favor of the 21st ult. found me busily engaged in the preparation of my article for the next number of the ‘North American Review.’ I shall be able to forward it to you in the course of next week. My object in now troubling you is to say, that the subject has increased under my hands to a greater length than I anticipated. I am apprehensive it will reach to forty or fifty-five pages of the ‘Review.’ I have endeavored, as much as possible, to condense it within more reasonable limits, but I cannot succeed consistently with the object I have in view. I have taken a general survey of the past condition and declension of the Indians, of the efforts made to save and improve them, and of the fruitless results of these efforts. I have then glanced at the difficulties in the South, and have considered the practical principles of the intercourse of the civilized States of this continent with the Indians, both in respect to jurisdiction and title. I have arrived at the conclusion, that the

establishment of independent governments by the Indian tribes, within the limits of any of our States, would be inexpedient for both parties, and in the actual state of things was not to be expected. I have taken up the question of a removal to the country beyond the Mississippi, and urged it as a measure which offers the only chance for their preservation. The whole subject I have considered as an eminently practical one, not to be determined by speculative notions, but by the state of society as it is. I disavow all intention of using the slightest force to operate upon the Indians, or the remotest idea of violating any promise made or right secured to them. The motives must be addressed to their reason and feelings, and they must decide for themselves. If they stay, well; if they go, better. But we must not only place before them a just view of the subject, but must pay them liberally, bountifully, not only because we acquire the country, but because they leave it. You will not find a word in the article harsh towards these unfortunate beings, but on the contrary you will find it written in that spirit of kindness which I cannot but feel for them. You will perhaps not be prepared to expect that I should put so low an estimate upon the actual result of the missionary labors; but so it is, and so I know it to be. If the community is not ready for the whole truth, you must soften down the expressions to their standard of belief. You will not understand that the motives or conduct of those engaged in this task are in the slightest degree impeached. On the contrary, they are spoken of as their zeal, disinterestedness, and piety will deserve. It is only the final result I question."

Henry R. Schoolcraft wrote to Sparks from Detroit, October 13, 1829: "I had already made some examination preparatory to an article in which it was my object to take up the history and condition of the fur trade on this

frontier, when I learned that Governor Cass was engaged in a review of the policy of our government respecting the Indians, based upon recent documents transmitted from Washington, and intended to appear in your January number. As both discussions would hinge mainly upon the relations of the white man to the Indian, it was desirable to avoid a too frequent introduction of the topic, and I concluded to defer my design. It is now my impression that it had better be deferred at least a twelve-month, and this would also, as now circumstances, best suit my convenience.

“Governor Cass has completed his review, and will transmit it as soon as his private secretary can complete the copying. I have had the pleasure to hear it read. The high tone of the whole article, and the boldness of some of the positions, and the strength and color with which they are illustrated and supported, will probably arrest your attention. The great question of the removal of the Indians is, as I conceive, put at rest. Time and circumstances have decided it against them. The government, and a great portion of the people, have also decided it against them. It only requires the moral courage necessary to avow the principle, and to reconcile the kindly feelings of the friends of the Indians to their withdrawal, under a proper system, and with suitable respect to their claims on our justice and on our sympathy. All this has been done, and done, too, in a manner suited to produce conviction upon the mind of every candid reader who will give his attention to this review.

“Many of the conclusions with respect to the moral and intellectual state and actual condition of the Indian will appear startling to those who have heretofore rested in full confidence upon the poetic view of his character. The heart gathers no consolation from the sternness of the fate which surrounds him, and turns in vain to ask if

there be no practical mode by which he can be permitted permanently to remain upon the lands where his ancestors have lived and died. Fate answers, there is none. Sound policy answers, there is none. And philanthropy and benevolence must also yield their slow assent to the necessity which points him on.

“Harsh, however, as these conclusions may appear to those who have passed their lives remote from the Indian country, my own experience and observation fully satisfy me that they are just in their utmost extent. It is proper that the nation should know that the Indian is the weak, vacillating, and desponding and suffering being which he is painted in this review, wasting his time in sensual quiescence, occasionally roused to active exertion by war or hunger, but soon sinking back to a state of mental lassitude, in which he neither governs those around him nor is capable of being governed, and, above all, subject to the combined effects of every deteriorating cause which an industrious exerts upon an idle population. West of the Mississippi he may revive, he may recover the equilibrium he has lost, and may even justify the noblest expectations entertained for him.

“True as these positions are, respecting our Northwestern tribes, I am satisfied from recent information, from officers of the army and merchants who have resided at the South, that they are no less applicable to the great body of the Creek and Cherokee nations, where the combined causes of negro slavery, and the advantages of living on certain great roads and ferries leading through the nation, had created partial wealth, without obliterating from the minds and manners of its possessors the indolence and improvidence of the native character, and without even partially benefiting the great body of these nations.

“I have made these remarks from a conviction of their

pertinency to the review upon which you will be called to exercise your critical judgment; and from a conviction that the article itself is of a nature and character to permit very little alteration or omission of any part of it without material and positive detriment."

A copy of Sparks' reply to Cass is preserved, and is dated Boston, October 28, 1829: "Your favor of the 13th inst., together with the article on the removal of the Indians, has arrived. I have read the article with great care and sent it to press. In its main particulars the argument seems to me conclusive. No alteration whatever is made, except perhaps in half a dozen words or phrases, and the omission of a short extract. I cannot say that I agree with you in every particular, but your article has removed all my important doubts, and sheds much new light on the subject. After all, this project only defers the fate of the Indians. In half a century their condition beyond the Mississippi will be just what it now is on this side. Their extinction is inevitable. I received an excellent letter from Mr. Schoolcraft respecting your article. If he is now at Detroit, I beg you will express to him my thanks. Above all, persuade him to write for the 'Review.' You will receive the fifty copies,¹ as you desired."

RELATIONS WITH THE SOUTH.

Communication with the Southern States was neither quick nor easy in the days of stage-coaches and packets. Copies of the "North American Review," designed for the Charleston book market, were a month in reaching their destination, as appears from the following letter, January 28, 1824, to Mr. Sparks, from his old friend the Rev. Samuel Gilman: "An awful retribution hangs over

¹ Two hundred copies of Governor Cass' article on Indian affairs were ordered by the Secretary of War for public use.

the Boston booksellers for their vile neglect of sending periodical publications to Charleston. We never get them till more than a month after their publication. I entreat you to look to this thing. Do take every possible pains to have the 'North American Review' sent to us by the first opportunity; and stir up the 'Christian Disciple;' and rouse up Welles and Lilly. My mouth is filled with sand at the thoughts of what we all suffer here. . . . I am making applications for contributors which you requested. I shall ask Mr. Elliott, Mr. Legaré, and one or two others. . . . I have been in the habit of sending my brother-in-law, J. G. King, of Salem, all pamphlets printed here, and newspapers containing interesting local documents. I will now send them to you, requesting you to forward them again to him when you have done with them."

Sparks endeavored thus to collect Southern materials for the "North American Review," and to keep up literary connections with distant Charleston. Another Unitarian correspondent in that city, Mr. M. L. Hurlburt, a bookseller and at one time a teacher, wrote April 21, 1824: "I will readily undertake to procure for you the works which may appear in this State and Georgia, at least so many of them as I shall find practicable to obtain. You are aware that our press is a very sterile one. I know not, at present, a single book of any kind, either in press or proposed, with the exception of Elliott's 'Botany.' Periodical publications, I conclude, are hardly embraced in your design. Of these, we have one, the 'Southern Christian Register,' an Episcopalian magazine issued monthly. This you may have seen. I know of no other work which does not strictly belong to the class of newspapers."

The Rev. Samuel Gilman was a frequent contributor to the "Review," and Mr. Sparks always regarded him

as his best friend and ally in South Carolina. Gilman wrote from Charleston, February 16, 1826: "Your work grows more and more into public esteem and affection here, and is about identified with the essence of American literature. I congratulate you on this result." From the time Mr. Sparks took charge of the "North American Review" its circulation rapidly increased. Not only was the magazine made more attractive and more truly national, from the wider range of contributors secured by the editor, but he employed better business agents than his predecessors had done, and sought many new local connections through the influence of men whom he had known at college, or had met in his Southern and Western travels. It may with confidence be asserted that Jared Sparks was the first to give the "North American" a truly national circulation, and, to some extent at least, an international reputation.

"NORTH AMERICAN" IN EUROPE.—EVERETT AND IRVING.

The extent of the circulation of the "North American Review" in England is indicated by the following extract from a letter of J. G. Palfrey, who wrote to Sparks from London, October 6, 1826: "Miller says that it would be of no use, but rather injury, to put half a dozen copies of the 'North American Review' in public rooms. And he adds that his demand for 100 copies is in a course of rapid extension to 150; so that you will do well to be satisfied, for, when it gets a little beyond 150, an edition will be published here." The "North American Review" was not republished in England, but the suggestion of the idea by a London bookseller, and the regular sale of over one hundred copies, shows that American periodical literature was beginning to be appreciated by English people as early as 1826. Another agent, O. Rich, who succeeded Miller in the English management of the "North

American," wrote Mr. Sparks that five hundred copies of his "Review" ought and might be disposed of in England.

One of the best indications that the "North American Review" made its influence felt beyond American borders is the fact that it was not allowed to enter France during the reactionary Bourbon reign of Louis XVIII. France, in 1823, had intervened for the suppression of the Spanish revolution. The "North American Review" had encouraged the revolutionary spirit in Greece, Italy, and South America, and had promoted the development of the Spanish republics. In a letter written to Jared Sparks from Paris, May 29, 1824, by John F. Steele, occurs this striking passage: "You know perhaps that the 'North American Review' is prohibited in France. Last week, in coming from Geneva to Lyons, the diligence was stopped at Bellegarde by the custom-house officers. While they were inspecting the baggage I amused myself with reading over the 'Index Expurgatorius,' when to my surprise I saw my old acquaintance, the 'North American' figuring, but I assure you in company which does not disgrace it." The stopping of Mr. Sparks' "Review" on the French frontiers was quite as complimentary to American enlightenment in 1824, and quite as shameful to the French government, as was the prohibition of the "Century Magazine," and Mr. George Kennan's articles, by the Russian government in our own day. The same disgraceful espionage upon American magazine literature appears to have been practiced to some extent in Spain.

Alexander H. Everett, the American minister to Madrid, writing from that city, April 19, 1826, says: "I am without any of the numbers of the 'North American' which have appeared since I left home, but expect daily to receive them." Mr. Everett makes, in this letter, this interesting allusion to Washington Irving: "Irving is hard at work upon some new sketches, which will proba-

bly be forthcoming next winter, but will treat, I imagine, of some of his preceding adventures. He will not think of meddling with Spain till he has seen more of it. I find great comfort in his conversation, and have given him, for the honor of letters and the credit of the country, the character of *attaché à la légation*. The people here are greatly pleased with him, but, not knowing much of American literature (or, indeed, any other), have confounded him with Cooper, and he generally goes under the title of the American Walter Scott."

Mr. Alexander H. Everett was a brother of Edward Everett, and, like him, was a regular contributor to the "North American Review." He was called "the Coryphæus of our present list of writers." Enjoying abundant leisure in Spain, he was able to send Mr. Sparks more articles, perhaps, than did any contemporary writer in America. The following selections from his letters show that he appreciated the character and standing of the "North American," and gave its editor the most hearty support: "Madrid, November 18, 1826. . . . I received lately with much pleasure your polite letter of September 12. The 'Reviews' which you say were sent with it have not come to hand. I have written to Mr. Henry to inquire about them, and am still in hopes to recover them. It is somewhat singular that I should not have yet received a single number of your journal since I left home, while I get regularly two or three files of newspapers, with pamphlets *quantum sufficit*, and even the 'Athenæum Magazine,' which I am glad to find has given up the ghost. When you have no direct channel, you may always transmit a number to the Department of State, so I shall receive it in due time free of all expense.

"I am glad to find that you continue your literary labors with so much activity and zeal. The 'Review' should be the first object. It is a work of national im-

portance, and a most effective instrument for all good purposes. To possess the direction of it is to hold an office of profit and honor that may well satisfy the ambition of any individual, and I may add of responsibility that, justly weighed, might occasionally give him some anxious moments. I doubt whether the President of the United States has a higher trust to be accountable for than the editor of the 'North American.' This journal has now an established reputation, — the great condition for producing effect, — and should on no account be suffered to decline. I regret that it has not been in my power to send you anything since I have been here (as you are pleased to think that my contributions would have been of use), but shall certainly do it after a while, and shall always be happy to aid you as far as possible. Properly managed and followed up with spirit, the 'Review,' I should think, ought in time to take the lead of the 'Edinburgh' and 'Quarterly,' which are at present mostly job-work, and have nearly lost the vital spark that made them popular. As to Irving, I have communicated your request to him, but doubt whether he will contribute. He has no resource for a living but his pen, and thinks he can employ it more profitably in a different way. Besides this he has no great taste, or perhaps ability, for criticism. His range of thought and reading is limited to the line in which he works, and this is one reason why he works so well in it as he does. He has not the stock of facts, nor the familiarity with general principles, necessary for a reviewer, and is better employed in making work, as he does, for that useful class of persons. He is putting the best hand to his 'Life of Columbus,' and collecting materials for future sketches of Spain. He seems to be very happy here, and will probably remain a year or two more.

"I approve very much your project of a history of the Revolution, and the thorough way in which you are going

about it by bringing together all the valuable documents that can be obtained. The latter part of the business is of itself an important service done to letters and the country. The papers you collect should themselves be printed at the expense of the Historical Society, or some college. The history is, as you say, still unwritten, and furnishes a glorious subject. As respects the probability of success, the great point is *style*. Precision and accuracy in dates and facts, correct views of morals and politics, are taken for granted, but contribute very little to the popularity of the work. A history would have no value without them, but even with them will have no success unless the author narrate his events and state his reflections in such a way as to please the taste and ear. It was remarked by Buffon, who was very proud of his own manner, that *style was the whole man*, — a *dictum* which it would perhaps be difficult to prove or even explain; but we may well say (as regards all works excepting those of pure science) that style is the whole book. I mention this, not from any doubt as to the sufficiency of your style, which I have always thought remarkably good and peculiarly well fitted for historical composition, but in order to give you a hint as to the part that requires most attention. Style is partly the effect of natural sensibility, and so far beyond the reach of rules: as far as art goes, the secret seems to be, write down honestly and naturally the full, free flow of your thoughts and feelings, and then at a cooler moment revise with care. This process will bring out the best that a man is capable of. . . .

“Madrid, March 4, 1827. . . . I send you herewith a copy of a curious document connected with the history of our Revolution which has now been published. It is preserved in manuscript in the archives of the Academy, from which I have been enabled, through the kindness of one of my friends, to procure a transcript. The author,

Count de Aranda, was ambassador at Paris, and signed the Treaty of 1783 on the part of Spain. He was a person of high reputation and distinguished talent. From his residence at Paris, while the war was going on he had no doubt communicated freely with the French ministry on the subject of their policy in relation to the independence of the United States. The opinions he expresses may therefore be considered as those of the French ministry of that period, and as they are decidedly unfavorable to the interest of our country, they serve to justify the suspicions that were felt at the time respecting the intentions of France by Mr. Adams and Mr. Jay. The paper is therefore a document of some importance as regards our history; and as you are collecting material for a work on that subject, I have thought that a copy of it would be agreeable to you. The document is also curious in reference to the history of the Spanish colonies, and shows a good deal of political sagacity and forethought in the author.

“I think it not improbable that I shall have it in my power during my residence here to procure other interesting papers of a similar kind from the public archives and libraries, to all of which I have full and free access. Should this be the case I shall, if you wish it, be happy to communicate them to you; and if there are any points upon which you wish particularly to obtain information, which is likely to be found here, and will let me know what they are, I will endeavor to satisfy you. Irving has finished his ‘Biography of Columbus,’ and it is now being copied for the press. I have not read it; but am sure from the thorough way in which he has gone about it, and the ample materials he has had at his disposal, that the work will be highly honorable to himself and the country. Since I wrote you last I have received the January number of the ‘Review.’ It contains several valuable and in-

teresting papers. There is rather a deficiency as respects European and particularly Continental literature, which perhaps you find it difficult to supply. If my leisure permits, I will endeavor, according to my poor ability, to help you out a little in that department. Let me advise you seriously to act upon the suggestions in my last, respecting Oliver and William Peabody. Accept my thanks for your very civil notice of the second edition of my 'Essay on Population.' I am with great regard, my dear sir, your very faithful friend and servant."

Twelve copies of the "North American Review" were sold in Calcutta. Sparks had correspondents in India, as well as in most European countries, and in all the South American republics. The national if not the international character of the "North American Review" was established during his editorship, before he undertook those larger literary enterprises which will be described in special chapters. After he had begun his extended itineraries for the collection of his historical manuscripts, and at the very time he was first beginning to examine the Washington papers, he wrote, May 14, 1827, from Mount Vernon to his friend Alexander H. Everett: "Think not that my attention to the 'North American Review' will in the smallest degree be diminished. Its success at this time is quite equal to what it ever has been, and I do not think its literary character has suffered in my absence.¹ I have exercised a constant supervision over the work, engaged nearly every article, and read it before it went to the press, in whatever part of the United States I might for the moment be stationed. All the substantial writers remain firm and obliging. Your brother contributes largely and cheerfully. Mr. Cruse, a young gentleman in Balti-

¹ During Mr. Sparks' occasional absence from Boston the necessary office work was carried on by Folsom, Palfrey, or Gray.

more, who reviewed Pinkney's Life, is a valuable accession. He has talent, taste, and attainments, is fond of writing, and courts industry. The reputation of the 'Review' is solidly established, and no small matter will throw it from the broad pedestal on which it stands. Yet I am aware that vigilance should not be remitted, and I have also so much confidence in my own resolution as to believe it will not be, while I retain the work under my charge."

CHAPTER X.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO SOUTH AMERICAN AND MEXICAN HISTORY.

1823-1830.

IN this chapter will be undertaken a special treatment of Jared Sparks' contributions to the constitutional history of the South American republics, a subject which is destined to command increasing attention from students in these United States. In this field, as in others, Sparks was an editorial pioneer. His attention was early attracted to the South American republics, which soon after 1820 secured their political independence by successful revolution. In 1823 we find him purchasing Tanner's map of South America, and attempting through Gales and Seaton in Washington to obtain a full set of public documents relating to South America. Although he was unsuccessful in this latter project, he obtained from his Washington friends a good list of references to documentary materials on South American affairs, and these references were a guide to the collections preserved in the libraries of Boston and Cambridge. Sparks' method of proceeding at once to the original sources of information upon his chosen subjects was very characteristic of the man.

ORIGINAL SOURCES.

John Bailey, of the State Department, wrote to Mr. Sparks from Washington, December 4, 1823: "I have spoken with Mr. Adams on the subject of your letter; and he says there will be no objection to your perusal of

Mr. W.'s papers on file in the Department, if he has no objection. Mr. W. has in his possession some of his papers on South America loaned to him some months ago; but others are in the Department.

“As to other documents, perhaps not much can be expected. There are newspapers of South America, but in Spanish; and some correspondence of other gentlemen. The statements of Messrs. Rodney, Graham, and Bland, and of Mr. Poinsett (printed by Congress in the winter of 1818-9), you probably have, or have seen. They would be found in Boston in the Congressional Documents of 1818-9 sent to the governor and two branches of the Legislature, and to Harvard and Massachusetts Historical Society. *Dare* you enter that labyrinth of history? I confess to you, I would not undertake to get and give a distinct view of events in South America, since 1805, under many thousands. It must be a task of Hercules. I am glad, however, if it is to be done, that a Hercules has it in hand. I hope great success may attend you in its prosecution.”

The following letter from W. G. D. Worthington to Jared Sparks, Baltimore, April 26, 1824, is a further illustration of Sparks' method of obtaining original information: “On returning from the country the Tuesday before you left here, I saw your card at my office, which was the first time that I knew of your presence in our city. I called the next day to see you, and was much disappointed to learn you had returned to Boston. Agreeably to your wish, I have sent to N. Willing, Esq., and he to Mr. Lucas, certain documents on the affairs of Buenos Ayres, Chili, etc. You will see by a memorandum accompanying them what I received from Mr. Willing, and what are now forwarded. I gave you my opinion fully and candidly on all those matters; and if you should require any more, if in my power it shall be furnished you. When

you shall have done with the papers, please have them safely restored. I feel very considerable anxiety for a full and critical article in your paper on South American affairs. For I am still and ever have been of opinion that it will be attacked by the Holy Allies, that England may perhaps play a false game between us, the Colonies, and the Allies; and if so, the whole of those countries on or near the seaboard will for a time, and that not a short one, be overrun. If England be faithful to us and them, then there is no fear. Should you in any of your numbers refer to me by name, as my family are very numerous, you perhaps might designate me 'Colonel W. G. D. Worthington, Special Agent of the United States to the Provinces of Buenos Ayres, Chili, and Peru, and late Governor of East Florida, etc., etc.' If the Allies should invade and repossess the country, then my materials will be every day more valuable, because there will supervene a state of things under which the times in which I viewed those people will be completely buried. As you may have some friends who may be pleased to read the inclosed, copies of which I heretofore sent you, they are humbly offered to them. Should I visit the 'Cradle of our Independence' I will beat up your quarters. I expect fully to be on the wing once more."

On the 9th of March, 1824, Mr. Sparks addressed the following letter to the Hon. John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State: "Sir: For several months past I have been endeavoring to collect particulars respecting the political changes in South America during the last fifteen years, with a view of communicating in a historical form, through the medium of the 'North American Review,' such facts as may have a general value and public interest. It has occurred to me that our ministers in Colombia, Buenos Ayres, and Chili, if properly applied to, might be willing to forward for this purpose such books, papers, and printed

documents as would easily come within their reach. I have no personal acquaintance with these gentlemen, and I fear that, if I write them simply on the strength of my own name, they may doubt whether such an application will be worthy of their special notice. Should you deem the object of sufficient importance, and feel that it can be done with propriety, you will confer a favor by sending me a line addressed to each of those gentlemen, which I may inclose in a letter, and which may express your approbation of my motives, and your belief that such materials as they may forward to me will be converted to purposes useful and proper.

“I know not but this request may be considered out of place, but if so, you will have the goodness to excuse the intrusion, and give yourself no trouble on the subject. I shall ask of Mr. Bailey the favor to hand you this letter, and acquaint me with your decision.” In a footnote to the copy of this letter, preserved, with others of this period, in Mr. Sparks' Letter Books, it is stated that Mr. Adams complied with the above request, and forwarded letters to our ministers in South America.

The substance of the following letter, addressed, June 28, 1824, to Cæsar A. Rodney, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Buenos Ayres, was sent, together with a line from the Secretary of State, to Mr. Anderson, American minister at Bogota, Colombia, and to Mr. Allen, American minister in Chili: “Sir, — I trust you will pardon me for writing to you on a subject in which, I flatter myself, you feel some interest. The important events which have occurred, and which are daily occurring, in South America, are so little known in the United States that I have thought it an object worthy of special attention to collect such authentic materials as can be obtained, and publish, from time to time, in the ‘North American Review,’ a historical sketch of the revolutionary proceed-

ings of the South American republics. In attempting to prosecute this design, I have found it extremely difficult to arrive at a knowledge of the facts which are essential to give such an outline as will be accurate and full in itself, and useful to the public. Our newspapers are treacherous guides, and often relate things without good authority.

“The best sources of information, and indeed the only sources on which much reliance can be placed, are the public documents and journals published in the countries where the events happen. In the promotion of so good a cause, I have thought you might be willing to procure such materials of this description, relating to Colombia and its dependencies, as come readily within your reach, and forward them to the United States. It is desirable for me to have every public document, accredited newspaper, or other work, which has appeared since the revolutionary contest commenced. I am far from presuming to task you, however, to this extent, for I am aware that it is no easy thing, even on the spot, to procure all these materials. As I am a warm friend of what is called the South American cause, and as it is my intention to present favorable and encouraging views of the subject, it is possible some gentleman who is a native of the country, and who will have the means of procuring everything valuable, may be disposed to take a little trouble for this purpose. And, indeed, I should be very glad to open a correspondence with any literary gentleman who may have leisure and inclination to further my design of making the historical events of South America better known in the United States. Whatever you can obtain for me, either in this way or any other, will be of essential service, and the substance of it will be communicated to the public, as far as is consistent with the general character and purposes of the ‘North American Review.’”

Mr. Sparks learned the Spanish language in the years 1824 and 1825. He opened a correspondence with the Hon. José Manuel Restrepo, of Bogota, Secretary of the Home Department of Colombia, who was writing a history of the revolution in that republic. One extract shall suffice to illustrate the spirit of this correspondence. "It is important," said Mr. Sparks, August 10, 1825, "for the future prosperity of nations, that the interests of North and South America should be intimately blended, and that each part should be well acquainted with the history and internal condition of the others. All the printed documents you can furnish, therefore, in relation to the revolutionary proceedings in Colombia since 1810, and such as may from time to time appear, will be highly useful in aiding my purpose."

To Lucas Alaman, Secretary of State in Mexico, Mr. Sparks wrote September 27, 1825, urging his cooperation with Mr. Poinsett in procuring documentary materials for the history of the Mexican revolution, and adding this sentiment: "There is universal sympathy in this country with the rising republics of the south, but the knowledge of the actual state of things is limited and imperfect. It ought not to be so, since the interests of the two parts of the continent are so intimately blended, and their political spirit and institutions are so similar. I wish to do all in my power through the channel of the 'North American Review,' to disseminate the knowledge so much desired, and to draw more closely the bonds of union and interest between the free governments of the Western World."

The following is an extract from a letter written September 15, 1826, by Mr. Sparks to Henry Clay, then Secretary of State in the Cabinet of John Quincy Adams: "I am now engaged in an article on Chili. Mr. Allen has furnished me with printed papers and documents,

and I have manuscripts by a gentleman who has resided several years in the country; but from all these I can make out no connected account of the political history of Chili during the last three years, either in regard to the general form of the government, or the mode of conducting the same. Now I write you to inquire whether Mr. Allen has forwarded to you a journal of political events, or any kind of documents not strictly official, from which you should be willing to have extracts copied for my use, and which would enable me to draw up a connected historical sketch, even if it were no more than three or four pages in length. Should there be any such, you will confer on me a great favor, and be aiding in some degree the extension of knowledge of South American affairs, by sending me copies of such parts as you think proper. Such materials would not be printed in detail, but used only as a source of facts. . . .

“I received your kind favor, communicating the title of the book on South America, which you mentioned to me in Washington. For this mark of your attention, please accept my thanks.

“I shall avail myself of your kind permission to examine the revolutionary papers in the office of the Secretary of State, as soon as my other engagements admit; probably not till the spring, at the close of the session of Congress.”

To this letter Henry Clay made the following reply, dated Washington, October 4, 1826: “I duly received your favor of the 15th ult. I would take great pleasure in supplying you with any materials, not of a confidential nature, from the Department of State, illustrative of the political condition of Chili, but Mr. Allen has transmitted none but copies of the same pamphlets and printed papers as those which you have obtained from him, — at least I presume them to be the same. Should there be, among

those which we have, any that you have not, which can be ascertained when you execute your intention of visiting this city, they shall be at your service. Of all the southern republics, Chili appears to have made the smallest progress in the consolidation and improvement of her institutions. It has not recovered from the disorders created by the ambition of the family of Carrera, and other untoward events. Colombia is, on the contrary, the most advanced; at least so I thought before the insurrection of her military chieftain. I shall, therefore, eagerly read the article to which you refer from the pen of my poor friend Anderson. I expect in it no ornament, but, what is much better, good sense, clear discrimination, and sound views."

FIRST CONTRIBUTIONS.

The first contribution to South American history that appeared in the "North American Review" under Mr. Sparks' direction was on Chili in April, 1824. The article was nominally a review of a "Journal of a Residence in Chili, by a Young American, detained in that Country during the Revolutionary Scenes of 1817, 1818, 1819. Boston, 1823." The paper is really a valuable account by Edward Everett of the original sources of Chilian history, from the time of Father Ovalle and the Jesuits of the seventeenth century, together with sketches of the physical geography, resources, and commerce of the country. The writer reserved the revolutionary history and political condition of Chili for a future article. He refers to valuable "reports made five years ago to the Secretary of State concerning Chili by Judge Bland, and Mr. Poinsett."

A very elaborate article on South America from Mr. Sparks' own pen appeared in the "Review" for July, 1824. He considered in a scholarly and suggestive way

the nature of Spanish colonial government, the state of commerce and trade, the history of taxation in the Spanish colonies, the nature of the ecclesiastical establishment in South America, the progress of education, and the condition of the Indians. Under the head of education, Mr. Sparks took occasion to review the origin and history of South American colleges and universities, from the ordinance of 1551 (Laws of the Indies), establishing two universities, one in Mexico and the other at Lima. Similar institutions were afterwards opened at Bogota, Quito, Cuzco, Caracas, Cordova, Santiago, and in other cities. In nearly all of them the course of study was confined chiefly to Latin, scholastic philosophy, Roman and canon law, the laws of Castile and the Indies, with some attention to medicine and music. The arts and sciences were for the most part excluded. In 1796, however, a school of mathematics and nautical studies was successfully established at Buenos Ayres; but soon there came a royal order from Madrid to close the school. It was declared by sovereign authority that an *acquaintance with the mathematics, and a cultivation of the arts, were not suited to America*. Nevertheless, the University of Mexico paid considerable attention to mathematics and the natural sciences, for the sake of developing the mining interests of that country. Humboldt spoke with respect of the attainments of Mexican professors of mineralogy. But on the whole the educational policy of Spain in her American colonies was not enlightened. Sparks quotes a report to the Congress of Colombia in 1823, showing that "the Spanish government in three hundred years did not endow a single school."

It would be interesting for any student of South American history in these modern days, when commercial and diplomatic relations between the three Americas are growing closer, to glance at the pioneer contributions made by

Mr. Sparks to the subject in days before the Panama Congress. If one tithe of the intelligent interest shown by the editor of the "North American Review" in the South American republics had been shared by our statesmen and economists of that period, this country would not have been allowed the diplomatic fiasco of 1826, and the gradual drifting apart of states that ought to have formed a commercial union. Pan-American Congresses in our time can hardly recover for this country those economic advantages which have slipped away to England through American neglect of a good commercial situation.

Mr. Sparks announced in his able review of South America, in 1824, that "in the future pages of our journal we hope to exhibit from time to time as full and minute a view of the revolutionary history of South America as the nature of our work will admit. We have access to materials which, we trust, will enable us to do reasonable justice to a subject which is much less understood in this country than its merits deserve, or than our interests as a nation would seem to require, especially when relations of the most intimate kind are daily gaining strength between the United States and the new republics of the south."

REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA.

A second article on South America by Mr. Sparks was published in his "Review" for July, 1825, and is entitled "Travels in Colombia." In conformity with the custom of magazine articles in those times, the title of a book — Cochrane's "Journal of a Residence and Travels in Colombia during the years 1823 and 1824" — served as a literary pretext for a wide excursus. While giving a fair account of Captain Cochrane's travels and original observations, Mr. Sparks calls attention to the fact that this

officer of the royal navy plagiarized his entire account of the history of Colombia, embracing nearly two thirds of his first volume, from the "Outline of the Revolution in Spanish America," published in 1817. Mr. Sparks' own knowledge of sources is indicated by the following observations : —

"The 'Outline' may be looked upon as a book of authority, respecting the revolutionary history of South America, till the date of its publication. The materials were supplied by intelligent South Americans, then resident in London, and they are put together with literary skill and judgment. For the last eight years there is no good history of South American affairs. The compilations that have been made by travelers are meagre, disconnected, and frequently inaccurate. The work published in London, two years and a half ago, entitled 'Colombia,' in two cumbersome octavo volumes, seems to have been designed to promote certain commercial projects, connected in some way with Mr. Zea's loan, and cannot be regarded as authority any farther than it professes to be indebted to authors of known credit. The geographical, statistical, and commercial accounts are chiefly taken from Depons and Humboldt; the history is transcribed from the 'Outline,' to the year 1817, and afterwards hastily collected from the common sources. The volumes contain several important and interesting public documents. There are some well-written notices of revolutionary events in the 'Bibliotheca Americana,' recently published in London.* Mr. Restrepo, the present able and learned secretary of the Home Department in Colombia, is understood to be engaged in writing a history of the revolution." Mr. Sparks adds in a footnote, "Mr. Restrepo's Reports to Congress, concerning the internal state of Colombia, and particularly that of 1823, are documents of great value."

Mr. Sparks then proceeds to discuss the character and government of the republic of Colombia. He shows the points of resemblance in its Constitution to that of the United States and the points of difference. Following the constitutional history are sketches of General Bolivar and other distinguished public men of Colombia. Sparks notes two important laws passed by the original constitutional congress, — one providing for the abolition of slavery by gradual manumission, and the other establishing schools, colleges, and universities. “Numerous Lancastrian schools, and a few seminaries of the higher order, have since been put in operation. A portion of the old ecclesiastical revenue is appropriated by law to this purpose, and especially the property of certain monasteries and nunneries. . . . As a further aid to the progress of knowledge, science, and the arts, all books in every language are allowed to be imported free of duty, and also maps, charts, philosophical instruments, engravings, paintings, statuary, collections of antiquities, busts, and medals.” This was remarkably enlightened legislation for an inexperienced South American republic. The practical enjoyment of many years of tariff-imposition on foreign books and works of art has not yet convinced the American people of its own superior wisdom.

MEXICO.

A valuable economic article by Mr. Sparks on the “Gold and Silver of Mexico” appeared in the “North American Review” for October, 1825. The immediate occasion was a “Report on the Expediency of augmenting the Duties on the Exportation of Gold and Silver,” presented to the General Constituent Congress of Mexico by the Committee of Finance and Mines, August 9, 1824. “Before the breaking out of the revolutions in South America,” says Mr. Sparks, “the whole product of the precious metals

yearly, in the Spanish colonies and the Brazils, was forty-three millions of dollars, and of this amount about twenty-three millions were produced in Mexico. The product of the eastern continent was less than five millions annually, so that one half of the annual supply of the precious metals of the whole globe was derived from the Mexican mines." There had arisen a question in the Mexican Congress, whether the export duty on silver ought not to be raised from three and one half per cent. to that formerly required by the Spanish government, namely, eleven and one half, and even higher, in order to increase the revenue and keep the precious metals from sliding out of the country too rapidly. The report of the Mexican Committee on Finance and Mines was adverse to the above policy of increasing the export duty on silver. Sparks intelligently reviewed the whole matter in the light of English economic science, with which he was familiar. He showed the defects of the old political economy called the mercantile system, and of the theory of preserving the balance of trade by keeping precious metals in the country. He argued very properly, that for Mexico gold and silver were products of the soil, indeed one of the great staples of the country. It was the true policy of Mexico to encourage the exportation of coin, — to remove rather than to increase export duties. "The value of gold and silver in Mexico must be regulated by their value in other parts of the world, and if, by any forced measures, the price there be raised above this level, no purchasers will appear to take them away. Hence, in the present commercial state of Mexico, such a duty would derange rather than benefit the revenue."

Mr. Sparks embraced the opportunity afforded by this economic article on the "Gold and Silver of Mexico" to describe the progress of the country in agriculture and manufactures, in education and science. "In San Luis

Potosi there has been a voluntary subscription of forty-two thousand dollars for establishing a college; measures are adopting to restore another in Guanaxuato; and in Celaya one is now in operation in which scholarships are endowed. Primary schools are formed, and the governments of some of the states are preparing to establish them in all the towns and villages by passing laws and appropriating funds for the purpose. Schools on the plan of mutual instruction have been successfully established in San Luis Potosi, Guadalajara, Guanaxuato, and other places. It is an omen in the highest degree auspicious for the future liberty and prosperity of the southern republics, that their rulers apply themselves with so much zeal in advancing the cause of education. Colombia has set a brilliant example, both by her laws and her practice; and the recent munificence of Bolivar in aiding the schools of his native city, Caracas, has added a lustre to his name, which can never fade away, even if the glory of his conquests in defense of justice and liberty should perish.

“It is a laudable effort, which the Mexican government are making, to restore and preserve all the ancient documents in the archives of the viceroyalties, and also the relics of antiquity now remaining. Several persons are constantly engaged in this work, and the arrangement of some of the branches is already completed in alphabetical order. Mr. Alaman¹ relates that the index alone to the documents pertaining to the branch of tobacco, which have been assorted and arranged, comprises two folio volumes. The branch of excise has an index, which, together with the printed tracts on the subject, extends to eighty-two volumes. The number of documents which have been

¹ The Mexican Secretary of State, concerning whose European training and practical statesmanship Mr. Sparks gives a good account in the above article.

transferred to the secretary's office in three branches alone, namely, finance, ecclesiastical benefices, and indulgences, amounts to four thousand five hundred and ninety-six. All these are so arranged that, by the aid of the index, any document can be immediately found. A curious history of the oppression, folly, and superstition of the old Spanish government in Mexico will probably be one day drawn from this mass of materials. Many specimens of antiquity are still preserved. A museum to contain the whole is proposed."

Thus, not long before Mr. Sparks began actively to interest himself in making historical collections for his own country, he notes with approval the good example of Mexico. It is a remarkable fact that the United States should have been anticipated by its southern republican neighbors, not only in a liberal economic policy as regards the importation of foreign books and works of art, but even in taking proper care of historical records. Probably the most extraordinary case¹ of national protection on record is the duty imposed at United States custom houses upon facsimile transcripts of American records preserved in foreign archives, and imported for the benefit of American citizens and for the promotion of American history. It was said by Mr. William H. Smith,² the president of the Associated Press, at the second meeting of the American Historical Association in Washington, that he was disposed to favor an extension of the Canadian government over the United States long enough to inspire our legislators with sufficient patriotism to secure the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts relating to America. The Canadian system of caring for historical archives had been described at a previous meet-

¹ "The Nation," March 14, 1890, "Notes."

² "Papers of the American Historical Association," vol. iv., part 3.

ing of the American Historical Association by Douglas Brymner,¹ Dominion archivist.

REVIEW OF POINSETT.

Mr. Sparks wrote a second article on Mexico, and published it in the "North American" for January, 1825. This article is called "Mr. Poinsett's Notes on Mexico." It was in review of a volume of 352 pages published in Philadelphia by Carey & Lea, in 1824, and entitled "Notes on Mexico made in the Autumn of 1822; accompanied by an Historical Sketch of the Revolution, and Translations of Official Reports on the Present State of the Country; with a Map. By a Citizen of the United States." Sparks identifies the author with Joel Roberts Poinsett,² representative in Congress from South Carolina, who had early interested himself in the cause of South American freedom. Soon after the first uprising, Poinsett had been sent by President Madison to Buenos Ayres and Chili to negotiate commercial treaties, if practicable. He became known in the War of 1812 as the arch enemy of English interests in South America. In 1818 he had made a report on Chili to the Secretary of State in Washington. Mr. Poinsett first went to Mexico in 1822, on a tour of observation, as the confidential agent of President Monroe. Afterwards, in 1825, he went again as Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, and negotiated certain treaties. While living in Mexico he had some correspondence with Mr. Sparks, and gave him an inside view of Mexican politics, so that the "North Amer-

¹ See Douglas Brymner's paper on "Canadian Archives," "Papers of the American Historical Association," vol. iii., pp. 395-407.

² An interesting sketch of this remarkable South Carolinian is that called "The Life and Services of Joel R. Poinsett, the Confidential Agent in South Carolina of President Jackson during the Nullification Troubles of 1832," by Charles J. Stillé, LL. D., reprinted from the "Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography."

ican Review" and the American people might be kept properly informed. In his review of Poinsett's "Notes on Mexico," Sparks said: "The present *federal system* of government, instituted in imitation of the United States, is an experiment. Its success is quite uncertain, and on the whole it may possibly be considered as rather an unfortunate step at so early a stage. The affairs of Venezuela, before the union, went on but very indifferently under this system. The change is probably too great, from such a despotism as has brooded over the South American colonies for three centuries, to so high a degree of freedom as must necessarily be enjoyed under a system of separate, independent confederacies, bound together only by a loose chain of common interest. The Colombians have thought so, at least, and adopted what they call the *central* form of government, allowing to its fullest latitude the electoral franchise, but concentrating all the legislative powers of government into the hands of a body composed of national representatives."

The following letter was addressed to the Hon. Joel R. Poinsett, American minister in Mexico, by Jared Sparks, August 9, 1825: "When Mr. Ticknor returned from Washington last winter, he entered your name as a subscriber to the 'North American Review.' There is so little intercourse between Boston and Mexico, that it will not be possible to send the numbers with any regularity from this place direct. They will, therefore, be uniformly sent to New York, and forwarded by the first vessel. The July number goes with this letter, and I hope you will receive it safe.

"If it can be done without too much trouble to yourself, I shall be glad if you can procure through some agent a full set of all the documents which have been published from time to time on public affairs since the beginning of the revolution in Mexico. How far this is feasible I

know not, but I presume an intelligent person, who has resided in the country, may without difficulty collect everything important. All expense attending the business shall be paid in such way as you may point out, or to your order whenever it shall come to hand.

“I am very anxious of obtaining the regular file of a newspaper from Mexico, that is, the paper which gives the most full and authentic account of the proceedings of government. It is my purpose to devote a reasonable share of the ‘North American Review’ constantly to the interests of South America. Little is known in this country of the history of the revolutions in the southern republics, and indeed we receive very imperfect sketches of passing events. Our newspaper editors are mostly ignorant of Spanish, and give only obscure and broken hints, and these often erroneous; and yet all our knowledge comes through the newspapers. In the ‘North American Review’ I wish to present more full and connected accounts, but I cannot do this without materials from the fountain head. I should like to exchange my ‘Review’ for a Mexican paper, or even two papers, if you can make such an arrangement with the publishers. I send an extra copy as a sample, which you can dispose of as you think proper. There may be some Americans residing in the city inclined to take the work; if so, they can procure it from any of the Southern cities in the United States, through the agents whose names are printed on the cover. As I intend the work to be a steady and zealous advocate of the independence and free institutions of the South American republics, I would wish to have it as much known there as can be expected under the circumstances of the case.

“Will you do me the favor to send anything which shall appear in relation to the doings of the Congress of Panama, and also any books published in Mexico? These

latter shall be noticed in the 'Review' whenever their contents are of general interest.

"The account of your private audience with the President of the Mexican Republic has been published throughout the United States, and given universal satisfaction. It was a proud day for America, and the beginning of an amicable intercourse between two nations that are destined to be among the most powerful on earth.

"I fear your present weighty avocations will retard the revision and republication of your Chili report. That country seems in a forlorn condition. Hereafter, perhaps, you will have more leisure to continue your history. After a good deal of ineffectual exertion, I despair of learning any facts on the recent affairs of Chili. In short, I suspect there is exceedingly little to be learnt.

"I make no apology for the freedom with which I have laid before you my wants and wishes, feeling assured that as far as it is convenient you will cheerfully promote my designs."

LETTERS FROM POINSETT.

The following letter, dated Mexico, January 12, 1826, was written by Mr. Joel R. Poinsett to Mr. Sparks after the receipt of his review of "Poinsett's Notes on Mexico," and is a valuable commentary on the Mexican situation at that time: "Your letter of the 27th of September did not reach me until a few days ago, which will account for this delay in my reply. The 'Reviews' were likewise received, and the one destined for Mr. Alaman sent to his house. He is at present absent, being at the mines of Guanajuato. You are aware, I hope, by this time, that I have made an arrangement to meet your views, with the editor of the 'Aguila,' the best and most impartial paper published in Mexico. You will be so good as to send him one of your 'Reviews' regularly. I received the paper

for you, and will forward them by every opportunity with any pamphlet which appears to me interesting. You had a fair opportunity of judging Mr. Alaman's talents, and in that respect your paper does him no more than justice. But of his patriotism and virtues a doubt may be fairly entertained, and I have no hesitation in assuring you that his political views were altogether unsound. I found him decidedly hostile to an intimate connection with us, and disposed to unite his country too intimately with Europe. He left the administration with my entire consent, for it would have been difficult to have maintained terms of friendship with this government if he had remained at the head of the foreign affairs.

"I am sorry you should have said anything in favor of a central government without entering into the question of what form of government would suit this country best. I will give you a rapid sketch of the state of parties here, that, when next you write, you may assist me with your powerful and useful paper, and not lend arms to our adversaries. When the constituent assembly were discussing the question of the form of constitution to be adopted for Mexico, most of the leading men of the country were in favor of a central government, all the higher orders of clergy, all the aristocracy and nobles, and all the distinguished officers of the revolution. The provinces, particularly Jalisco, and some enlightened men in Congress, favored the federal form of government. Fortunately for the country, the latter prevailed; for a central government, in a country where the wealth and influence of the clergy and nobility is as great and powerful as in Mexico, would necessarily become an aristocracy. Indeed, the advocates of this form of government did not conceal their inclination to copy that of Great Britain in everything but the monarchy. Victoria and Bravo were both Centralists, and on the election of the former his Cabinet was

formed of men of that party. The party of Bravo, all Centralists, were opposed to the administration. The Federalists, perceiving it made up of Centralists, were likewise opposed to all its measures, and the executive stood alone, the President surrounded only by his personal adherents. Worse than this, Alaman was the friend and agent of Bravo's party, and was aiding to destroy the administration, of which he formed a part. This was the state of parties when I arrived here. The obvious interest of the executive under these circumstances was to get rid of Alaman, and to unite itself with the federal party, the most sound, the most numerous, and the most powerful in the state, — the only American party, in short. This has been done, and to effect this I have used my best exertions. I wish my time would permit me to set forth the many reasons which occur to me why the federal system is better suited to this country than any other. I will confine myself to one only. The capital was, nay is, the centre of despotism and fanaticism. A central government would have perpetuated the illiberal feelings and sentiments of this people. In the provinces, especially in those bordering upon the seaboard, Vera Cruz and Guadalajara, the people are much more enlightened and liberal. The benefits of their labors are felt here, and from the extremities the light will gradually spread to the centre. The federal government has set everybody thinking, and has unified the provinces, which were plunged in perfect apathy, and must have continued so under a central government. They had been accustomed to submit and to obey, and would have continued the passive engines of despotism under any other form of government. All the unprejudiced, thinking men of the nation agree that the federal government has already wrought a most beneficial change in the state of the interior provinces. I beg you, therefore, to become federal, and to assist me in strengthening this party ; it is ours.

“When I conclude my treaties, and get somewhat over the press of business which has accumulated here from my neglect, I will write to you and for you. . . . The report of the committee which you reviewed was not so much intended to diffuse sound views of political economy as to attack the Secretary of Treasury, Señor Esteva. He did not propose an increase of duty on the exportation of the precious metals, but on their extraction from the mines, a much more direct attack on the mining interest. For some time to come, a duty on exportation would be merely nominal. The mines required the introduction of a large capital to work them; and it will require four or five years before the tide turns, especially as the wants of the government can only be supplied as yet by yearly foreign loans. As soon as the memoirs are published I will send them to you. The President gives a flattering picture of the finances. It is prospective. The resources will be ample; they are not so yet. By foreign capital the mines will be brought into operation, and in four or five or six years the product will exceed what it ever amounted to. In the mean time capital flows into the country and unifies every part of it.”

The following further letter from Poinsett to Jared Sparks, dated Mexico, January 4, 1827, contains some interesting comments on South American affairs: “I am afraid the climate or the force of example have produced somewhat of idleness in me. I have written nothing since I have been here, except what I have been compelled to write. It is true my political occupations have been continued. My treaty cost me a world of trouble, principally from the jealous and suspicious character of the people, and still it is not ratified. The three radical vices of the Spanish character in Europe and America are idleness, ignorance (a vice when the means of acquiring knowledge are at hand), and suspicion. They had taken it into

their hands [heads] that I had been chosen by the President as a very shrewd personage, in order to obtain great advantages; and all my assurances that we wanted nothing that we were not willing to pay for, by corresponding advantages, were regarded with disbelief or distrust. This vile trait in the Spanish character is known by the name of *malicia*. I am extremely anxious to see Mr. Anderson's article on the Constitution of Colombia. His death is surely to be lamented. I much fear that the republic of Colombia is destined to be torn asunder by civil dissensions."

LETTER FROM R. C. ANDERSON.

Sparks had correspondents in Mexico, Colombia, Peru, Chili, the Argentine Republic, and other South American states. He received occasional letters in Spanish, and various collections of original documents and valuable pamphlets from South American friends of the "North American Review." Many subscribers were obtained from that distant region. As many as twenty-six subscriptions came to the Boston office from Buenos Ayres at one time. One of Mr. Sparks' correspondents was Mr. R. C. Anderson, American minister in Colombia. The following extract from a letter of Mr. Anderson, dated Bogota, April 19, 1826, explains the origin of an article on the Constitution of Colombia in the "North American Review" (xxiii., 314): "During my residence in this country I have at intervals indulged myself in writing essays on the situation of Colombia, embracing its politics, morals, general statistics, &c. This was done at first with some remote and half-formed idea of publication, a design which most probably I shall never execute. The essay I now send to you, on the Constitution of Colombia, is one of them. I have no means of knowing with certainty whether it suits your plan, either in substance or in form. I send it, how-

ever, with a wish that you use it at discretion in any way you think proper. To enable you to judge of its general plan (even before you read it), I inclose something like heads of its contents. I have had the pleasure of receiving the 'North American Review' for January, and you will never know how to estimate your own book until you remove yourself as far from civilized mankind as I now am, and have one of the numbers unexpectedly presented to you by the post-boy."

Writing again from Bogota, May 19, 1826, Mr. Anderson says: "The solicitude you display to diffuse correct information and sound opinions on the affairs of this country so entirely comports with my own feelings, that it could not fail to give me gratification. You are rendering a service not only to the day, but to posterity. I have not yet seen all the debate in Congress on the Panama subject, but I have seen a pair of speeches delivered in the Senate, which gave me sensible mortification, not only as they display a lamentable ignorance of facts, but particularly as they manifested an inclination on the part of the orator to degrade the character of the South American states, and especially what may be called their political morality, their good faith towards their neighbors. On this point Colombia is invulnerable, as might be made manifest by her whole history. By some straggling newspapers which have reached me, I learn that the Panama nomination has been ratified by the Senate. I therefore must expect soon to receive instructions to leave this metropolis. It will give me pleasure to hear from you frequently. Any letter addressed to Carthagena or St. Martha would reach me, at whatever point I might be, or the letters might be sent under cover to the Secretary of State." This was Mr. Anderson's last letter to Mr. Sparks, who notes upon the margin that Mr. Anderson died at Carthagena, on his way to Panama, not many weeks after this letter was written.

Among Sparks' South American letters it is pleasant to find the following, addressed, September 8, 1826, to William Tudor, the original editor of the "North American Review," who was then at Lima, Peru: "It was with great pleasure that I received your favor of February 12, on my return recently from a tour to Georgia and the Carolinas. I wrote you February 10, and sent No. 50 of the 'North American Review.' I now send Nos. 51, 52, and, supposing it may be gratifying to you to know the names of the writers, I have marked them in the table of contents.

"The difficulty of which you complain, in procuring revolutionary papers and documents in Peru, is a source of some regret to me, as I have taken great pains to collect materials from all parts of South America, with a view to giving an outline of the passing history from time to time in the 'North American Review.' In the other republics I have at length been very successful, and begin to receive regularly almost everything of importance. Mr. Allen, Mr. Anderson, and Mr. Poinsett have in particular supplied me very abundantly; also Dr. Moreno, Mr. Restrepo, and Mr. Alaman. But from Peru I have been able to get nothing, except Monteagudo's pamphlet on the Panama business. Allow me again to desire you to keep the thing in mind, and to send me whatever may come in your way suited to my purpose.

"I still flatter myself that you will occasionally find a little leisure to make an article for the 'Review.' There can be no want of topics, for everything you see and hear, whether in the world of physical nature or human action, is new in this country, and if written down it would call forth a deep interest. The community are awake to intelligence about South America, and it is highly desirable on many accounts to diffuse as much knowledge on the subject as possible. And you may be very sure it would

be gratifying to your friends here to find your name now and then connected with the work, which you have done so much to establish, and in the success of which I cannot doubt you will feel something more than indifference.

“The number now in press, to come out in October, contains a very excellent article on the Constitution of Colombia, compared with that of the United States, written by Mr. Anderson at Bogota. The death of this gentleman is deeply lamented throughout the country, not more as depriving us of a very able man in South America than as causing a vacancy in the Panama mission which it will not be easy to fill. You know what a tremendous effort was made by the opposition in this affair, and that the slave interest was exceedingly active. It is important that one of the ministers at Panama should be from a slave State, and as Mr. Sergeant is from the headquarters of anti-slavery, the successor to Mr. Anderson must be taken from the slave region. But almost all the prominent men there, who are at all qualified for the mission, are opposed to it. The selection, therefore, will be difficult, unless Mr. Poinsett or Mr. Williams should be sent, which is not likely, for Poinsett is yet laboring with his treaty, and Williams has the same business to carry through at Guatemala.

“You doubtless hear from your friends all the wonders that occur among us. For the last two months the country has resounded with the jubilee orations and eulogies on the great men who died July 4th. Mr. Webster’s eulogy has been thought fully equal to his great fame. He is now shooting birds and fishing for trout in the marshes at Sandwich.”

William Tudor wrote to Jared Sparks from Lima, February 19, 1827, as follows: “Before this letter reaches you the news of a revolution that took place here the end of last month will be known in the United States. This

event has not hitherto cost a drop of blood, and is, as far as we have yet heard, in successful progress throughout Peru, and will unquestionably be followed in upper Peru or Bolivia. This revolution has shattered to pieces one of the most stupendous schemes of usurpation that was ever planned, and will relieve South America from a military despotism with which it was menaced. Its effects here in a literary way will be felt hereafter. The press having never been free here, as the Dictatorship followed the domination of Spain, Peru is more backward than any of the other states in all the productions of the press and the wants they create. Now I shall not despair of seeing in the course of a few years ten or twelve copies of the 'Review' taken in this country."

ON FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

Mr. Sparks' matured views on the relative advantages of federal government as compared with central government, in the South American republics, are thus set forth in a letter to Manuel Moreno, of Buenos Ayres, December 18, 1826: "The Report of the Committee of the Congress of Buenos Ayres has come into my hands, and I have selected some parts of it for the January number of the 'North American Review,' shortly to be published. The arguments of the committee are specious, but should it be necessary to resort to a central government, I fear the consequences will result in more evil than good. From present appearances we may conclude that the system has failed in Colombia, where it has been fairly tried. The people are calling out for a confederation. Mexico and Central America seem to be successful with the federal system. If it has difficulties to encounter in the Argentine Republic, is it not equally true that difficulties will attend any other new form of government, and is it probable that these will be more serious under the federal

than any other form? And, moreover, if you look at the advantages, these are certainly much greater with the federal system than any other that can be devised. No other is so well calculated to satisfy the people, by leaving them to act for themselves, and expend the warmth of party on topics of local interest and sectional administration, rather than by enlisting them in the great national subjects, which cannot be agitated by the people at large without danger to the whole republic. A great point will be gained if you can confine the ambition and zeal of many aspiring men within the boundaries of a single province or state.

“Strong suspicions of the fidelity and pure intentions of Bolivar are now going abroad in this country. His fame has been great, and it has been the fashion among us to call him the Washington of the South. But his Constitution of Bolivia excited much surprise; it has few of the genuine features of republicanism, and rumors daily give strength to the fear that he is actuated by ambitious designs which no true friend of liberty can approve. Paez is doing mischief in Venezuela, and it does not appear that he is censured by Bolivar. But I hope the character of this great chieftain will yet come out bright and unsullied.”

PANAMA CONGRESS.

Mr. Sparks published an article on the aims of the Panama Congress in the “Review” for January, 1826. The “Alliance of the Southern Republics” is the actual title of his paper. It was evidently suggested by the approaching Congress of South American republics, and was an attempt to acquaint the people of the United States with the federal striving of their neighbors. Mr. Sparks first alludes to the experience of ancient republics in federal government, and to the schemes of the Holy Alliance, which he characterizes as “confederated despot-

isms," allied to prop up tottering thrones, and to retard the progress of nations in self-government. He then sketches rapidly the origin of ideas of a counter alliance among the South American republics, which had revolted from Spanish sovereignty, as the United States had revolted from Great Britain. "The project of a union between the new governments of the south seems to have been early conceived by some of the leaders of the revolutionary contest, as a step highly important and desirable, but the first who undertook the business of carrying it into execution was Bolivar. If it succeeds, as its friends anticipate, he must be regarded the Aratus of the league. Till Peru had shaken off the yoke of the Royalists in 1821, so far at least as to set up a nominally independent government under San Martin, which it has since confirmed and maintained, and until Mexico had escaped from the folly and tyranny of her mock emperor, Iturbide, it was obvious that any plan of confederacy between the other states could not be accomplished with a prospect of permanency or advantage. But in 1823, when the power of Old Spain was virtually destroyed in South America, and each republic began to stand firm on its basis, Bolivar, as President of Colombia, formally invited the governments of Mexico, Peru, Chili, and Buenos Ayres to send delegates to the Isthmus of Panama, or to any other place that might be agreed on, with the express design of establishing the confederacy, and proceeding in their deliberations as the instructions and united wisdom of the parties might dictate. This invitation was promptly accepted by Mexico and Peru, and an agreement, in the nature of a treaty, was entered into by each with the plenipotentiaries from Colombia, containing a mutual pledge to send delegates to the confederate Congress. Chili and Buenos Ayres delayed joining the compact, for reasons not well known, nor does it appear that they have

yet determined to take a part by their representatives in the convention. The obstacles to their union are probably of a local and transient nature, which will in due time be removed, and the way be left open for them to come into the compact.

“In this stage of the undertaking, as it was necessary for some one government to take the lead in its further prosecution, Bolivar sent a circular to all the republics, dated at Lima, December 7, 1824, recapitulating what had been done, and proposing that delegates should immediately be sent to Panama by those governments which had agreed to join in the confederacy, suggesting that they ought not, out of courtesy to the delinquents, to delay any longer to profit by the advantages which it was confidently believed would be derived from such a convention. The governments of Colombia and Mexico promptly acceded to this request of the liberator of Peru, and two delegates from each of these countries proceeded to the place of destination. It is presumed, also, that the republic of Guatemala will join the confederacy at the outset, and send its representatives.

“The preliminary steps of the Congress are indicated by Santander, Vice-President of Colombia, in his reply to Bolivar’s circular. It is there proposed that the governments of Colombia and Peru should authorize their plenipotentiaries, as soon as they arrive at Panama, to enter into a direct correspondence with the other republics, acquainting them that conferences had commenced, and renewing the invitation for each to send representatives; that these same plenipotentiaries should have power to select such a place as they should think proper, in the Isthmus of Panama, for their preparatory conferences; and, again, that whenever delegates from Mexico, Guatemala, Colombia, and Peru, or from any three of these republics, should be convened, they should have power to

install the assembly of confederate delegates, and proceed to the business for which they were convened. It is moreover stated, in the letters of the President of Mexico and the Vice-Presidents of Colombia, that each of these governments, through their ministers plenipotentiary in Washington, had invited the government of the United States to take part in the deliberations at Panama."

The reviewer then proceeds to describe the objects of the Panama Congress, as stated in a contemporary Spanish essay on the "Necessity of a General Federation between the States of Spanish America, and Plan for their Organization" (Lima, 1825), a pamphlet by Monteagudo, which served as a text for Mr. Sparks' article. The three objects claiming paramount attention from all the South American republics in their approaching Congress were, *independence, peace, and security*. These points Sparks discusses in detail. He then observes: "As far as we can collect the views of the South American writers, from such of their remarks as we have seen, it may be expected that the immediate attention of the Congress will be drawn to some or all of the following topics, as enumerated in the 'Gaceta de Colombia' of the 27th of February, 1825:—

"1. To form a solemn compact, or league, by which the states whose representatives are present will be bound to unite in prosecuting the war against their common enemy, old Spain, or against any other power which shall assist Spain in her hostile designs, or otherwise assume the attitude of an enemy.

"2. To draw up and publish a manifesto, setting forth to the world the justice of their cause, and the relations they desire to hold with other Christian powers.

"3. To form a convention of navigation and commerce, applicable both to the confederated states and to their allies.

"4. To consider the expediency of combining the forces

of the republics to free the islands of Porto Rico and Cuba from the yoke of Spain, and, in such case, what contingent each ought to contribute for this end.

“ 5. To take measures for joining in a prosecution of the war at sea, and on the coasts of Spain.

“ 6. To determine whether these measures shall also be extended to the Canary and Philippine Islands.

“ 7. To take into consideration the means of making effectual the declaration of the President of the United States, respecting any ulterior design of a foreign power to colonize any portion of this continent, and also the means of resisting all interference from abroad with the domestic concerns of the American governments.

“ 8. To settle by common consent the principles of those rights of nations which are in their nature controvertible.

“ 9. To determine on what footing shall be placed the political and commercial relations of those portions of our hemisphere which have obtained, or shall obtain, their independence, but whose independence has not been recognized by any American or European power, as was for many years the case with Hayti.

“ This is a formidable list of subjects, and enough to show that, if they should be discussed, the first Congress at Panama will not have an idle session. As to the question, whether the United States ought to join in the confederacy, it can hardly be doubted that such a step would at present be highly inexpedient. Nearly all the topics for primary consideration are such as pertain exclusively to the local interests of the South American republics; any close alliance or active interference of the United States would embarrass rather than facilitate some of the most important deliberations of the Congress. Besides, our friendly relations with old Spain render it impossible for us to participate in any measures of war or hostility, either

by counsel or action, which her enemies may think themselves compelled to adopt. The pledge of the President of the United States may be considered as sacred and permanent, so far as the warm and universal approbation of the country, when it was given, may be regarded as clothing it with such a character. In his message to Congress two years ago, speaking of the European powers, President Monroe used the following dignified and decided language: 'We owe it to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States.' The South Americans cannot want a more hearty and decided expression of interest in their concerns, and of friendly feeling towards them, than is maintained in this paragraph. The government of the United States has recognized the independence of all the republics, and formed with them on mutual terms the relations of sovereign and independent nations. Should the great cause of American freedom be assailed, whether at the North or the South, the people of the United States will be ready to take up arms and unite with all the friends of liberty on the continent in defense of their common rights. At such a crisis there would be strong motives for a union of counsel in a general congress

of delegates collected from every part of America. As it is contemplated that the Congress of Panama shall be a permanent body, holding its sessions stately from time to time, the day may arrive when the local affairs of the South will be so adjusted that there will be few national interests in those countries which are not common to the North. At such a period, also, a union may with great propriety be formed.

“But notwithstanding we think it would be manifestly premature and impolitic for the United States to join the confederacy at this stage of the business, yet there are many reasons why representatives from our government should be present, and take part in such discussions as affect our immediate interests, and be prepared to express the sense of the government on all topics of general concern. Let the acts of the Congress be what they may, since they will apply to all the southern republics, they must ultimately affect the United States; and it is not easy to foresee or calculate the advantages that would be gained, or the evils that would be averted, in our future national progress, by exercising a timely and salutary influence in the counsels whose professed design is to form a system of mutual intercourse and political operations for six distinct governments on the Western continent, some of them already powerful, and all possessing the means of rapid growth and strength.”

Thus, in temperate yet positive language, Mr. Sparks indicated the proper relation for the United States to assume towards their South American neighbors. He suggested a policy of friendly coöperation, which, if followed out, would have promoted closer connections of trade and counsel with those new republics, without the danger of entangling alliances.

SPARKS TO A. H. EVERETT.

Writing to Alexander H. Everett, September 12, 1826, Mr. Sparks said: "As for this Panama business, it was managed in a most extraordinary manner. The very essence of party spirit was at work from beginning to end; but the thing came out right, and the oppositionists had the pleasure of making a great noise about nothing, and so both parties were at last mutually satisfied, the one with success, and the other with having made a greater bustle than was thought could be made. Speeches of such length and such texture, too, were never before heard. I believe Gales has been printing them ever since. You can hardly imagine how much folly, bombast, and ignorance came out upon this subject. You say rightly that one or two strong articles in the 'Review' would have done good. But the truth is, we were taken unawares; no one dreamed of such a contest; the mission to Panama was universally popular among the people; and no one supposed Congress would go mad, or fall into its dotage, upon so simple a matter. A pamphlet on the Panama Congress, written by the ill-fated Monteagudo, of Lima, with considerable ability, came into my hands at a late hour, out of which I made a short article, confining my remarks exclusively to the designs of the South Americans themselves in assembling at this Congress, without touching on the reasons why the United States ought to take part in the business. This review did great mischief, for it furnished many of the representatives with nearly all the facts they possessed on the subject, and enabled the oppositionists to turn what few arrows they could gather against the cause. It was insisted that the United States, if they joined in the Congress, must abet, approve, and foster all the projects contemplated by the South Americans, and so we were to set up a war against our

good ally, the king of Spain; we were to seize upon Cuba, and commit various other horrors too monstrous to be thought of. The fire burnt itself out, however, in time, and the mission was sanctioned, and we have now to lament the death of our excellent and able countryman, Mr. Anderson. Who will supply his place has not been rumored, but the country affords not another in all respects so well qualified. It is possible Mr. Poinsett may be appointed, as the papers inform us he has brought his treaty to a close, which has perplexed him not a little. By the way, I have this day read 'Vidaurre's Address at the Opening of the Congress of Panama.' It is a poor performance; it prattles about China, Egypt, Greece, and Rome, when it ought to be talking of the new republics, their condition, rights, interest, prospects, and designs. Had any man sent me such an article for the 'Review' about Panama, I should have returned it upon his hands as below the mark. A man never spoke upon a more dignified occasion; he was literally speaking to the world, for, come what will of that assembly, the eyes of the world are turned upon it. How important was it to have a powerful paper go out as the first echo of its voice, a paper like those which issued from the first Congress assembled at Philadelphia! But my enthusiasm in favor of the Congress of Panama makes me hope, nay believe, that this is no true sample of what is to come."

Mr. Sparks' interest in the affairs of South America was considerably abated after the dismal failure of the Panama Congress. On the 14th of May, 1827, we find him writing from Mt. Vernon to Alexander H. Everett at Madrid.

SPARKS TO A. H. EVERETT.

"Your 'America' is now before me, and the reading of it has afforded me a delightful entertainment. Your politics are on a scale somewhat too large for me, but

I have been not less instructed than pleased with your views. How will your magnificent theory of the three great governments be received in Europe? It is no matter. The theory is evidently true, and will be popular in this country and in England. As to South America, you have been cautious, and in that you have been wise. From the moment I read the thing called 'Vidaurre's Speech at the Opening of the Congress of Panama,' the temperature of my zeal in the affairs of that country began to grow marvelously cool. That Congress, which ought to have been the greatest political event that ever happened, was a miserable farce, unworthy of a line in history. Tacubaya cannot retrieve the disgrace, whatever it may do to build up new honor. Freedom will one day sit quietly down in South America and rule the land in peace, but I fear that day is more distant than I once thought. Bolivar is a falling pillar; if the force of circumstances puts him erect once more, he will stand without the confidence of the people, and will support nothing. He may show new points of character, regain his influence, act the true hero, and hold out to the last, but present appearances, it must be confessed, will hardly warrant such a prediction. He may be governed by pure motives, however, which are not obvious. He may think the character and state of the people require such changes as he would introduce. All this is possible, and may claim our charity for a time:

“In a letter which I have recently received from Mr. Restrepo, secretary of the home department in Colombia, and in which he takes me gently to task for some remarks I had made in the 'Review' touching the central system, he says that in the United States it is common for us to mistake in judging of the inhabitants of South America by our own, and adds, *hay tanta diferencia entre los hijos de los Españoles y entre sus colonias y las anti-*

guas colonias Inglesas, como del dia á la noche. This is undoubtedly true, and it is a fact too much neglected in considering the progress of South America."

THE PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE.

It was reserved for the centenary of the United States (1889) to witness the assembling in Washington of a Pan-American Conference of seventeen independent powers, representing 120,000,000 people and nearly one fourth of the globe, in the common interests of peace and commercial intercourse. A comparison of the somewhat threatening international objects of the Panama Congress with the purely economic and peaceful purposes of the Pan-American Conference shows how the Western world has advanced in forty-three years toward continental unity and tranquillity. The adoption of the principle of arbitration, and the rejection of the principle of conquest, were, perhaps, the most remarkable achievements of the conference. The poet Whittier sent this message: "If, in the spirit of peace, the American Conference agrees upon a rule of arbitration which shall make war in this hemisphere well-nigh impossible, its session will prove one of the most important events in the history of the world."¹

¹ "Tribune Monthly," August, 1890, "Our Continent: the Pan-American Conference," p. 8. A series of articles on "The Pan-American Conference" was begun in the "North American Review" for September, 1890, by the Mexican minister, M. Romero. He notes, by way of introduction, that the idea of a congress of all the American nations is not a new one, but "was brought about in South America by its liberator, Bolivar, very heartily supported in this country by Henry Clay, then Secretary of State." The idea was first revived in 1881 by the Hon. James G. Blaine, Secretary of State under President Garfield's administration. It is a sign of the times that "Harper's Magazine" began in September, 1890, to publish a series of papers on South America. Soon we shall have a series of books on the South American commonwealths. "The Minutes of the International American Conference" are printed in full.

CHAPTER XI.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH CONTRIBUTORS AND FRIENDS.

1823-1830.

DURING Sparks' editorial control of the "North American Review," we find him in correspondence with some of the most eminent men of his time. It is with singular interest that the student reads autograph letters from men like Daniel Webster, Nathan Dane, Henry Clay, Thomas H. Benton, Lewis Cass, De Witt Clinton, Joseph Story, Henry Wheaton, Caleb Cushing, Theophilus Parsons, William Tudor, Edward Everett, Alexander H. Everett, H. D. Sedgwick, W. H. Prescott, George Ticknor, Henry W. Longfellow, William C. Bryant, William H. Eliot, John G. Palfrey, Samuel A. Eliot, James Savage, William B. Reed, Robert Goodhue Harper,¹ Joel R. Poinsett, George Bancroft, Timothy Pitkin, Edward Hitchcock, B. Silliman, J. L. Kingsley, and from all the literary, scientific, and public men of Sparks' time. It would be a pleasant and not unprofitable task to reproduce many of these old letters, written about the close of the first quarter of

¹ Dr. A. P. Peabody, in the "Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society" for October 23, 1889, p. 107, mentions in a note, "Robert Goodhue Harper, a member of the United States Senate from Virginia." An edition of his "Select Works" was published in Baltimore in 1814. An article in "Blackwood's Magazine" says: "His writings are energetic, manly, profound, satisfactory. We hold him to be, altogether, one of the ablest men that North America has produced." Valuable letters from him are preserved among the Sparks papers.

the nineteenth century, but economy of space demands a judicious selection. The editor has read them all, and has used his best discretion in the selections which he has made for the present chapter.

Among the earliest contributors secured by Mr. Sparks for the "North American" was George Bancroft, a graduate of Exeter Academy and of Harvard College, whom Sparks had known in earlier years. Having returned from study and travel in Europe, Bancroft was now established with Mr. Cogswell at Round Hill, Northampton, Massachusetts, in a famous classical school, which was an American type of the German gymnasium in the United States. Mr. Bancroft appears in connection with the "North American Review" as a voluntary reviewer of Greek text-books, with which his work as a classical instructor naturally made him familiar. He was an able exponent of classical learning. The two following letters addressed to Mr. Sparks are not without educational as well as biographical interest. The first is dated at Northampton, November 5, 1823: "Buttman's Greek Grammar has been more than a year before the American public, and the American journals have not noticed it. I have wished to write an article on the subject, but have been deterred, because Mr. E.¹ was the editor of the 'North American Review.' Now that he has added Mr. Jacobs' Greek Reader, I should like very much to say a few words in commendation of these excellent school-books, if a place in your journal can be spared for that purpose. If you think the matter worth noticing, I wish you would let me hear from you as to the time when an

¹ Edward Everett, Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard University, had translated Buttman's Greek Grammar from the German. Bancroft naturally felt some delicacy about reviewing Everett's book in the "North American" while the translator was still editor.

article should be forwarded for insertion in the next number. Permit me to commend myself to your kind remembrance. I hope the distance of eighty or ninety miles only is not to deprive me altogether of the advantages which this part of the country is to derive from your personal presence, and I should feel very happy if I could in any way serve you, or the good cause of letters."

Bancroft's second letter to Sparks is dated Northampton, December 12, 1823: "My review and your last letter must have crossed each other. Having been engaged on a translation from the German, it was not possible for me to get upon writing it till December, and I believe it must have reached you by the fourth of the month, which was within the time you allowed me. I made it short, because I thought in your first number you would have little room to spare, and because most of your readers will think six or eight pages on Greek Grammar quite enough. I could easily write a plea for classic learning,¹ and present the subject under what seems to me a new and just point of view. Next week, on Saturday, I shall be in Boston, and if you would leave a note at Mrs. Searle's in Tremont Court, where I can meet you for an hour on the next day morning or on Monday, I will explain to you my notions, and be happy to hear of your views and wishes, which if I can meet I shall be happy."

When the history of Greek studies in America becomes an object of inquiry, the work of Edward Everett at Cambridge, and of George Bancroft at Round Hill, will

¹ Bancroft sent such an article on "Classic Literature" to the editor of the "North American Review," but withdrew it February 9, 1824, for correction and improvement. He wrote again March 26, 1824: "The article I sent you on 'Classic Literature' needs curtailing, and a plainer style. I purpose to change it accordingly, and to make a little article of it for some number. On Goethe I am seriously employed, and hope to give some translations which shall, at the least, find their way into the albums of the ladies."

attract attention. The following extract from Bancroft's review of Buttman, which appeared in January, 1824 (the first number of the "North American" under Sparks' new régime), shows that the classical historian of the United States recognized the defects of the old learning of his time: "It is our misfortune that we confine the attention of all to the same dull round of elementary books, instead of introducing them to the Grecian Muse herself. Our youths have the means of contemplating solitary fragments, but not of learning to admire the symmetry of the perfect whole. We instruct in a few compilations, and leave the great body of Greek literature to remain unknown, and to make friends for itself."

George Bancroft's literary activity thus began in connection with classical subjects and with the "North American Review," to which he contributed book notices. It is pleasant to find him sending to Sparks a "little notice of 'Undine.'" ¹ On one occasion the Northampton schoolmaster writes: "I have been cheating myself of my cares by making little translations from Goethe." Bancroft takes counsel with Sparks regarding the cost of printing and binding six hundred copies of a book "exactly like Mr. A. H. Everett's on Population." Mr. Bancroft's first venture in book-making was in the form of a translation from the German of Heeren's "Reflections on the Politics of Ancient Greece." The advent of this excellent translation, itself a happy combination of classical learning, German scholarship, and English style, was worthily noticed in the "North American Review" for April, 1824. An account was there given, probably by Edward Everett, of the scope and character of Professor Heeren's larger work, entitled "Reflections on the Politics, Intercourse, and Commerce of the Chief Nations of Antiquity," and of the disconnected work on Greek institutions which

¹ Printed in the "North American Review," April, 1824, p. 412.

Bancroft had translated. This was really the first introduction of Hereen to English readers, for Bancroft's work appeared from the press of Cummings & Hilliard, in Boston, ten years before the Oxford translation of Hereen's work. It is highly creditable to Bancroft and Everett, American pioneers in fields of German scholarship, that they should have been the very first to discover to the English-reading world the merits of their Goettingen professor, whom modern students are beginning to recognize as a father of ancient economic and institutional history. "To make a translation of such a work, and as this is made, is no humble exploit," said Bancroft's reviewer. "We should be much rejoiced, and think it auspicious of good to the literature of the country, if Mr. Bancroft should be induced by the reception of this volume to translate the rest. The whole would form a treatise on antiquity different from any with which we are acquainted, and better calculated than any other to give to general readers accurate knowledge of the institutions of Egypt, Persia, India, Carthage, and the other nations which are described by Mr. Heeren. . . . No one in the country is better qualified for the enterprise than Mr. Bancroft, and we should be glad to be permitted to regard this volume as a partial pledge that he will undertake it." But while Mr. Bancroft's classical and German studies at Round Hill thus suggested the broad horizon of universal history for future survey, he was quietly preparing himself in literary ways for writing the "History of the United States," a work begun at Northampton. Into this vast and almost untrodden field he and Jared Sparks were to advance together as historical pioneers through a period of forty years, when one explorer was to be taken and the other left.

The following extract from a letter written at Northampton, September 20, 1824, affords a pleasing insight

into the patriotic motives and literary aspirations of Mr. Bancroft in those early years: "I received last night the volume on Italy, and the very kind letter which accompanied it, and for which I sincerely thank you. The empire of imagination has not yet ceased in my mind, and it is good for me to be reminded of the nature of her government. Feeling conscious of this tendency, I habitually am slow in forming a decision, and I believe you will find in what I have written no opinions which I need to retract, and very few extravagant expressions. For the rest, there is nothing half so delightful to me in the moment of exertion as the hope of thus being a useful citizen; of contributing in my humble sphere to disseminate the principles of justice, liberty, and learning. There is no man who may not find a fit sphere for exertion; and if there are any who can produce no results, it is because they err in judgment, or devote their powers to the wrong service. It is not necessary to have genius or vast erudition to be high-minded and honored. Not every one can be blest with superior powers, and he who has not been invited to Nature's richest banquet may yet cherish and respect her gift. There is no faculty I would more desire to possess in an eminent degree than cool, practical judgment. It is the result of careful observation and extensive experience; but some men have it as if by instinct, and in doubtful cases are able to discern what is just and prudent, and in new ones to foresee the probable result."

Mr. Bancroft was somewhat of an idealist, but he knew how to apply his philosophy in practical ways. Round Hill School was the first institution in the United States to make gymnastic exercise a prominent factor in education. The Round Hill Gymnasium¹ was constructed in

¹ "Physical Training in American Colleges and Universities," by Dr. E. M. Hartwell; Circulars of Information of the Bureau of

1825, under the direction of the teacher of Latin, Dr. Charles Beck, a former pupil of Father Jahn, who was the Prussian pioneer in physical culture. It is interesting to note that, even before the opening of the Boys' Gymnasium in Northampton, Mr. Bancroft, at the request of Mr. Sparks, had begun to investigate the subject of the connection between the body and the mind, for the "North American Review." The following extract from Bancroft's letter to Sparks, written Christmas Eve, 1824, is an early suggestion of that line of inquiry which is now attracting attention among students of psychology and physical training: "I lost no time, after receiving yours of November 13, in devoting my time and thoughts to the subject you proposed. I have turned over many books, and reflected much with myself. The connection between the body and the mind, and the consequent inference that physical education derives its importance, not from its giving health to the body only, but for its direct coöperation with moral education, — this I intended for my first topic.

Education, No. 5, 1885, p. 22. See, also, "The Study of History in American Colleges and Universities," by H. B. Adams, p. 68.

The introduction of gymnastics at Harvard College quickly followed the successful experiment at Round Hill. The following is a contemporary description of the first beginnings of a wonderful process of development, modern results of which are the Hemenway Gymnasium and the various athletic fields of Cambridge: "Gymnastics are very much the rage here at present. Indeed, we think ourselves very fortunate when we look on to the Delta and see a student walking or standing on his feet, the head being so much more frequently substituted. The symmetry of the solid earth is a good deal marred by the machinery necessary to the 'carrying out of the plan,' and yesterday a gallows was erected for our young aspirants to climb upon, which I have no doubt is a good deal higher than Haman's. It all serves a good purpose, for a considerable quantity of superfluous animation is spent here, which for want of such a vent has heretofore expended itself in breaking windows, dismantling recitation rooms, and making bonfires." — *Cambridge letter to Jared Sparks, April 29, 1826.*

I meant then to narrate the gymnastic exercises of the Greeks, and the plays of their schoolboys, and to pass from this to the history of modern gymnastics. The third topic would have been the practical application of these views to our country. I have collected all my materials for the first topic. Unluckily I do not own either Hippocrates or Galen, and know not whether Carbaniss has yet published his work, 'Sur le Perfectionnement du genre humain.' If he has, I need his book. His great work, 'Rapports du moral et du physique de l'homme,' I have. It is philosophical and accurate. . . .

"It is Christmas Eve, and a glad occasion. The Roman is now passing from street to street, from illuminated church to church; the Basilica of Santa Maria is filled with music almost heavenly; the faithful are rejoicing. I wish you all joy suited to the occasion, and happiness always."

The difficulties in the way of literary communication¹ by stage-coach between Northampton and Boston are illustrated in the following extracts from Bancroft's letter to Sparks, January 17, 1825: "The parcel containing the MSS. and the two books really went last week Monday morning (the 10th), and must have reached Boston on Monday evening. It went in the Amherst line, of which you can hear at Wild & Hosmer's, Elm Street, or at the Exchange Coffee House, or at Colonel Wilde's Eastern Stage House, or of T. Hathaway. It was directed to Rev. J. S., to be left at C. & H.'s bookstore. I doubted whether it would reach you. You are not known to the stage-drivers, and in Boston they do not have time to go

¹ The loose postal regulations of that period are suggested by Bancroft's humorous complaint to Sparks, October 4, 1829: "Why have you paid your letter? You only give me the trouble of looking up a ninepence to send to the post-office with this." Bancroft's letter was engrossed "Paid G. B. 12."

about and deliver things. It is necessary to send to the stage office when a thing is expected. That I can do at Northampton, and do always. Therefore whatever is left at Earl's to be forwarded reaches me safely. Direct merely to me at Round Hill, Northampton. Our boys have made us known on the road, and we are in the odor of sanctity with all tavern-keepers and stage proprietors from here to Boston. Let me have what you intend sending me on Friday evening. This letter will reach you Thursday morning. . . .

"I am glad you like the doctrine of temperaments. I have consulted the best authorities; and as to the physicians, I know of but one who understands the subject, and that is Dr. Jackson. You once wrote me a long letter, and never but once. I live upon that; but wish you could sometimes add at least a syllable of Christian salutation, or friendly information. You are all too laconic."

Sparks showed his early appreciation of Bancroft's work at Northampton in a more helpful way than by letter-writing. Through the columns of the "North American Review" the editor made known to the whole country the peculiar merits of that remarkable educational establishment at Round Hill. In behalf of himself and of his colleague, Joseph Green Cogswell, Bancroft wrote Sparks, March 23, 1825, the following grateful acknowledgment of the proposed service to their school: "We cannot but acknowledge ourselves bound to Mr. Ticknor for his kind dispositions towards us, and to yourself for your willingness to present our claims to public attention through your journal. It will be the surest means of making our efforts widely known, and of confirming the good opinion of us already maintained by many. Friends have risen up to us in the progress of our undertaking in a most unexpected manner, and in the most various parts of the Union. It will be a matter of congratulation to us that

you have contributed to make us known. We ask for little more. Men must come and see us, if they will judge of the value of our services. The praise we covet (*et nunc et semper laudis avidissimi fuimus*) is of contributing in our sphere to the promotion of letters in our country, and patriotism is the most inspiring of the motives by which we are influenced. I will take an early opportunity of writing copiously to you or Mr. Ticknor. A classical school is no name for us. The word is nowadays too hackneyed. You call your English school at Boston classical. A school for the liberal education of boys would be an appellation expressive, at least, of our purpose.

“It has given me sincere pleasure in these last days to take part with my townsmen in maintaining the principles of religious liberty and Christianity. Our cause is triumphant. In the choice of town officers, by an act of Providence as it were, the ticket made up of men of liberal minds prevailed. The orthodox were foolish enough to persecute a man, long tried and found faithful, for having joined us. If they pursue this course they will soon find themselves in a minority. A voice has been raised on this side the river such as will not soon die away.”

Bancroft's interest in purely literary and scholarly work and his growing distaste for reviewing¹ are indicated in the following extracts from letters, the first dated November 2, and the second November 10, 1826: “Literature I love, and the truth I inquire after and fear not to tell; but reviewing is a bad business.” “How independent is —

¹ This distaste for reviewing grew, also, in the case of Mr. Sparks, after he had become more interested in historical investigations at home and abroad. Thomas Aspinwall, of Boston, in a letter to Mrs. Sparks, April 23, 1868, said: “A friend of ours, Gilbert Stuart Newton, the artist, told me that Sydney Smith gave him an account of meeting Mr. Sparks at a dinner given by some literary celebrity whom I cannot now identify, and, among other things, of having talked a good deal about the ‘trade’ of reviewing.”

a scholar's life, — his occupation, his excitement, his pleasures, within his own control! If safe against anxiety for worldly support, his hours may be jocund and his thoughts all roses. This last is a quotation. Quite sentimental for a reviewer of lexicons."

The following letter from Henry Wheaton to Jared Sparks, dated New York, December 11, 1823, illustrates another valuable connection thus early made for the "North American Review:" "I send you a short article¹ merely as earnest of what I may hereafter do, when I shall be clear of the all-engrossing subject of politics, which now take all the time I can spare (and perhaps more than I ought to give) from mere professional pursuits. I am particularly anxious that this *notice* should appear in the January number, and hope you will not disappoint me. I have said nothing but what I conscientiously believe to be true of the book. I hope Mason will review my edition of Salwyn's 'Nisi Prius,' or rather give a short notice of it. Keep up the *Greek fire*. We are all in a blaze here."

In the following letter from Professor Edward Everett, dated Cambridge, March 12, 1824, the editorial embarrassments of Mr. Sparks are contrasted with those of the former régime, when the North American Review Club deliberated over the choice of articles: "I received your two notes at seven o'clock last evening. In the first you say you 'hope my article is ready;' in the second, that you 'will thank me to send it.' Still, however, as not a line of it is written, I must be excused a little longer. Had I not understood from you, at Mr. Hale's dinner, that you would let me come last, I would at all events have been ready. But I now lecture six days in the week,

¹ This article was probably on "A Treatise on the Practice in the Supreme Court of New York in Civil Actions," etc., a review published in the "North American," January, 1824.

and this week, which I reserved for you, has been wholly absorbed thus far with college business. I will do my best, however, to send you the article by Monday morning, if possible earlier. You must meantime do what your predecessor often did, sit down with tired fingers, aching head, and sad heart, and write for your life, remembering that your case is not so vexatious as his; for while you are stopped by a piece not written, he was stopped for want of pieces which he had read and liked, but which must circulate through the hands of two or three loungers for three or four days."

Mr. Justice Story was an occasional contributor to the "North American Review," and wrote to Jared Sparks from Salem, April 8, 1825: "I have just received the letter of your agent inclosing me twenty dollars as a balance for writing in No. 46 of the 'North American Review.' I never had the least thought of receiving any compensation for my services in this respect, and I must beg you to excuse me for returning the same to you. Whatever I can do to add to the reputation or circulation of the 'Review' will be very cheerfully done. But situated as I am, I must be permitted to act without any other reward than the hope to promote a most useful and important publication, intimately connected with the literary character of our country. I had quite forgotten that my subscription for the year 1825 had not been paid. When I am next in Boston I shall call and discharge it, and I will thank you now to cancel the credit given me on that account."

The following letter from Joseph Story to Jared Sparks, dated Salem, August 1, 1827, may be printed with propriety in this connection: "I acknowledge with great pleasure your letter of the 30th ult. I have begun the article on Marshall's History, and shall complete it by the 1st of September. It has been hitherto delayed in

expectation of a letter from the Chief Justice himself, to whom I sent a request for *facts*. I received a letter from him *the day before yesterday*. It is long and full of interesting matter, and will enable me to be very accurate as to his public character. I think the article may be made quite valuable from the materials so furnished. I shall use them in an ample manner. If the delay to the 1st of September will embarrass you, the article can remain for the January number; but in that event I shall be glad that you would just notice the fact that it is received and will then appear. I mean to call and see you when I get an hour in Boston."

In a brief letter from William H. Prescott to Jared Sparks, February 16, 1826, we catch a glimpse of one of the most heroic and helpful literary spirits of that time: "Although I cannot write, my eyes are sufficiently recovered to allow me to read a couple of hours in a day, which will answer my purpose in relation to the review of the poems in the 'Literary Gazette,' so that, if you have not engaged some one else to do the job, I will have it ready for you the beginning of next week. Be so good as to return your copy by the bearer."

Among the most interesting letters preserved among the Sparks papers are those which he received from that delightful correspondent, George Ticknor, who was one of Sparks' best friends, and, like Edward Everett, a staunch supporter of the "North American Review." The following letters were written by Ticknor during a Southern tour. The first is dated at Monticello, December 17, 1824, and is of great interest by reason of its graphic account of the habits of Mr. Jefferson, and its allusions to the University of Virginia, including the new professors whom Jefferson and Gilmer had just introduced into this country from England. It is not unlikely that Ticknor's visit to Monticello at the time the new University was about to

be opened had some influence upon the practical development of his views of academic reform, particularly with reference to departments of study and the elective system: ¹—

“Your very kind and pleasant letter reached us here day before yesterday. We thought it was somewhat late in making its appearance, but it was not on that account the less welcome; and as the only way we have to get another is to send a reply, we make haste to answer it by the return of post. Do let us hear from you a little oftener; a letter every week or ten days will do you no harm, and will certainly be to us a great comfort, which we will do all in our power to answer soon and pleasantly. Above all, take care of the baby, and tell us always how she does.

“We are passing our time very happily here. Our party is certainly a remarkable one, and, as we settle down into the ways of the family and they get accustomed to us, it grows more and more agreeable, so that every day we are less disposed to change our quarters. Mr. Jefferson is little altered since I saw him last, though ten years have passed over his head, and he is now on the verge of eighty-two. His occupations and the distribution of his time are absolutely the same. He rises as soon as he can see the hands of the clock in his room, and reads and writes until at nine the second breakfast bell brings him with great exactness to the parlor. In the forenoon he reads and rides. At four o'clock he dines, and passes his time very gayly and actively in conversation till about nine in the sal^on, and then disappears for the night. He seems to be constantly and efficiently employed in intellectual occupations. Since he sold his library to Congress he has collected the greater part of

¹ “Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia,” by H. B. Adams, pp. 122–134.

his favorite authors about him, and numbers now twelve or fifteen hundred volumes. He reads a great deal of Greek, and likes very much to talk about it, showing himself, I am satisfied, more familiar with its literature than he was ten years ago. Yesterday he showed me the MS. of the Laws for the University, and classical knowledge makes a principal figure in them. The Saxon, too, is in great favor with him. He has prepared a treatise on it, which I read yesterday, and which contains a good deal of curious matter. In some respects his habits of labor are very remarkable. He has prepared an entire catalogue¹ of seven or eight thousand volumes for the library of the University, neatly written in his own hand, arranged according to subjects, with an index, and priced. It must have cost him much painful and wearisome examination. Indeed, on all sides regular but not excessive occupation is the philosopher's stone on which he depends for his happiness. He seems to be as successful as anybody I know. His University promises better than I expected. The buildings are of great architectural beauty, built with thoroughness, and extremely appropriate and convenient for their purposes. Two of his professors are arrived, perhaps four. One who is here is a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, from which he draws £300 a year. He is about six-and-twenty, spirited and pleasant, savoring little of the world and much of books, and will, I dare say, prove the thorough Greek and Latin scholar they hope to find him.² Another, Blaettermann, I knew in London. He is about forty-two, with a wife and one child. He is a German by birth; has lived twelve years in Paris and longer in London; has been a teacher of Italian; knows Spanish, Danish, and Swedish; and is here

¹ This manuscript catalogue is still preserved in the library of the University of Virginia, and is a literary curiosity.

² George Long, afterwards the historian of the Roman republic.

to be for the modern languages. He was known to me chiefly as an excellent *man*, who earned a hard but very respectable living in London by teaching Latin and Greek. Their mathematical professor¹ carried off all the honors at Cambridge, England, for his knowledge in that department, and is now accounted the first of his age in that University. The two² other foreigners seem equally well supported by statements of their past success; and the sixth is Gilmer, who, however, is now sick and suffering much at New York. Yet two more are wanted, one in Natural History and one in Ethicks and Metaphysicks; but the University will be opened February 1, and, I doubt not, will have a large number of students at once. How it will succeed in practice remains to be proved. I very much fear it will need a great deal of awkward and troublesome modification, but I think better of it than I did when I understood less of its plans and arrangements.

“Touching Mr. Coolidge’s happy state, you are of course informed by himself. Ellen Randolph is a sweet lady, not at all a blue-stocking, though she has knowledge enough to set up five or six, — and will be a very agreeable addition to our society in Boston, where, I think, she will please more than is common. She is not strongly marked with the ways of the world or its fashions; but she is evidently amiable and kind, and very lady-like.

“We intended to have set out to-day for Richmond, but a storm prevents us, which will induce us to return directly to Washington. I cannot say I am sorry for either. Anna sends her love to you, and asks for more letters in the unsatisfied spirit with which children ask

¹ Thomas Hewett Key, M. A., Trinity College, Cambridge, who, after his return to England, became professor of Latin in the University of London, where he was again the colleague of Mr. Long.

² Charles Bonnycastle, the physicist, and Dr. Robley Dunglison, who was educated at Erlangen, in Germany.

for more sweetmeats. My own impatience is much of the same sort. Farewell. Gratify us as much as you can.

“I suspect you will find it necessary to make the arrangement you mention in relation to the ‘North American,’—at least I have apprehended it for some time. The ‘North American’ is in good odour everywhere, as far as I have been able to observe; it certainly is so here.”

A second letter of this period, from George Ticknor to Jared Sparks, is dated Washington, January 3, 1825, and is interesting for its social and political observations. Mr. Ticknor’s remarks on contemporary views of slavery and colonization are particularly valuable: “We received your letter day before yesterday, just as we were going to the palace to offer the homage of the New Year, and truly you could not have sent us a present more appropriate to the season and to our wants. I wish you may have had something that made you nearly as gay; but such accidents are rare, and if you received anything half as good you were not ill off. So write us again as soon as you can, or as soon as your bustle is a little over.

“The world here goes on, I apprehend, much as it did when you gave them a great deal better preaching in the Capitol than they can get now. Old General Lafayette creates a considerable sensation; but the main business of life is, after all, eating dinner, making calls, and going to multitudinous parties. You can hardly imagine how little the presidential question is talked about, how little excitement there is concerning it. For some time I thought it was because things were in a dark course of negotiation; but those who would be likely to suspect and resist such management are constantly marveling at the tranquillity. On the whole, I suspect the necessity of the case is the chief agent now at work. The different parties are so well defined, and the abandonment of this colony would be so flagrant a thing in any or almost any individual,

that they are compelled to respect one another's principles as well as one another's numbers and array. At any rate, we seem to be now on the top of the tide, — neither ebb nor flood, — as still as if the waters never were destined to move again. Calhoun, Everett says, is certainly using his influence for Jackson. Who Clay means to join nobody knows; probably not even himself. But the most zealous of the Crawfordites are in favor of Adams, partly because they are afraid of Jackson, and partly because they hate Calhoun. The preference of each member of the House on a first choice is, I believe, well ascertained; and the preference of nearly every member for a second choice. There is, however, one remarkable exception. Louisiana has three votes. Brent is openly for Adams; Livingston is openly for Jackson. Who Gurley will vote for nobody knows. Heaven preserve us from leaving the question to the decision of Louisiana! And yet it is very likely to be decided by some single State in a position not unlike this. If it should be, let the individual who finally chooses the President look to his hands all the rest of his life, for the whole country will watch him with no very charitable eyes. He could not afterwards be a tidewaiter in the Custom House, or a tipstaff in one of the United States courts, without being pursued with the hue and cry of corruption.

“Every time I see Lafayette he talks about the slave population. He is very anxious something should be done, so is Mr. Jefferson, so in fact is everybody; but nobody knows how to begin or what to do. The curse seems never to have fallen on the Southerners till now, — at least they seem never to have felt it till now. The conduct of South Carolina has alarmed all but its own people, and a movement might be made, if there were a man in Congress from all the South able and bold enough to make it. Hayne might and probably would do it, if he

were not from South Carolina; but they would roast him alive at home if he should do it; and as for a Northern man's moving in it, *that* is not to be thought of. It would spoil all. Mr. Webster says, if the South will propose a feasible, a practicable mode of getting the blacks *out of the country*, which is Jefferson's project, that he as a Northern member will vote to open the treasury to execute it. These are healing words certainly; and those who have been at the South, and those who remember how earnestly Virginia remonstrated against the original introduction of slavery by Great Britain, will be disposed to look upon their condition in grief and not in anger. But they must arrange the project and make the first movement themselves, and I do not believe there is a man among them all willing to take upon himself the unpopularity of proposing it, who is at the same time of force and character to do it discreetly and effectually. . . .

"I am very glad to hear of your new arrangement about the 'North American.' If you lose nothing by the failure, you have certainly gained by the transfer; for your last agent was never a man of business, was never a safe man. Under your own inspection you will find everything both much easier and much more profitable than you have heretofore, for you have always been anxious."

A third letter from George Ticknor to Jared Sparks was written in Philadelphia, January 31, 1825, and relates to matters of academic, literary, legal, and social interest to men of that day: "Your account of the doings of the Rev. and Hon. the Board of Overseers is very interesting and curious, — the only sufficient account I have received. It would all be very well, if it were not for the excitement under which everything is now done. But this seems to me a grave difficulty, and will produce, I am much afraid, a difference and conflict of which we shall not for a long

time see an end. Judge Story's Report, which is accepted by an overwhelming majority in the Overseers, will not be very welcome to the Immediate Government, and contains provisions which I cannot think are wise or practical, though in the principal feature I am greatly pleased with it. The Immediate Government, I am satisfied, in their present state of excitement will prevent this Report from going fairly and properly into effect, — this will make the principal Overseers more angry, — and then it will go on from bad to worse. I see no end to it. By-the-bye, I wish you would direct Cummings & Hilliard to deliver you, on my account, a complete set of whatever has been printed on the subject of the College¹ for the last year.

• “ We dined yesterday at Walsh's with Hopkinson, Binney, General Cadwallader, and Spy Cooper. It was a delightful time, — they were all in excellent spirits and most rare good-humor, — and we talked and laughed for four hours as merrily as I ever did in my life. Much was said about the ‘North American,’ and everybody praised it. Hopkinson and Binney both thought it better than the ‘Edinburgh.’ Binney said to me that the only reason why he ceased to take it was economy, — that he dropped ‘Edinburgh Quarterly’ and ‘North American’ together; but that the ‘North American’ is taken in his family, and that he always reads it and always with pleasure. The review of Lord Byron was universally disapproved, as I have observed it was in Baltimore, and in Washington as far as it was known. Less would have been said about it, and it would not have been so decidedly disliked, I suspect, if Medwin's book and Dallas' had not just now come out to put his lordship's character

¹ This commission to collect documentary materials indicates a serious intent to study the entire academic situation at Harvard. The fruit of Ticknor's study we shall soon see.

in a more odious light than ever. The ladies are against him *to a man*. There was, too, a general expectation that the 'North American' would appear on occasion of his death with a national article, in which the moral tone should have been very high, and of course there is a general disappointment. The 'Review,' however, can bear it. It stands higher than I expected, and is more firm in the general confidence. Your subscription will greatly increase soon, for Thompson and Lucas both told me they begin now to send considerable numbers over the mountains. I pray you, however, to beware of an article in favor of general codification.¹ Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, Mr. Webster, Mr. Hopkinson, Mr. Binney, and not only all the old fellows, but . . . all the little dogs, will be after you at once. There is considerable complaint about a page or two of Sedgwick's article, and I have heard the question asked twenty times, What are you going to say about the Code Napoleon? Mr. Duponceau says, if you defend that and come out for codification, he shall give you up. All this shows how much influence you have, and I repeat it to you that you may use it accordingly, but I repeat what is said about Sedgwick and Lord Byron to nobody else; for I rejoice most sincerely

¹ A view quite contrary to that of Ticknor is seen in the following letter from H. D. Sedgwick to Jared Sparks, New York, March 30, 1825: "Your old-fashioned folks in Boston are all out in thinking that codification will not take. Is not this the great State and Mr. Clinton its great man, and will not our Legislature follow his lead? This is going like most other great improvements, — the craft generally opposed; few lawyers now living above forty will assent to it. Scarcely any below twenty-five will oppose it. The cause cannot be in better hands than those of Livingston in New Orleans, and Duer and Butler here."

Codification became an accomplished fact in Louisiana through the masterly work of Chancellor Livingston, which was first printed entire in 1833, although practically finished in 1824, and early adopted by the State. The New York Code was not completed until 1865.

in your prospects, and think the book is gaining very fast indeed. The article about Baltimore was a remarkably happy hit; if you can give one like it about Philadelphia it would be even happier.

“Owen, of Lanark, arrived here last night, and was in our quarters this morning before we were up. . . . He has bought Rapp’s establishment at Harmony just as it stands, with everything there is on it, — house, furniture, plenishings, &c., in short everything except the two-legged animals. He is perfectly delighted with it, and can talk of nothing else. In the spring he comes to Boston; in the summer he goes to England; in the autumn, or the following spring, he comes back with his colony and begins the reformation of the world, abolishing all the vile distinctions of *meum* and *tuum*, fixing up a new religion, and regenerating human character. It will take him, he thinks, about five-and-twenty years to get through this small job in Europe and America, and somewhat longer for Asia and Africa. . . . His son and Captain McDonough remain at Harmony to arrange everything for his return. It contains 30,000 acres, — 3,000 cultivated, — and accommodations ready for 1,000 inhabitants. It is near the confluence of the Wabash and Ohio, and every foot of it, he says, is of the richest soil.” . . .

The following letter from Ticknor, dated Nahant, August 2, 1825, is perhaps the most important in this very interesting series. The letter relates to one of the most epoch-making articles that were ever written for the “North American Review,” — to an article originally requested and actually accepted by Mr. Sparks; but it was finally withdrawn, and privately printed by Cummings, Hilliard & Company, in 1825, and went through two editions that year. Ticknor’s pamphlet marks the dawn of a new era¹ in American university education: “I did

¹ “Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia,” by H. B. Adams, p. 125.

not seek to write an article on the College, and, indeed, as you will well remember, have more than once declined doing it; but first at your instance, then at Judge Story's and Mr. Webster's, and finally at Judge Jackson's, I have undertaken it. It is now really finished, and you must take it as it is, — print it or let it alone entirely; I cannot alter it and do not wish to.

“I have discussed in it, first, the defects in the old system, which created the call for changes; such as the great amount of idle time, the alphabetical division of classes, the nature of the recitations, the disproportionate duties of different officers taken *en masse*, and not individually, the sort of punishments inflicted (only fines and suspensions). I have then discussed the two modes of reformation proposed: first, a change in the corporation, which I have shown not to be required by charter and usage, and not to be expedient; and second, the changes effected by the present code of laws, such as the division into departments, the subdivision according to merit, the change of vacations, opening college to all who do not desire degrees, alteration of punishments, &c. Thus far I have proceeded, and I have a few pages more to write. When it is done I shall show it to the persons at whose instance I have written it, and then send it to you; but I shall, probably, be more unwilling to have it altered than to have alterations in anything I ever wrote for you.

“I do not think it is proper to discuss the state and arrangements of College without discussing all the subjects mentioned above, for they are all of primary importance; but in doing it I have assailed the opinions of no one individual, nor cited anybody except when I agreed with him. I have differed from many persons, because not a word can be said about college without differing from many; but if any person is irritated at anything I have said, or shall say, it will be his fault and not mine.

I never did write in a bad temper, and, Heaven willing, I never shall. But, as I said at the beginning, you must take it as it is, or not at all. I have decided opinions upon College, and a decent independence requires me to express them, if I undertake to discuss the subject. You entertain the same opinions, and therefore you asked me to write the article. If for any reason you do not mean to print it, I shall not be vexed that you have changed your mind, though I may be sorry I have lost my labor.

“Pray come down and see us again; we have mighty agreeable times here, and, for aught I know or foresee, shall stay till frost.”

Many of the letters sent to Mr. Sparks were addressed “Somerset Court, Boston.”¹ In a letter written June 25, 1824, to Miss Susan Williams, he gives this graphic account of his local situation in Boston: —

“My windows overlook Charlestown, Cambridge, and the whole country round, and I see all that is to be seen. The famous house² in Chelsea, with *all* the trees in the town, is in full sight, and this moment I see the ferry-boat just landing at the wharf. Five or six days ago I saw the Battle of Bunker Hill fought over again, while

¹ After the autumn of 1826, Mr. Sparks took lodgings with his friend Dr. Walter Channing, on Common Street, corner of School Street, where for five years they kept bachelor’s hall, until Channing’s marriage. In June, 1831, Sparks removed to Mrs. R. H. Clark’s in Somerset Place.

² Mr. Sparks here refers to an old home of one branch of the Williams family, in Chelsea. “Amos Williams and seven brothers went from Roxbury, Massachusetts, to Baltimore, about the beginning of the present century, and became successful and influential merchants there. The daughter of one of these brothers became the wife of Jerome Bonaparte, the American son of the king of Westphalia by his first wife, Elizabeth Patterson, of Baltimore.” (Dr. N. H. Morison on “George Washington Burnap.”) Amos Williams married his own cousin, Nancy Williams, daughter of Henry Howell Williams, of Chelsea. Their daughter Nancy Williams married Mr. Burnap.

standing as I do now at my desk, and a noisy time it was ; the wooden monument on the 'awful mount' was shaken to its centre, and the mount itself trembled. Do you not think I have seen wonders ? And yet I have told you nothing of the great doings of election week, when we had three or four sermons every day, and the ministers walked in a procession, and held counsels and looked very grave, and did exactly what their forefathers did a hundred and fifty years ago. . . . I must not forget to tell you of an accident which has happened to me. Two nights ago the house took fire in which was contained the July number of the 'North American Review,' and the ravenous flames destroyed about one half of that *inestimable* work. The publisher reports the loss to me to be from four to five hundred dollars ; and we shall be detained ten days."

Mr. Sparks' health was much improved by his return to a northern climate, although during the first year after his establishment in Boston he was far from being well. In the letter from which the above passages are quoted he says : "I have worried through the summer thus far much as I used to do in my room in your house. My health has been much better on the whole, but I have allowed myself once in a while to be attacked something in the old way, just to keep up a recollection of past times. I find very little comfort in it, however, and should be willing to adopt almost any other mode of quickening my recollections."

He afterwards found a cure for all his ills in vigorous, systematic, physical exercise. This he appears to have somewhat neglected amid the all-absorbing duties of his Baltimore pastorate. But even in the South he had always found himself greatly benefited by long journeys taken in jolting stage-coaches during his summer vacations. At the North, in a more bracing climate, and

among friends like Prescott, who was devoted to and absolutely dependent upon physical exercise, Sparks soon resumed the good old practice of taking long walks. Writing to Miss Nancy Williams, of Baltimore, April 19, 1825, he said: "I have become a prodigious pedestrian, and walk the country over in all directions. This very morning I have walked four miles before breakfast, that is, before half-past seven. Some day, perhaps, I may walk to Baltimore to dinner; it must be a cool day, and yet I must have cantaloupes and peaches."

To his old friend and correspondent, James Taylor, Unitarian minister in Philadelphia, Mr. Sparks wrote from Boston, November 11, 1826: "I have traveled a great deal during the last year, and I find my health much improved by it. . . . The care of my 'Review' and my present literary projects have the effect of keeping me in better health and spirits than I have enjoyed for many years before."

While living in Boston, Mr. Sparks was in receipt of a constant succession of invitations from friends in town and in Cambridge. If he had accepted all the courtesies that were offered him, he would have been almost as much occupied by social engagements as by his editorial duties. Many invitations are preserved among Mr. Sparks' private letters, which are arranged chronologically by years in handsome cases. In rapidly running through these letter files, the reader catches charming glimpses of social forms in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Besides the vast number of conventional invitations to teas and dinner parties from people well known in Boston and Cambridge, there are many notes of individual interest.

W. H. Prescott sends this, December 8, 1826: "It is very long since we had the pleasure of greeting you in our domestic circle. Will you not steal an hour from the gay and prosperous world, and *give it to us* on Sunday

evening? I fix on that time merely to afford to your memory a link of association, that the thought may not pass away as if it had not been."

The following from W. H. Gardiner, June 12, 1827, is a characteristic reminder of Prescott's Club, of which Sparks was an original member: "I am happy to hear of your safe return, and have endeavored sundry times to see you. But you are as hard to find as the longitude. Among other things, I wished to inform you that club proposes to assemble himself to-morrow, being his birthday anniversary, at Nahant, and that it is indispensable that you should be there. Prescott desires me to say that he wants a companion in his chaise, and if you will take the seat with him he will go at your own hour. 'No' cannot be said but upon the most invincible reason."

There are many other pleasant notes of a social character in the letter-files of Jared Sparks. He had strong friends in Boston and Cambridge family circles, represented by such men as W. H. and S. A. Eliot, Palfrey, Folsom, Norton, Parkman, Parsons, Phillips, Quincy, Appleton, Channing, Codman, Dwight, Everett, Gardiner, Gray, Lowell, Lyman, Minot, Ware, and Winthrop.

William H. Eliot, Sparks' lifelong friend, wrote to him from Boston, January 23, 1827: "As to the comfort of possessing kind friends, who has less reason to complain than you? Who has more or better ones? Who has more reason to be proud of having secured their regard and affection? Among us, you are esteemed for yourself, not because you are this man's brother or that man's cousin, not because you have married a lady of fortune or are possessed of one yourself, but because your character and talents are properly appreciated. Then your occupation is a most honorable one, and becoming a lucrative one, not without its vexations truly; but what pursuit, even the glorious one of casting interest on cents and mills, is free from its disagreeable points?"

In the autumn of 1827, Mr. Sparks began to make preparations for a trip to Europe for the sake of collecting materials for American history in foreign archives. He arranged with his old friend, Edward Everett, for the editorial conduct of the 'North American Review.' The following letter, dated Boston, September 17, 1827, from Sparks to Everett, explains the proposed transfer: "I find it will not be possible for me to do justice to the publication of Washington's works till I can go to England and consult papers that do not exist in this country. But I feel some concern as to the fate of the 'North American Review' during my absence. It is of great importance at this juncture that it should be in good hands.

"I write to inquire whether you will undertake the editorship? My intention is to get away in December or January, and to be absent about ten months; consequently three numbers will come out while I am gone, and one so soon after my return that I shall not be able to give any attention to it. If you will undertake the editorial labor and responsibility of these four numbers, I will give you two hundred and fifty dollars for each number, in addition to the usual pay for your own writing.

"I shall wish it to be publicly understood that the work will be entirely in your hands during my absence, and shall moreover expect that you will exercise the same charge over the editorial department as if the work were your own. With the list of new publications and the Index you will have no trouble, as they will be procured by the publisher; but all the other matter must be provided by you, and be prepared critically for the press. It must be remembered also that, according to our present system of coming out punctually, all the manuscript must be in the printer's hands at least four weeks before the number is published. Mr. Folsom will read the proofs.

"It may not be amiss to mention that Mr. Greenwood

is pledged for fifty pages a year, and Mr. Prescott for twenty-five. Your brother has written me that he thinks he shall send an article for every number. Cruse, of Baltimore, is a ready and good hand. Cass will write for April."

Mr. Everett made some inquiries regarding the amount of editorial writing that would be expected, and Sparks replied, September 19, 1827: "In answer to your inquiry I reply that when I have been at home, my writing in the 'Review' has averaged, I suppose, about fifty or sixty pages a number, sometimes more, when absent less, and in one number nothing. I will add that for the two last years I have found no difficulty in procuring matter, but have always had more than I could print. In my desk are now three formidable articles for January. My great trouble has been to bring out a suitable variety, and to avoid too many long discussions in a single number. Care has constantly been taken to engage writers on broad topics some time beforehand. Cushing was preparing an article on Guatemala for October, but there was not room. It will be ready for January.

"The more you write the better, of course, but I shall be willing to leave that to your own judgment, presuming you will supply as much as your leisure will allow, and that you will feel a desire to have the numbers come out in as acceptable a manner as possible. It ought to be kept in mind that the printer must be supplied near the beginning of the quarter with some of the articles, and not be suffered to run out afterwards; otherwise there is so much presswork that it cannot be thrown off towards the end."

In a letter dated Boston, September 25, 1827, Mr. Everett said: "After consulting with some of my friends, I have concluded to undertake the charge you propose to me, on the terms offered; and being strongly attached to

the 'North American,' I shall exert myself to the utmost to promote its interests."

The "North American Review" afforded a great stimulus to the development of the periodical and scientific literature of this country. Walsh's "American Quarterly Review," published by H. C. Carey in Philadelphia, was the only magazine that really attempted to rival the Boston publication, and to draw away its contributors. Mr. Sparks was always generous to literary competitors and associates. He lent hearty encouragement to the "American Journal of Science." Its editor, Professor B. Silliman, wrote to him, July 26, 1829: "Should you have more matter that is of scientific character, or relating to the arts, than is desirable for a literary work, it is more than probable that I might be able to receive it and pay for it as you would do. I ask, however, for nothing that would in the least interfere with your own views. . . . I believe I never thanked you for a very valuable letter of advice with which, at my request, you favored me in 1826. The suggestions which you then made led to a course which spread the 'Journal,' and it will always give me pleasure to acknowledge my obligation, and to assure you that I am, with great respect, your very obliged friend and servant."

The financial status of the "North American Review" during Mr. Sparks' editorship is not without interest. Before his time, nothing had been paid to contributors for their articles. A more generous policy was inaugurated soon after he became editor and chief proprietor of the magazine. In a letter to Professor Cleaveland, the mineralogist and geologist of Bowdoin College, he made the following explanation, August 15, 1826: "During the first years of the 'North American Review' it was customary to give a copy to such gentlemen as wrote for the work. About three years ago the proprietors began to pay the

writers, and after that no one received the book on those terms. . . . Every writer pays for his book like any other subscriber, and receives a dollar a page for writing."

After the first two years Mr. Sparks sold for \$4,000 a quarter interest in the "North American" to an energetic young man named Frederick T. Gray, who became his publisher and business manager. On the 11th of January, 1826, Mr. Gray sent the following balance sheet to Mr. Sparks, showing the financial condition of the "Review:" —

Amount rec'd in 1826, <u>\$11,845.36</u>	Paid Printers \$2,965.05
	Paper 2,638.64
	Binding 662.90
	Writing 683.94
	Expense 420.26
	Profit & Loss col-
	lect'n 97.36
	Col'd Paper 70.00
	J. S. 2,200.00
	F. T. G. 1,100.00
	Note discounted 600.00
	Cash from & pd.
	to J. S. 292.56
	J. S. $\frac{3}{4}$ bal. on
	hand 85.82
	F. T. G. $\frac{1}{4}$ bal. on
	hand 28.60
	<u>\$11,845.36</u>

Reprinted in 1826, Nos. 2, 7, 11, 24,

48, 51 & 52, which cost . . . \$1,326.60

Estimate value of N. A. R. 1827 :

Amount stock at usual estimation \$6,300.76

Due from agents & subscribers, 10 per ct.

off 2,712.95

2,932 subscribers, at \$3.25 9,529.00

Value \$18,542.71

Estimate on Jan. 1827 \$18,542.71

Estimate on Jan. 1826 16,065.95

Increase \$2,476.76

This is made at the *lowest on all the items.*

Mr. Sparks made a special contract with Alexander H. Everett to furnish one article for each number of the magazine during a period of two years, beginning with July, 1826. This contract was faithfully executed, and upon its expiration a new arrangement was made for the same period. Mr. Everett became so much attached to the "North American" that he intimated, September 5, 1827, to Mr. Sparks, a desire to purchase a proprietary interest. Sparks agreed with his associate, F. T. Gray, March 7, 1828, that not more than a half interest in the magazine should be sold. On the 17th of August, 1828, we find Sparks writing to Everett from Paris the following clear sketch of the financial condition of the "North American:" "Some time ago you wrote to me that you were disposed to purchase a part of the 'North American Review.' From what you then said, I thought it likely that I should see you in London or Paris, and I procured from Mr. Gray a general statement of the pecuniary concerns of the work for your inspection. I will transcribe the results as briefly and clearly as I can.

"It seems that for the last seven years the work has increased in value, on an average, about \$2,000 a year. I paid for it \$10,900.¹ A careful estimate has since been

¹ In November, 1823, Mr. Sparks bought out the proprietors of the "North American Review," among whom were Willard Phillips, W. P. Mason, and Edward Everett. He gave notes, and borrowed money from his friends William H. Eliot, George Ticknor, and Samuel A. Eliot. The latter, on April 1, 1825, advanced \$6,500, and took a mortgage for that amount on one half the property of the "North American Review." This mortgage was paid March 10, 1830, and all other obligations on account of the "Review" were settled at earlier dates. Mr. Sparks received, January 21, 1826, \$4,000 from Frederick T. Gray for one fourth interest in the "Review," and \$600, January 23, 1826, from Nathan Hale, for all of Mr. Sparks' interest in the office, or so-called "Press of the North American Review." The printing business and the business of publication were afterwards kept distinct. Nathan Hale was employed by Mr.

made on the 1st of January for every year, and recorded in detail on the books. The results of the record for January, 1828, are as follows, viz. : —

“ Value of the subscription list	\$9,954.75
Stock on hand	6,787.43
Debts due from agents and subscribers, after deducting ten per cent. for losses and expense of collecting	3,963.00
	\$20,705.18

“ The income of the work is variable, owing to the failures of agents, and the expense of reprinting back numbers. The first two years that I had it, I realized very little. I then sold a quarter of it to Mr. Gray, who became the publisher and a proprietor. Our agreement was, that he should have out of the proceeds of the work \$1,100 a year as publisher, and I \$2,200 as editor; and if anything remained, it was to be divided according to the respective values of our shares. The largest amount that I have ever received in a year was \$2,283. This sum was my compensation as editor, and for the interest on the amount of my share of the work, or three quarters of the whole. Mr. Gray received \$1,121.

“ The back stock has always proved good property to us, although it is expensive reprinting small editions of single numbers as they become exhausted. The annual sales yield a high percentage on the estimated value of the stock. This year we are printing an Index to the first twenty-five volumes, which will cost much more than we shall receive at once, but we have no doubt that it will repay us liberally in the end.

“ By the above estimate you will see that the work was valued on the 1st of January last at \$20,705. If you are Sparks in some large enterprises, such as printing the “ American Diplomatic Correspondence.” The office of the “ North American ” was at 74 Washington Street.

inclined to purchase one quarter of it, you shall have it for \$5,000. I will then agree to receive as editor \$1,500 a year. Mr. Gray will have \$1,100 a year as publisher; and the surplus will be divided according to our respective shares, it being understood that I shall be paid for what I write at the same rate as yourself.

“From this sketch I believe you will be able to form as good an idea as I can communicate of the state of things. The exact number of efficient subscribers I cannot tell. I doubt whether it is more than 3,200, though it is probable that one or two hundred copies more get out of the office one way or another. It is perhaps unnecessary for me to remind you that we can scarcely expect the same ratio of increase hereafter as heretofore. The new journals that have been set on foot, and with a considerable success, must in the nature of things fill up some of the channels into which our work would otherwise run. But I need not enlarge, for the whole ground is before you, and you can judge of its bearings as well as myself. I will only add that Mr. Gray, the publisher, is an uncommonly correct and faithful young man; that he has hitherto taken a lively interest in the work; and as he is a practiced accountant, he keeps a record of all the pecuniary concerns with the utmost accuracy and method. It is somewhat to our disadvantage that we are obliged to have a separate establishment for publishing our work alone, when it might be done a good deal cheaper in connection with other concerns; but it cannot be otherwise, unless the owners of the work were deeply interested in such concerns.”

This correspondence led to the sale of Mr. Sparks' three-quarter interest in the “North American Review,”¹ for

¹ Mr. Sparks wrote March 12, 1830, to one of his friends: “The ‘Review’ is sold, and the money received, and all things settled. I am not very light-hearted about it; but I am sure it is for the best;

\$15,000, March 10, 1830, to Alexander H. Everett, after the expiration of the second contract with him as a contributor. Mr. Sparks was by this time deeply engrossed in other editorial duties, and needed his capital for large historical enterprises. Henry Wheaton alludes to this transfer of the magazine, in the following letter from Paris to Mr. Sparks, April 15, 1830:—

“I am sorry you have given up the ‘North American,’ though I have great confidence in the abilities of your successor. He is one of our finest scholars, and in ethical speculation and classic criticism unrivaled among us, at least so I think. The ‘Review’ could not have fallen into better hands. The ‘Review’ is the thing for Mr. Everett, and he is the man for the ‘Review.’ I would gladly contribute something occasionally. As to the Scandinavian discoveries in North America before Columbus, I am surprised to hear you express any doubts about them. I have examined the matter thoroughly, and can assure you that they are as well attested by historical monuments as those of Columbus himself. I have

and I ought certainly to be well pleased that the ‘Review’ has gained constantly in my hands, both in regard to its reputation and pecuniary value. I have sold it for \$9,100 more than I gave for it; and, during the six years that I have owned it, I have actually realized from it \$22,000, *i. e.* taking the increased value of the property and the annual receipts together.”

Mr. Sparks wrote from Boston to the lexicographer, J. G. Flügel, of Leipzig, July 12, 1830: “Since my return to this country I have sold out my interest in the ‘North American Review’ to Mr. Alexander H. Everett, recent American minister in Spain, who is now the editor.” Mr. Sparks was invited July 1, 1831, by Peabody & Co., 233 Broadway, New York, to become associate editor, with the Hon. G. C. Verplanck and Mr. Gallatin, of a new magazine, to be on the plan of the “North American Review” and “American Quarterly” (Walsh’s Philadelphia enterprise). Mr. Sparks was to do one third of the writing, and to receive one third of the salary. He did not accept this proposition.

noticed it in a work on the 'History of the Normans,' which I have sent to London to be published. But whether the booksellers will think it worth their while to undertake it, I do not yet know. I could still wish the article on Niebuhr's 'Rome' were published in the 'North American.' It is a notice of the second edition of Niebuhr's first volume, which is almost entirely a different work from the original reviewed long since by Mr. E. Everett. If Mr. A. Everett will publish this article, I will undertake to notice the second volume when it shall appear. I do not think Walsh ever received my letter desiring him to send it to you.

"The newspapers will tell you of the truly great and glorious revolution that has taken place here. I can assure you the heroic valor, magnanimity, and moderation of the French nation are not at all exaggerated by their journals. It must produce mutations of greater or less extent in every country of Europe, not even excepting England, which is now left in the rear of France in practical liberty.

"I pray you to remember me to Dr. Channing, Norton, the Wares, Everetts, and Story. Success to your 'Washington.'"

Alexander H. Everett conducted the "North American Review" until 1836, when the editorial management was undertaken by John G. Palfrey, who bore the burden until 1843. Francis Bowen, whom Mr. Sparks had early befriended at Exeter and Cambridge, was the editor from 1843 to 1853, when Dr. Andrew P. Peabody, from Portsmouth, took charge of the magazine, his editorship terminating in 1863. He was succeeded by James Russell Lowell and Charles Eliot Norton. The subsequent editors were in turn, Professor E. W. Gurney; Henry Adams; Julius H. Ward, under the proprietorship of Mr. A. T. Rice, who subsequently took the editorship into his own

hands; and Lloyd Bryce, under whose management the "North American" seems to be renewing its life.

The "North American Review" has had a rich and varied experience under its succession of editors. After some critical reflections upon the magazine, William H. Prescott said, in 1837: "For a' that, the old 'North' is the best periodical we have ever had, or, considering its resources, are likely to have for the present."¹ When

¹ Ticknor's "Life of Prescott," p. 238. A list of Prescott's contributions to the "North American" is given by Ticknor on p. 239. The "Boston Journal," in a valuable article on "The North American Review," August 2, 1859, from which the old "Historical Magazine," November, 1829, largely quoted, prints the following list of contributors up to that date, with this editorial comment: "The 'North American Review' has largely contributed to make American literature what it is. It has, from the commencement, enlisted the pens of some of our ablest writers. The reputations of our best known essayists and reviewers are mainly founded upon their contributions to its pages. We have before us a list of the articles contributed to every number from the commencement, with the names of the writers, for the loan of which we are indebted to William F. Poole, Esq., the accomplished librarian of the Athenæum. So far as we are aware, this is the only complete list in existence. Mr. George Livermore has one nearly complete down to the year 1851, which was the basis of Mr. Poole's, who has perfected it with much labor and research, with a view to making use of the materials in a future edition of his valuable 'Index to Periodical Literature.' From his list we have compiled the following alphabetical catalogue of the writers in the 'Review,' showing the date of their first contribution to its pages, and the number of articles contributed, down to the close of the eighty-ninth volume [1859]:—

Date of first contribution.	No. papers contributed.	Date of first contribution.	No. papers contributed.
1817 Adams, John (Pres't) . . .	7	1851 Arnold, S. G.	1
1817 Austin, J. T.	5	1857 Allen, J. H.	1
1826 Anderson, R. C.	1	1855 Alger, W. R.	4
1831 Adams, C. Francis	17	1856 Angell, James B.	4
1835 Alexander, —	1	1856 Allen, Dr. — (Lowell) . .	1
1839 Adams, Nehemiah	1	1856 Abbott, Joseph H.	1
1843 Adams, C. B.	1	1857 Allen, W. F.	1
1843 Austin, Ivers J.	1	1858 Abbott, E. H.	1
1847 Adams, F. A.	1		

the student looks over, in Dr. W. F. Poole's Index, the remarkable list of able writers and publicists who, from

1817 Bigelow, Dr. Jacob.....	4	1827 Cleveland, Capt.	1
1817 Bulfinch, Thomas.....	1	1829 Chase, Ira.....	1
1817 Bryant, W. C.....	15	1829 Cheever, George B.....	4
1818 Brazer, John.....	5	1831 Chase, S. P.	2
1818 Baldwin, Loammi.....	1	1832 Child, David L.	2
1820 Bowditch, Nath'l.....	3	1833 Chapman, Jonathan....	1
1821 Brooks, Edw.....	7	1834 Calvert, Geo. H.	1
1822 Benedict, —.....	1	1835 Cleveland, Henry R....	9
1823 Bradford, Gamaliel....	3	1836 Clark, J. F.	1
1823 Bancroft, Geo.	19	1836 Caswell, Prof.	1
1823 Blunt, Joseph.....	1	1839 Chickering, Jesse....	2
1828 Bode, Dr. Charles.....	2	1839 Colman, Henry.....	2
1834 Barnard, F. A. P.	1	1844 Curtis, B. R.....	1
1835 Benjamin, Park.....	1	1846 Carey, T. G.....	1
1835 Bolles, J. A.	1	1848 Carey, John.....	1
1836 Butler, Fanny K.....	1	1849 Curtis, G. T.	1
1836 Beck, Dr. C.....	1	1850 Chase, Thomas.....	3
1836 Bullard, Henry A.....	1	1851 Chandler, Miss.....	3
1837 Brigham, Dr. A.....	1	1851 Chase, E. H.	1
1837 Bliss, L.	1	1851 Coues, S. E.	1
1838 Bowen, Francis.....	95	1853 Clough, A. H.	3
1838 Brown, J.	1	1855 Chace, Geo. I.	1
1840 Brigham, Wm.....	1	1856 Cheney, Mrs. E. D....	1
1843 Beck, Charles.....	2	1858 Cumming, Chas. A....	1
1846 Brown, S. Gilman.....	9		
1848 Batchelder, Miss Isabel		1815 Davis, John.....	4
(now Mrs. James).....	7	1816 Davis, Charles.....	2
1850 Bartol, C. A.....	3	1817 Dexter, Franklin.....	7
1854 Bond, Hy. F.	1	1817 Dana, R. H.	6
1855 Brigham, C. H.	10	1817 Dana, J. Freeman.....	2
1856 Bellows, H. W.	1	1820 Dutton, Warren.....	1
1856 Bliss, Geo., Jr.....	1	1824 Duponceau, P. S.....	1
1856 Bury, Countess De....	11	1825 Davis, C. S.....	3
1856 Bush, G. W.....	1	1826 Dewey, O.....	5
1856 Brown, J. B.	1	1833 Durivage, F. A.....	1
1857 Bascom, J.	1	1835 Devereux, G. H.	1
1858 Brace, C. L.	1	1836 Dunkin, Christopher....	2
		1841 Dana, Dr.....	1
1815 Channing, Walter.....	8	1841 Davis, C. H.....	6
1816 Channing, E. T.....	15	1847 Duer, John.....	1
1818 Channing, W. E.....	1	1847 Dinsmore, S. P.	1
1818 Clerc, Lawrent.....	1	1850 Dwight, Edward.....	2
1820 Cushing, Caleb.....	28	1852 Dowe, Wm.	4
1821 Cogswell, J. G.....	3	1852 Davis, H.	3
1822 Cooper, Judge.....	1	1854 Davenport, G.	1
1826 Cass, Lewis.....	6	1854 Dana, R. H., Jr.....	1
1826 Cruse, Peter.....	7	1854 Duyckinck, E. A.....	3

the year 1815 onward, published their best articles in the "North American Review," he begins to realize the his-

1855 Dixwell, E. S.	1	1817 Gallison, John.	8
1856 Dabney, J. P.	1	1817 Gilman, Mrs. Caroline ..	1
1857 Dunbar, C. F.	1	1818 Gallaudet, T. H.	1
1858 Drury, Chester.	1	1819 Gray, John C.	17
		1819 Gibbs, Prof. J. W.	1
1816 Everett, Edw.	116	1822 Gardiner, W. H.	5
1817 Everett, A. H.	73	1822 Green, J. D.	1
1820 Everett, John.	5	1824 Greenwood, F. W. P.	6
1821 Emerson, Geo. B.	5	1825 Godman, Dr. J. D.	1
1828 Evarts, Jeremiah.	3	1828 Gadsden, J.	1
1829 Eliot, S. A.	6	1828 Gould, B. A.	1
1832 Evans, B. R.	1	1828 Griffiths, Mrs.	1
1837 Emerson, R. W.	2	1835 Greene, G. W.	14
1837 Ellet, Mrs. E. F.	3	1836 Gilpin, H. O.	1
1839 Eliot, Rev. Mr.	1	1839 Goodrich, H. P.	1
1841 Edwards, B. B.	1	1840 Grattan, T. C.	4
1841 Emerson, C.	1	1844 Grund, F. J.	1
1846 Ellis, Geo. E.	7	1844 Gilman, A. D.	2
1857 Everett, Chas. C.	3	1844 Gray, Prof. Asa.	4
		1849 Gould, B. A., Jr.	1
1816 Farrar, John.	8	1850 Gurowski, A. de.	1
1817 Folsom, Charles.	2	1851 Goodwin, D. R.	4
1818 Frisbie, Prof. Levi.	2	1854 Goodwin, Wm. W.	2
1820 Fisher, Dr. John.	1	1857 Gould, E. S.	1
1823 Frothingham, N. L.	2	1858 Gridley, A. D.	1
1826 Flint, Jas.	1		
1830 Felton, C. C.	57	1815 Hale, Enoch.	8
1831 Featherstonhaugh, —. .	1	1815 Holley, Horace.	1
1832 Fowler, Prof. Wm. C. .	1	1816 Huntley, Lydia (Mrs. Si-	
1833 Follen, C.	1	gourney)	8
1836 Ferguson, —.	1	1816 Higginson, H.	1
1838 Folsom, Geo.	1	1818 Holmes, Dr. Abiel.	1
1842 Farrar, Timothy.	2	1818 Hale, Nathan.	19
1845 Fessenden, Col. J. M. .	1	1821 Harris, Thaddeus M.	1
1849 Fowler, Sam'l.	2	1821 Hedge, Levi.	1
1849 Force, M. F.	3	1824 Haven, Nath'l A.	3
1853 Fisher, Sidney G.	2	1824 Hayward, Geo.	3
1854 Ford, R. T.	1	1826 Hitchcock, Edw.	2
1856 Foster, Chas. H.	1	1831 Hillard, G. S.	16
1857 Flagg, Wilson.	1	1831 Howes, Fred'k.	1
1859 Follen, Chas.	1	1831 Hall, James.	1
1859 Fletcher, J. C.	1	1833 Howe, S. G.	2
		1836 Homes, H.	1
1815 Gardiner, R. H.	1	1840 Higbee, J. M.	3
1816 Gardiner, Dr. J. S. J. .	1	1840 Holmes, O. W.	2
1816 Gray, F. C.	12	1840 Haven, S. F.	1
1817 Gilman, Samuel.	19	1840 Hale, Edw. E.	8

torical significance of this famous magazine in the development of American literature and independent thought.

1846 Hale, E. B.	1	1822 Marsh, James.	1
1849 Hurlburt, W. H.	3	1823 Merrill, Benj.	1
1852 Hale, Salma.	2	1828 Mellen, Grenville.	2
1854 Hale, Charles.	1	1834 Murphy, —.	1
1855 Howard, J. D.	1	1838 Mariotti, Signor.	4
1856 Higginson, T. W.	1	1839 Mackenzie, Lieut. A. S. .	3
1857 Hubbard, F. M.	2	1841 Miles, Rev. Mr.	1
1857 Hill, Thos.	1	1841 Minot, W., Jr.	1
1858 Heywood, J. C.	1	1842 Mitchell, D. G.	1
1858 Hoyt, J. G.	1	1843 Mackie, J. M.	3
		1845 Miller, S., Jr.	3
1832 Irving, Washington.	1	1845 Motley, J. L.	3
1833 Inglis, Miss F.	3	1847 Moore, E.	1
1843 Inman, J.	1	1851 Macken, A. W.	1
		1854 Morison, John H.	4
1836 Jackson, Dr.	1	1857 Mountford, Wm.	1
1852 Jackson, Charles.	1	1858 Minor, W. C.	1
1853 Johnson, W. O.	4		
1855 Jobson, D. W.	1	1817 Norton, Andrews.	6
		1829 Negris, J. S.	1
1818 Kirkland, J. T.	2	1832 Neal, John.	2
1818 Knapp, J.	1	1847 Norton, Charles E.	8
1823 Kingsley, J. L.	6	1857 North, Edw.	1
1849 Kirkland, Mrs. C. M. . .	3		
1853 Kirk, Foster.	3	1846 Osgood, Samuel.	3
1856 Kneeland, S.	1		
		1816 Phillips, Willard.	33
1815 Lyman, Theo., Jr.	5	1816 Parker, Isaac.	1
1819 Loring, W. J.	1	1817 Palfrey, John G.	31
1826 Lamson, Alvan.	3	1818 Pickering, Octavius.	1
1830 Lieber, Francis.	2	1819 Parsons, Theophilus.	9
1831 Longfellow, H. W. . . .	11	1819 Pickering, John.	10
1831 Lawrence, W. B.	3	1820 Patterson, M. C.	1
1833 Leonard, —.	2	1821 Prescott, William H.	21
1835 Lindsley, Dr.	1	1822 Patterson, A. M.	1
1837 Lanman, J. H.	2	1827 Pitkin, J.	1
1844 Lowell, J. R.	5	1827 Porter, Jona.	3
1849 Lincoln, J. L.	1	1827 Parker, —.	1
1850 Lovering, J.	2	1828 Peabody, W. B. O.	47
1850 Livermore, George.	1	1829 Packard, Prof. A. S.	2
1855 Livermore, A. A.	1	1829 Peabody, Ephraim.	3
1858 Lea, Henry C.	1	1829 Park, John C.	1
1858 Little, Mrs. A. W.	2	1830 Peabody, O. W. B.	22
		1832 Parkman, Francis.	4
1816 Minot, Mrs. Wm.	2	1837 Peabody, Andrew P.	60
1817 Mason, Wm. P.	5	1837 Percival, J. G.	1
1818 Metcalf, Theron.	3	1835 Perkins, J. H.	12

It is now entering upon the last quarter of its first century of prosperous existence, and, while it has yielded to the

1839 Peirce, Benj.	2	1853 Sargent, Winthrop.....	11
1843 Poinsett, J. R.	1	1854 Soule, G. L.	1
1848 Putnam, Mrs. Mary L... 5		1854 Shackford, C. C.	1
1848 Porter, N., Jr.	1	1855 Sanborn, E. D.....	1
1851 Parker, Joel 1		1855 Spofford, A. K.	1
1854 Palfrey, F. W.	2	1856 Smith, Mrs. E. V.	2
1854 Parker, H. W.	1	1856 Sweat, Mrs. M. J.	2
1854 Palfrey, Miss Sarah 1		1857 Smith, C. C.....	3
1856 Peaselee, Prof. E. R. ... 1		1858 Sears, E. J.....	2
1859 Phillips, G. S.....	1	1859 Smith, L. E.....	1
1816 Quincy, Josiah.....	2	1815 Tudor, Wm.....	60
1816 Rand, Benj.	2	1815 Tudor, Henry.....	2
1818 Ritchie, A.	2	1815 Townsend, Alexander... 1	
1826 Robinson, Edward..... 2		1817 Ticknor, George.....	6
1830 Reed, W. B.....	5	1822 Treadwell, Daniel.....	2
1834 Ray, A.	1	1831 Thatcher, B. B.	8
1836 Robinson, Mrs. Therese . 6		1832 Temple, Lieut.....	1
1838 Rantoul, R., Jr.....	1	1835 Tuckerman, H. T.....	16
1843 Robinson, Edw.	2	1846 Torrey, H. W.	7
1854 Ray, Isaac 3		1854 Thayer, Wm. S.....	1
1815 Savage, James 2		1856 Thompson, Joseph P... 2	
1817 Sparks, Jared.....	52	1858 Tiffany, Osmond 4	
1817 Storrow, Samuel A..... 1		1822 Upham, T. C.....	3
1817 Story, Joseph 6		1823 Upham, C. W.	12
1818 Spooner, Wm. J.	5	1834 Urquhart, Alex.....	1
1820 Shaw, Lemuel 1		1817 Vaughan, Benj.	1
1821 Sullivan, J. L.	1	1819 Verplanck, G. C.	1
1822 Sturgis, W.....	1	1816 Walter, Wm.	3
1823 Stearns, Asahel 1		1816 Willard, Sidney.....	18
1824 Sedgwick, H. D.	2	1816 Webster, Daniel.....	4
1826 Stuart, M.....	5	1818 Winthrop, Francis W... 1	
1827 Samson, Wm.....	1	1818 Ware, John.....	7
1828 Schoolcraft, H. R.	4	1819 Wheaton, Henry11	
1828 Shed, Wm.	1	1820 Webster, J. W.	5
1830 Sewall, S. E.....	1	1821 Watkins, Dr.	1
1832 Snelling, W. J.....	2	1824 Whiting, Henry.....	14
1833 Sullivan, W.....	1	1826 Ware, Henry, Jr.	4
1833 Sprague, W. B.....	1	1827 Wallenstein, J. D.....	8
1834 Sedgwick, T.	1	1828 Wigglesworth, E.	2
1838 Sumner, Charles.....	2	1828 Walker, Timothy.....	5
1839 Storer, D. H.	1	1829 Winthrop, R. C.....	1
1842 Sumner, George.....	1	1832 Warner, Wm.	1
1843 Sabine, Lorenzo.....	11	1833 Walley, S. H.....	1
1849 Streeter, S. F.	1		

literary demands of a democratic and busy age for brevity and point, it shows no abatement of energy, patriotism, and practical success.

1834 Williams, J. R.	1	1855 Woodbury, Aug.	3
1834 Waterston, R. C.	1	1855 Willing, J. C.	3
1835 Washburn, E.	2	1855 Williamson, Wm. C.	2
1837 Worcester, J. E.	1	1856 Wynne, James	1
1839 Wayland, F.	2	1856 Whitney, —	1
1840 Wyman, Jeffries	3	1856 Whitman, W. H.	1
1841 Wharton, Francis	1	1857 Whiting, Lyman	1
1843 Whipple, E. P.	17	1859 Winslow, Hubbard	1
1847 Wheaton, R.	8	1859 Wight, O. W.	1
1849 Warren, Edw.	1		
1851 Ware, William	1	1837 Young, Alexander	1
1852 Whitney, J. D.	2		

“The critical notices of books are not counted among the papers contributed. Many of these have been contributed by Professor Felton, Professor Sparks, Charles Folsom, and others, the names of most of whom are included in the above list.”

A list of Jared Sparks' contributions to the “North American Review” will be printed in the “Bibliography,” at the end of the second volume of this work.

CHAPTER XII.

SPARKS' LIFE OF LEDYARD.

JARED SPARKS AN EXPLORER.

IN previous chapters there have been occasional references to Mr. Sparks' interest in the life of John Ledyard. The remarkable career of this American voyager in the South Seas, this traveler in Siberia and Africa, had a peculiar fascination for a man whose own mind, from an instinctive love of travel, and from special reading in foreign fields, was early bent upon African exploration. We find this peculiar ambition strongly developed soon after Sparks left Harvard; doubtless it was fostered by residence and travel in the South, by observation of African slavery, and by a study of African colonization. Throughout his entire career as a Unitarian minister in Baltimore, this dream of Africa was never forgotten by Mr. Sparks. He solaced his secret longings for the discovery of strange lands by the reading and reviewing¹ of other men's travels, and by an original study of the life of John Ledyard. The collection of the widely scattered materials for this biography was really the first historical

¹ Mr. Sparks' critical interest in travelers' tales continued long after he had become a specialist in American history. In the "North American" for October, 1829, he reviewed Hall's "Voyage to the Eastern Seas" and Holmes' "American Annals." Bancroft wrote to Sparks October 4, 1825: "Your article on Hall is excellent, cool, friendly, and argumentative; but you have completely peppered him. That on Holmes' 'Annals' was very much to my taste, and, by the intimate acquaintance with American history, shows itself to be yours."

research ever undertaken by Mr. Sparks, and it gives the key to the peculiar character of his own life-work, which has never yet been viewed in its proper light. Jared Sparks was the first great discoverer of the original sources of American history by means of travel and research. In him the spirit of the independent explorer of new fields can never be separated from that of the editor, the biographer, and the historian. His tours of historical inquiry throughout the United States and Canada; his repeated visits to European archives; his constant collection of fresh materials for American history, materials which, through his own and others' labor, have now entered into the very substance of American historical literature, — all this is better understood when Jared Sparks is viewed in the light of an original discoverer, an investigator, and a pioneer.

MATERIALS FOR THE LIFE OF LEDYARD.

Materials for Sparks' life of Ledyard were collected by means of travel and correspondence extending through a period of about ten years. The work was projected before Mr. Sparks went to Baltimore in 1819, and it was not published by Hilliard & Brown, of Cambridge,¹ until 1828. Although many original papers were obtained from the family of Dr. Isaac Ledyard (John Ledyard's cousin) in 1820, the biographer was materially aided by information and letters personally collected in this country and in Europe. Thomas Jefferson had known Ledyard in Paris, and received several communications from him written in Siberia and in Africa. These and other important mate-

¹ In his journal for August 16, 1827, Mr. Sparks wrote: "Took lodgings at Cambridge, at Mr. Holmes', in the Appian Way, where I propose to spend a few weeks, for retirement, and escape from the noise and heat of the town. I am engaged in writing the 'Life of Ledyard.'"

rials¹ Mr. Sparks secured and used to good advantage. Ledyard's journal of his voyage around the world with Captain Cook was written in 1783, and was published by Nathaniel Patten, of Hartford, in a duodecimo volume, dedicated to Governor Trumbull.

LEDYARD'S VOYAGE AROUND THE WORLD.

It is not possible in this connection to give more than the merest outline and a brief characterization of Sparks' "Life of John Ledyard, the American Traveler; comprising Selections from his Journals and Correspondence" (Cambridge, 1828). John Ledyard was born in 1751, at Groton, in Connecticut, a little town on the Thames, opposite New London, and died at Cairo, in Egypt, in 1788, in his thirty-eighth year. Descended from an enterprising Bristol merchant who settled first at Southold, Long Island, and who thence removed to Groton and Hartford, John Ledyard, the son of a sea-captain, was the child, not of circumstance, but of heredity. The Alaskan and Siberian traveler was germinant in that freshman who ran away from Dartmouth College in 1772, and wandered for one term among the Six Nations, to learn their language, and better fit himself for missionary work and observation among the Indians. The adventurous searover was foreshadowed in that bold sophomore who hollowed out a canoe from the trunk of a tree and paddled down the Connecticut River from Hanover to Hartford. Such a man was not born to obey the summons of the conch-shell at Dartmouth College, or to study theology with Long Island ministers. He soon sailed from New London to Gibraltar, thence to the Barbary coast, and homewards by way of the West Indies. Soon he was off again, this time to England, where he made the acquaint-

¹ In his journal for July 31, 1826, Mr. Sparks says that Lafayette aided him in obtaining materials for a life of Ledyard.

ance of Captain Cook, and embarked with him in his last voyage around the world. Ledyard's journal of this four years' cruise is highly entertaining and instructive. Mr. Sparks quoted from it extensively, and allowed Ledyard to tell his adventures in his own graphic language. Ledyard was near Captain Cook when the great voyager was killed by the natives upon one of the Sandwich Islands, and the account of the circumstances leading to that event is painstaking and valuable.

THE NORTHWEST COAST.

For Ledyard, the most important result of this long voyage was the interest conceived by him in the northwestern coast of North America, which region was twice visited during Cook's third expedition around the world. Ledyard's own discovery of a Russian settlement on the island of Onalaska could not have failed to impress him with the importance of the northwest coast for the fur trade. After his return to America in 1782, on board a British man-of-war, he took summary leave of the English service in Long Island Sound; and after visiting his mother at Southold, endeavored to awaken public interest in the northwest coast and its commercial advantages. Robert Morris was greatly impressed with Ledyard's scheme, and was disposed to give him a ship to go to the northern Pacific Ocean. Ledyard wrote to his cousin concerning that far-sighted man, Robert Morris: "I have had two interviews with him at the Finance Office, and to-morrow expect a conclusive one. What a noble hold he instantly took of the enterprise! . . . I take the lead of the greatest commercial enterprise that has ever been embarked on in this country, and one of the first moment, as it respects the trade of America. If the affair is concluded on, as I expect it will be, it is probable I shall set off for New England to procure seamen or a ship, or both.

Morris is wrapt up in the idea of Yankee sailors." Although Ledyard's project was seriously entertained by Morris, and although steps were actually taken to secure a vessel in Boston and New London, the idea was generally regarded as visionary, and was finally abandoned by New England skippers. One of them, Captain Deshon, of New London, afterwards admitted that Ledyard's account, in its minutest detail, was verified by the first voyages from the United States to those northern seas. In view of the immense fortunes that have been made in the fur trade of Alaska, and of the international interest now attached to the seal fisheries¹ in Bering's Sea, the following extract from Sparks' "Life of Ledyard" is of historical interest and present value: —

"Ledyard's knowledge of the resources of the north-west coast in furs, derived from his observations there, particularly at Nootka Sound and the Russian establishment on the island of Onalaska, together with the enormous advances which he had seen paid in Canton on the original cost of this article, had convinced him that great profits might be realized by a voyage fitted out expressly for this trade. Hitherto no market had been opened to the natives, by which they could dispose of the superabundance of their furs, or receive such articles in exchange as might suit their fancy or convenience; hence the furs could be purchased extremely low, and paid for in commodities of little intrinsic value, and at such prices as the vendor might choose to affix. It was clear, therefore, in his mind, that they who should first engage in this trade would reap immense profits by their earliest efforts, and at the same time gain such knowledge and experience as would enable them to pursue it for years with advan-

¹ "North American Review," September, 1890, "Our Seal Fisheries," by D. O. Mills. Cf. Henry W. Elliott's monograph on the "Seal Islands of Alaska."

tages superior to any that could be commanded by the competitors who might be drawn into the same channel of commerce."

Sparks says Ledyard was "the first, whether in America or Europe, to suggest a scheme of trade with the northwest coast, which has since proved to be a very lucrative field of commerce to merchants in both hemispheres. It was more than a year after his earliest application to the merchants of New York before any expedition of the kind was fitted out from Europe. The first voyage from the United States to the northwest coast was in the ship *Columbia*, of three hundred tons, which sailed from Boston under the command of Captain John Kendrick, about three years after Ledyard's visit to that place in search of a ship for Mr. Morris. He may justly be considered, therefore, the first projector of this branch of commerce."

LEDYARD AND JEFFERSON.

Disappointed at the lack of enterprise shown by his own countrymen, Ledyard embarked for Europe with letters from Robert Morris to certain merchants in France. There an agreement was made with a company to fit out a ship for the intended voyage; but, after eight months' preparation, the design was abandoned. In Paris Ledyard received hearty encouragement from Thomas Jefferson. "At this time" (1785), says Mr. Sparks, "Mr. Jefferson was minister from the United States at the court of France. That patriot, equally ardent in the love of science and friendly to every enterprise which had for its object the improvement of his country, received Ledyard with great kindness, and approved most highly his design of an expedition to the northwest coast of America. He perceived at once the advantages that would flow from such a voyage, not merely in its immediate mercantile results, but in its bearing on the future commerce and

political interests of the United States. No part of that wide region had then been explored, nor any formal possession taken of it, except the few points at which Cook's vessels had touched, and others where the Russians possessed small establishments for the prosecution of the fur trade with the Indians. These latter were also probably confined to the islands. To a statesman like Mr. Jefferson, it was evident that a large portion of that immense country, separated from the United States by no barrier of nature, would eventually be embraced in their territory. He was convinced of the propriety, therefore, of its being explored by a citizen of the United States, and regretted the failure of Ledyard's attempts in his own country to engage in a voyage before the same thing had been meditated anywhere else. These views were deeply impressed on the mind of Mr. Jefferson, and in them originated the journey of Lewis and Clark overland to the Pacific Ocean, twenty years afterwards, which was projected by him, and prosecuted under his auspices."

It is not unreasonable to suppose that Jefferson's conception of the economic importance of the far Northwest to the United States was first quickened by the enthusiastic reports of John Ledyard. To Jefferson is due the Louisiana Purchase, and that far-reaching continental policy which found later expression in the struggle for Oregon, in the purchase of Alaska from the Russian government, and in the assertion of American rights in Bering's Sea.

LEDYARD AND PAUL JONES.

Failing to persuade the French merchants to risk an expedition to the northwest coast of America, Ledyard sought the coöperation of his own countryman, Captain Paul Jones. These two intrepid and adventurous spirits made elaborate plans for opening the fur trade between the northwest coast and Canton, and for supplementing

this enterprise by importing teas and silks from China into Europe and the United States. Their plans proved too vast for their capital, and finally fell through.

LEDYARD IN RUSSIA.

The dauntless Ledyard then determined to go to Russia and obtain permission from the Empress Catherine to travel across her Siberian dominions to Bering's Strait. Thence he proposed to cross over to the American continent and to pursue his route down the coast and across the interior to the United States. Mr. Jefferson¹ interested himself heartily in this daring project, and through the Russian minister at Paris, opened negotiations with the Empress Catherine which resulted, after long and vexatious delays, in Ledyard's receiving the desired passport.

While waiting in St. Petersburg, Ledyard wrote to Jefferson a long letter, from which the following are characteristic extracts: "I cannot tell you by what means I

¹ Jefferson afterwards wrote: "I suggested to him [Ledyard] the enterprise of exploring the western part of our continent by passing through St. Petersburg to Kamtschatka, and procuring a passage thence in some of the Russian vessels to Nootka Sound, whence he might make his way across the continent to the United States." "Life of Matthew Fontaine Maury," by Mrs. D. F. M. Corbin, London, 1888, p. 6; quoted by Dr. Goode in his valuable paper on "National Scientific and Educational Institutions," "Papers of the American Historical Association," vol. iv. p. 126. Dr. Goode attributes Jefferson's interest in the Northwest to the early geographical teaching and remarkable conjectures of the Rev. James Maury, an Episcopal clergyman in Walker Parish, Albemarle County, Virginia. Very interesting to Mr. Jefferson must have been that meeting in Paris with a man who had actually been with Captain Cook to Nootka Sound and through Bering's Strait, who alone of all his crew had explored with the natives the island of Onalaska, discovered the Russian settlement, and seen with his own eyes the sloop in which Captain Bering made his famous discoveries in the time of Peter the Great.

came to Petersburg, and hardly know by what means I shall quit it, in the further prosecution of my tour around the world by land. If I have any merit in the affair, it is perseverance, for most severely have I been buffeted, and yet still am even more obstinate than before; and Fate, as obstinate, continues her assaults. How the matter will terminate, I know not. The most probable conjecture is, that I shall succeed, and be buffeted around the world, as I have hitherto been from England through Denmark, through Sweden, Swedish Finland, and the most unfrequented parts of Russian Finland, to this aurora borealis of a city. . . . An equipment is now on foot here for the Sea of Kamtschatka, and it is the first to visit the northwest coast of America. It is to consist of four ships. This and the expedition that went from here twelve months since by land for Kamtschatka are to cooperate in a design of some sort in the Northern Pacific Ocean, the Lord knows what; nor does it matter what with me, nor indeed with you, nor any other minister, nor any potentate, south of fifty degrees of latitude. . . . I dined to-day with Professor Pallas. He is an accomplished man, and my friend, and has traveled throughout European and Asiatic Russia. I find the little French I have of infinite service to me. I could not do without it."

IN SIBERIA.

Through social influences Ledyard finally got his passport, and an invitation to travel at government expense three thousand miles through Russian dominions, in company with a Scotch physician in imperial service. He traversed Siberia, like George Kennan in our own day, enjoying the scenery, and also the society of political exiles. Our eighteenth century American traveler was also treated with great civility by Russian government officials. He wrote a letter from Barnaoul, in Siberia, July 29, 1787,

to Jefferson, and transmitted it through his friend Professor Pallas at St. Petersburg: "How I have come thus far, and how I am to go still farther, is an enigma that I must disclose to you on some happier occasion. I shall never be able, without seeing you in person, and perhaps not then, to inform you how universally and circumstantially the Tartars resemble the aborigines of America. They are the same people; the most ancient and the most numerous of any other; and had not a small sea divided them, they would all have been still known by the same name." This was a favorite idea with Ledyard. He noted many curious correspondences to Indian customs among the Tartars; for example, the mode of constructing the *yourte*, or wigwam, the habit of handing around the pipe for smoking, the use of the moccasin and of wampum, and the scalping of enemies. "I am certain," he says in another letter to Jefferson, "that all the people you call *red* people on the continent of America, and on the continents of Europe and Asia, as far south as the southern parts of China, are all one people, by whatever names distinguished, and that the best general name would be *Tartar*. I suspect that *all* red people are of the same family. I am satisfied that America was peopled from Asia, and had some, if not all, its animals from thence."

At Barnaoul Ledyard left his traveling companion, and proceeded eastward to Irkutsk with the imperial courier in charge of the mail. Here he tarried ten days, and made careful notes in his journal. From Irkutsk he pushed northward to the river Lena, and embarked with a Swedish officer in a small boat for Yakutsk, which they reached after a fatiguing journey of twenty-two days. Ledyard had left Irkutsk in harvest time, but found at Yakutsk six inches of snow. Here he was detained by the commandant all winter. Here he continued his Siberian journal, and wrote his famous eulogy on women, which deserves perpetuation: —

LEDYARD'S EULOGY OF WOMEN.

“I have observed, among all nations, that the women ornament themselves more than the men; that, wherever found, they are the same kind, civil, obliging, humane, tender beings; that they are ever inclined to be gay and cheerful, timorous and modest. They do not hesitate, like man, to perform a hospitable or generous action; not haughty, nor arrogant, nor supercilious, but full of courtesy and fond of society; industrious, economical, ingenuous; more liable in general to err than man, but in general, also, more virtuous, and performing more good actions than he. I have never addressed myself in the language of decency and friendship to a woman, whether civilized or savage, without receiving a decent and friendly answer. With man it has often been otherwise. In wandering over the barren plains of inhospitable Denmark, through honest Sweden, frozen Lapland, rude and churlish Finland, unprincipled Russia, and the widespread regions of the wandering Tartar, — if hungry, dry, cold, wet, or sick, woman has ever been friendly to me, and uniformly so; and to add to this virtue, so worthy of the appellation of benevolence, these actions have been performed in so free and so kind a manner that, if I was dry, I drank the sweet draught, and, if hungry, ate the coarse morsel with a double relish.”

ARREST, AND RETURN FROM SIBERIA.

At Yakutsk Ledyard met an old acquaintance, Captain Billings, an Englishman, who had been an astronomical assistant during Cook's third voyage, but who was now conducting a Russian exploring expedition in those very regions which Ledyard wished to penetrate. Billings was now returning to Irkutsk for supplies, with the intention of fitting out an expedition from Okotsk for the American

coast. This seemed to Ledyard a good opportunity, and by invitation he returned to Irkutsk with his friend. Here Ledyard was arrested by the governor-general, who had received his instructions from the empress. Sparks conjectures that the order had been procured from St. Petersburg by government officials in Siberia, who were interested in the American fur-trade, and were afraid that Ledyard would discover too much if allowed to proceed. For this reason he had been delayed at Yakutsk until his passport could be countermanded. In the charge of two guards, he was now hurried back in a sledge across Siberia to Moscow and to the Polish frontier, where he was summarily banished from the empire.

The following extract from Ledyard's journal shows how grievous was his disappointment: "My ardent hopes are once more blasted, — the almost half-accomplished wish. What secret machinations have been at work? What motive? But so it suits her royal Majesty of all the Russias, and she has nothing but her pleasure to consult; she has no nation's resentment to apprehend, for I am the minister of no state, no monarch. I travel under the common flag of humanity, commissioned by myself to serve the world at large; and so the poor, the unprotected wanderer must go where sovereign will ordains; if to death, why then my journeying will be over sooner, and rather differently from what I contemplated; if otherwise, why then the royal dame has taken me much out of my way."

Reflection upon the fickle character of the Empress Catherine might have suggested to Ledyard a slight revision of his eulogy of women, but he remained perfectly loyal to his first principles: "I am now two hundred and twenty versts from Moscow, on the road to Poland. Thank Heaven, petticoats appear, and the glimmerings of other features. Women are the sure harbingers of an

alteration in manners, in approaching a country where their influence is felt." His journey of six thousand versts from Irkutsk to the Polish frontier occupied six weeks. In a letter to a friend, he said: "I know not how I passed through the kingdoms of Poland and Prussia, or from thence to London, where I arrived in the beginning of May, disappointed, ragged, penniless; and yet so accustomed am I to such things, that I declare my heart was whole."

FROM RUSSIA TO AFRICA. — DEATH.

He had good friends in London, and he was almost immediately engaged by the African Association, composed of wealthy and scientific men, to explore the interior of Africa, crossing that continent to the westward, from Sennaar to the river Niger. Asked when he could set out, Ledyard replied, "To-morrow morning." Banished from arctic Siberia, this courageous explorer proposed now to penetrate tropical Africa alone. There was something of heroic reserve in Ledyard's account of himself. On leaving London in June, 1788, he said to the secretary of the African Association: "My distresses have been greater than I have ever owned, or ever will own, to any man. Such evils are terrible to bear, but they never yet had power to turn me from my purpose. If I live, I will faithfully perform, in its utmost extent, my engagement to the society; and if I perish in the attempt, my honor will still be safe, for death cancels all bonds." Ledyard fell sick, and died in Cairo in November, 1788, just after completing his preparatory studies in the slave markets, and after arranging to join a caravan to Sennaar, whence, as he wrote Mr. Jefferson,¹ he intended "to

¹ Jefferson wrote to Bishop Madison from Paris, July 19, 1788, concerning Ledyard's African expedition: "He promises me, if he escapes through this journey, he will go to Kentucky, and endeavor

cut the continent across between the parallels of twelve and twenty degrees of north latitude."

INFLUENCE OF LEDYARD ON SPARKS.

The career of this heroic youth, who proposed to "go alone" through Africa, as he had done among the Six Nations, the Alaskans, and the Tartars, is of the same striking interest as are the travels of Livingstone and Stanley. It is no wonder that the life and example of John Ledyard made a profound impression upon Jared Sparks, and gave to his own career something of the spirit of an explorer, if not in Africa, at least in the then untrodden fields of American history. We make no apology for this long review of Sparks' Ledyard, for it is a work of American biography too little known, and one of the strongest formative influences in Mr. Sparks' own literary life, which was largely that of an original investigator and of an historical pioneer.

Mr. Sparks thus concludes his memorial of Ledyard: "The acts of his life demand notice, less on account of their results than of the spirit with which they were performed, and the uncommon traits of character which prompted to their execution. Such instances of decision, energy, perseverance, fortitude, and enterprise have rarely been witnessed in the same individual; and in the exercise of these high attributes of mind, his example cannot be too much admired or imitated."

REPUBLICATION IN ENGLAND AND GERMANY.

Sparks' "Life of Ledyard" was well received and highly commended in this country, and was almost immediate to penetrate westerly to the South Sea." Ledyard died, but his ideas lived, and, through Jefferson, entered into the history of the great Northwest.

diately republished in England.¹ The work was translated into German² by Dr. Michaelis, and was published in that language in 1829.

THE LEDYARD FAMILY.

The satisfaction of the Ledyard family with the biographical work which Sparks had done is indicated in the following letter to him from John Ledyard, who wrote from New York, February 2, 1828: "Your favor dated the 10th December, together with 20 volumes of the life of Ledyard, and the manuscripts lent you, came safe to hand. I deferred acknowledging the receipt of the same until I should have run through the history of your hero. I have perused it with pleasure and satisfaction; think you have placed your subject in the most interesting light, and made the best possible disposition of the few and imperfect materials you had to work with. It has given entire satisfaction to my relatives, who, with the writer,

¹ John Miller, a London publisher, wrote to Jared Sparks from Pall Mall, July 30, 1827, offering to republish the "Life of John Ledyard" in England: "I shall be very glad to receive the early sheets of your 'Life of John Ledyard,' and shall have no hesitation in publishing it upon the very common and equitable plan of sharing profits, as I have always done with Mr. Cooper and Miss Sedgwick. In this arrangement, of course, I take all the risk. You have no responsibility whatever. The first proceeds go towards the actual expenses of paper, printing, and advertising, and after that the receipts are divided equally. I doubt if any one would purchase unless it was sent in manuscript and *first* published here."

² Mr. Sparks wrote from Boston, July 12, 1830, to J. G. Flügel, of Leipsic: "I was very much pleased with the translation of the 'Life of Ledyard.' As far as I can judge, it is executed with accuracy and good judgment. One of the copies you sent me was deposited in the Library of Harvard University, another in the Boston Athenæum, and another in the Library of Congress at Washington. Please to accept my thanks for these copies, as well as for the other copies; and present my best regards and acknowledgments to Mr. Michaelis, the translator."

feel grateful to you for having rescued from oblivion the memory¹ of our deceased kinsman, and enrolled his name in no unenviable station in the register of our adventurous and patriotic countrymen. You will please receive through this medium the thanks of my family and friends, and their expressions of respect and esteem for the author of *The Life of Ledyard*, and permit me to subscribe myself most respectfully your obliged friend and obedient servant."

MR. SPARKS TO MRS. MADISON.

Here is a letter sent by Mr. Sparks to Mrs. James Madison, from Boston, July 15, 1830, presenting her with a copy of his "*Life of Ledyard*:" "Dear Madam: Will you allow me to present you with a little volume containing the story of a man whose fortunes and fate I think may interest you in your leisure hours? Indeed, his celebrated and beautiful eulogy on women (p. 252) gives him some claims to the notice and approbation of all ladies whose hearts are touched with the qualities of generosity, justice, and truth. I have not forgotten our conversation on the multitude of books, and our mutual opinion, in which I believe Mr. Madison agreed very heartily, that there are many more books made than anybody cares to read, either for profit or pleasure. Let it be my apology for adding this volume to the multitude that it is short, and I hope not very dull, for it makes no pretension to learning, wisdom, philosophy, or politics.

¹ When in Paris, in the year 1841, Mr. Sparks interested himself in selecting, in the cemetery of Père-Lachaise, a suitable model for a monument to be erected in Cairo to the memory of John Ledyard. He selected an Egyptian obelisk, and proposed the following inscription: "John Ledyard | the American Traveller | Born in Connecticut, 1751 | Died at Cairo, 1788 | on his way | to the Interior of Africa." Mr. Sparks offered to share the expense of erecting this monument. — Letter, dated at Paris, 96 Faubourg St. Honoré, January 29, 1841.

It only aims to tell a simple story in a plain way. I cherish a lively and most agreeable recollection of my visit to Montpellier, and shall always rank it among the bright and happy incidents of my life."



JARED SPARKS

1828

From an unfinished painting by STUART

CHAPTER XIII.

ORIGIN OF SPARKS' "LIFE AND WRITINGS OF WASHINGTON."

JARED SPARKS' interest in the writings of George Washington may be traced back to an early period. When Sparks was teaching school at Lancaster, Mass., he received a letter from an old Exeter schoolmate and life-long friend, William B. Sprague, afterwards famous for his "Annals of the American Pulpit." Sprague wrote from Mount Vernon, April 27, 1816: "I am glad that it is in my power to comply with your request by sending you a scrap of General Washington's handwriting. Even here it is much sought for, and considered by every one as perfectly invaluable." Sprague was himself an indefatigable collector of autographs and original letters; he frequently appealed to Sparks in later years for assistance in the increase of a valuable manuscript collection. The early favor shown by Sprague to Jared Sparks bore rich fruit, for this "scrap of General Washington's handwriting" was the beginning of Sparks' famous collection of the writings of Washington.

The origin and growth of the historical enterprise of Jared Sparks are clearly seen in the following selections from his vast correspondence upon the life and writings of Washington. The idea of a complete edition of the writings of Washington was first proposed to Jared Sparks, March 25, 1824, by Charles Folsom, then connected with a printing establishment in Cambridge. Folsom said, in a letter to his old Exeter friend, then editor of the "North American Review:" "I wish to publish a

handsome and correct edition of Washington's writings complete. To this end I should wish to communicate with those persons who would aid me to do it in the best manner. Who are they at the South?" In the interest of this project of his friend Folsom, Sparks wrote, April 2, 1824, to the Hon. Bushrod Washington, of Mount Vernon, who then owned the papers which Sprague had doubtless been allowed to see.

Judge Washington replied from Mount Vernon, May 31, 1824: "Since my return from my Northern Circuit I received your favor of the 2d of April, which had been lying some time in the Alexandria post-office. Were it in my power to afford the intended publisher of General Washington's works the assistance he wishes, it would now be too late, I presume, to do it. But the delicate state of my health, and the entire occupation of the little time I can, on that account, devote to business by other employments which will admit of no postponement, would prevent my rendering him any useful service, even if the means of doing so were in my possession; for, strange as it may appear, I have no collection in *print* of the General's writings, although it is presumable that the whole of them are to be found in manuscript amongst the papers which he bequeathed to me."

To this letter Mr. Sparks appended the following manuscript note: "The preceding letter was written in reply to an inquiry which I made on account of a publisher who contemplated publishing an edition of George Washington's writings. I have myself thought of this plan for some time. At present we cannot find the writings of Washington without looking through many books and documents, and it would certainly be desirable to have all the works of this great man brought together. It is understood that the family possess several unpublished manuscripts, which would be valuable; but from this note

from Judge Washington, there seems to be little disposition to make them public. J. S., June 20, 1824."

No encouragement being given to Folsom's project of publication, he seems to have given it up. Mr. Sparks, ever persistent in a good cause, began in fresh and independent ways to make inquiries concerning Washington's letters, some of which had been already published, but most of which were widely scattered. Sparks' travels in the Southern and Middle States, his former residence in Baltimore and in Washington, his wide acquaintance with public and literary men throughout the country, his extensive correspondence with writers for the "North American Review," his personal friendship for many Harvard and Exeter men who occupied positions of trust and influence, — all these facts combined to make his search successful.

Dr. Mease, of Philadelphia, sent him the following item of information, April 30, 1824: "You will find some interesting letters of General Washington in his correspondence with Dr. Anderson, published about 1800 or 1801 in London; and A. Young's correspondence, London, 1801; also in Sir John Sinclair's correspondence in Washington's facsimile, copies of which were sent to the governors of each of the States about 1801 or 1802." Dr. Mease wrote again more fully, December 16, 1825: "I am now enabled to answer your queries respecting General Washington's letters. This I have it in my power to do, from consulting Mr. Carey, whose brother was permitted to copy the originals in the office of the War Department, and who published them.

"1. They make their appearance first in London. 2. There has been an American edition, but where it was printed I cannot say. No alterations or additions were made. 3. I do not know whether the printed letters were compared with the originals; this comparison cannot now

be made, as all the papers in the war office were burnt when that office took fire in 1801 or 1802. 4. Mr. Carey never published any more letters. It is probable he still has the copies. He lives in West Square, London, and his address is John Carey, LL. D. 5. Washington's private letters have never been collected. Arthur Young published Washington's letters to him, in the year 1801. These I have read. Dr. James Anderson also published about the same time Washington's letters to him. These, also, I have read. Sir John Sinclair, also about the same time, published a facsimile in quarto of all Washington's letters to him, and sent a copy to every governor in the States, as I understood at the time."

Mr. Sparks continued to correspond with old friends, local antiquaries, and with secretaries of state in the various capitals, with a view to the discovery of original Washington manuscripts. The following letter from Mr. R. Bartlett, a student friend at Phillips Exeter Academy, who wrote from Concord, N. H., January 2, 1826, is a fair illustration of the character of the letters received by Mr. Sparks in answer to his many inquiries. Evidently the work of collecting manuscript had begun none too early: "I am glad to learn that you intend publishing Washington's works, and it would give me much pleasure to aid you in collecting the necessary materials, but I fear you will be sadly disappointed in your expectations from this State. It is with shame and grief I have to tell you that the Secretary's Office does not contain, so far as I can discover, a single letter of Washington's worth publication. On opening the only files marked 'Washington's Letters,' I find but one or two very brief letters, and those respecting an exchange of prisoners. There can be little doubt the office once contained *many* of his letters, but everything of that description has, till within a few years, been regarded, I believe, as a part of the useless lumber

of the office, and treated accordingly. Besides the letters which may thus have been scattered to the winds, *probably* people who have had curiosity to possess some of Washington's writings have laid hands on such as they could find in this office. I have it in contemplation to look over, if I can find leisure, all the old papers here, but I have little hope of discovering any of Washington's letters. When Belknap wrote his history he had access to all the public papers, and to President Weare's, and probably many others, but I have never understood that he neglected to return all he received from the Secretary's Office.

“General Sullivan's papers have fared but little better than the others. They passed into the hands of the late Judge Steele (his son-in-law), at Durham, and I have been *informed* that the judge's son, now Dr. Richard Steele, of Durham, foolishly scattered them, also, to the winds. Some he carried to Hanover, when a student, and gave away or threw away, as he would be likely enough to do, and a few were afterwards obtained from him, while he *practiced* in Portsmouth, by the proprietors of the Athenæum in that town. You have friends in Portsmouth who can inform you whether any of Washington's letters were among them. A public advertisement might bring many of his letters and other papers to light. Notwithstanding this discouragement I shall be able to give you a little aid. I obtained from the late General Peabody, of Exeter (whom you well remember as that *abominable old democrat*, whom ‘Bartlett,’ in defiance of the ‘Principal’ and other powers, would occasionally visit), a beautiful manuscript *copy* of all the proceedings and correspondence of the Committee of Congress appointed in April, 1780, to repair to headquarters and in coöperation with General Washington to reorganize the army, reform its abuses, and in short to do whatever was neces-

sary to bring an efficient force into the field. This book contains three hundred and fifty-four closely written, large folio pages, and is certified by Abraham Brasher, Secretary of the Board. Among the letters of the officers of the army are fifteen from Washington entirely on the subject referred to the committee. These are interesting and worthy of preservation. If the originals and the report of the committee were consumed in the War Office, these will have the greater value. Schuyler, Matthews, and Peabody were that committee. I should say more on this subject if I had time before the closing of the mail. I write carelessly, but you will excuse it. I fear you would be impatient if I were to wait longer and answer more minutely. I shall hear from you again, and will then finish what I wish to add. I dare not here touch upon 'auld lang syne.'"

The best historical summary of the results of Mr. Sparks' inquiries during a period of nearly two years, from the time Charles Folsom first proposed a complete edition of the writings of Washington, is contained in the following elaborate letter, dated Boston, January 16, 1826, and addressed to the Hon. Bushrod Washington: "You may perhaps recollect, that nearly two years ago I wrote you concerning a design which a friend of mine then had, of publishing an edition of General Washington's works. As he did not carry his purpose into execution, I was myself led to examine the subject, and have read with great attention such of the writings of General Washington as I have been able to obtain. I have also made numerous inquiries respecting his official letters to the governors of the States during the Revolution, and to the principal officers of the army. The result of my investigation has been, that there is in existence a vast number of unpublished letters written by him, which are of the highest importance as containing materials for a

correct history of the country, and as exhibiting, in a still more imposing light than has ever yet been done, the extraordinary resources and powers of the author's mind, and the controlling influence of his opinions and character in gaining the independence and establishing the free government which are now the glory and happiness of his countrymen, and the admiration of the world.

“Under this conviction, and after very mature reflection and extensive inquiry, I have resolved, should such a project meet your approbation, to collect and publish all the works of General Washington, both such as have already appeared in print, and a selection from such as are to be found in manuscript. My plan is to accompany the whole with a full body of notes and historical illustrations, and to arrange the materials under the following divisions:—

“PART I. — *Official Letters.*

“This division will embrace those parts of General Washington's correspondence which may be strictly called official, that is, his letters to the Governor of Virginia, while engaged in the French War; his letters to the President of Congress and the committees on the army during the whole Revolution; his letters to the governors of the States, and committees appointed to correspond with him by different legislatures; his letters to officers of the army, and other individuals engaged in public affairs; and such of his letters while President of the United States as may be deemed of an official nature.

“The two volumes of ‘Washington's Official Letters,’ first published in London, in the year 1795, contain those only which were addressed to the President of Congress from the time he took command of the army, in June, 1775, to the end of the year 1778, about three years and a half. These were copied in the Secretary's Office at

Philadelphia, by a person who took them to London, and published them, with the apparent design of continuing the series. But the sale probably did not encourage him to fulfil his intention, as he is still living in London, and nothing in addition to the above two volumes has appeared. These letters were doubtless correctly copied, but they are printed with many omissions, which were thought necessary to accommodate them to the state of public feeling at that time. I do not find that any of the letters to Congress, after the year 1778, have been printed; nor any of the vast number which he wrote to the governors of the States; nor any of those sent to officers of the army, except in a few instances where memoirs of some of the general officers have been written.

“I have learned from the secretaries of several States that many letters from General Washington are on file among the public papers, copies of which can be obtained without difficulty. The same thing I have also ascertained in regard to the papers left by some of the leading officers of the army. Many letters of the Commander-in-Chief are among them. In the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society is a volume of original letters by General Washington, collected from the papers of Governor Hancock, and deposited there by his widow. In the same library is also a series of volumes of manuscripts which belonged to Governor Trumbull, and which contain all General Washington's correspondence with him. A gentleman in New Hampshire has a full copy of the proceedings of the committee of Congress which visited the army in 1780 to consult with the Commander-in-Chief on important affairs. In this manuscript volume are contained fifteen letters from General Washington. Numerous unpublished letters of his are also deposited in the library of the New York Historical Society. In short, it would not be easy to calculate the number of letters of

this description, all of them exceedingly important, which may be gathered from different sources, by a thorough and persevering examination.

“When these are collected, my purpose is to arrange them in chronological order, and to add such explanations, by way of notes, as will make every statement and allusion clearly understood, and exhibit, in connection with the letters, a thread of history as continuous and perfect as the nature of the subject will admit. In constructing the notes, many valuable materials may be drawn from the letters written in reply to those of General Washington, very few of which have ever been published. To what extent these may be obtained, can be known only by future inquiry. Copies of those written by the governors and other authorities of the States are unquestionably preserved. All other sources of information will likewise be resorted to, which promise in any way to aid the execution of my plan.

“PART II. — *State Papers and Other Official Documents.*

“In this division will be brought together his Messages to Congress, Addresses, General Orders to the Army, and whatever other papers there may be of a public nature, and which cannot be properly ranked under the division of official letters.

“The notes and illustrations here will principally relate to the political state of the times; to the opinions, views, and purposes of the author; to his wisdom in devising measures of the most salutary kind, and his influence and the weight of his character in carrying them into effect; to his agency in directing the progress of events, and leading them to the best ends in establishing the new government on a solid foundation; and, indeed, to whatever may elucidate the history of his political life.

“PART III. — *Private Correspondence.*

“In this department much discretion must, of course, be exercised. It is not to be supposed that all his private letters, nor all that can be collected, are suited to publication. There is much, even here, that is not only curious, but valuable. His agricultural correspondence with Sir John Sinclair and Mr. Anderson, which was published in England, will come under this head; and many letters which have appeared from time to time in public papers and journals; as well as numerous others in manuscript, known to be in the hands of individuals. Of this description of letters I should not be disposed to print any, except such as you, and other judicious persons, may deem in accordance with the dignity of the work, as containing interesting facts, or developing traits of the author’s mind and character.

“The notes under this division will be few and short, explaining parts of the letters that may require it, and detailing such particulars and incidents as may come to my knowledge respecting the private pursuits, and the characteristic habits and opinions, of the writer.

“I have thus, sir, in as few words as possible, disclosed to you my plan. In making to you this frank and explicit exposition, I have two objects in view. First, as it is a thing in which you, as an individual, are more deeply interested than any other person, it is highly proper for me to ascertain whether you approve my undertaking, and are willing to promote it by your counsel and aid, before I take any public measures for prosecuting it. And, secondly, whether you will consent that access may be had to the papers of General Washington in your possession.

“I am aware that there is some delicacy in this second point, nor should I venture to make the inquiry were I not encouraged to do it by many gentlemen to whom I

have explained my design, on whose judgment I can rely, and to whom the fame of no man is dearer than that of Washington. These have professed, one and all, to regard my project as one of a magnitude and consequence which justify me in making even such an application; and, whatever may be your views as to the expediency of allowing the papers to be examined, I cannot doubt you will duly appreciate my motives, and freely excuse anything that may to you have the appearance of impropriety in the liberty which I take. It was the habit of General Washington to preserve copies of his correspondence. While in the army he kept regular letter-books for this purpose; and from many circumstances I infer the same was done in respect to most of his private letters. In his correspondence with Mr. Anderson, for instance, he sent a duplicate of a letter which he found had not reached its destination.

“Now it is to be presumed that General Washington’s letters have been preserved with great care by the persons into whose possession they have fallen, and it can hardly be doubted that a happy advertisement would bring nearly all of them to light, and those in the archives of the legislatures of the States may be had by a direct application: yet, after every effort is made, there must be deficiencies, particularly in regard to letters among the papers of the general officers of the army, whose descendants may desire to retain them for a first publication in a future biographical account of the person to whom they were written. And some will also necessarily be overlooked that are in the offices of the secretaries of the States, by reason of the mass of papers with which they will be connected. The only possible mode of supplying such deficiencies is by examining the copies of correspondence left by General Washington. If you agree with me, therefore, as you most certainly will, that if such a work

is executed, it should be done in as complete and perfect a manner as possible, I think you will not fail to see, in a clear and convincing light, the force of these hints.

“ Again, there are other documents of the highest value among the papers of General Washington, many of which cannot be supposed to exist anywhere else, and these are the letters received by him during his whole public life. It would seem that he was as remarkable for retaining the originals of all letters sent to him as for preserving copies of his own. In almost every letter to Congress he mentions copies of letters inclosed, which he had received from public persons, and the originals of which were kept by himself. In some cases it is not likely that the writers of these letters preserved copies; in others, where copies were taken at the time, they have doubtless been lost in the vicissitudes through which they have passed; so that at this day it is probable that the only copies in being are the single ones among the papers at Mount Vernon. Yet these letters unfold many of the leading principles and moving springs of the Revolution; they afford the very best materials for history; and, in a word, are absolutely essential to illustrate the works of General Washington.

“ With these views of the subject, I shall leave it to your better judgment to decide in what light it is proper for you to regard my proposed undertaking. As to myself, it only needs to be added that I have been chiefly influenced by a deep conviction of the importance of such a work, both as a tribute due to the name of Washington, and a repository for perpetuating the most valuable treasures of American history, which, in their present scattered state, are subject to be swept into oblivion by every wind that blows; exposed to the mercy of accident, and the consuming power of the elements. My thoughts have been more or less occupied with the plan for the last two years; as a literary enterprise, it falls in with my inclina-

tions and pursuits; but the labor of collecting materials so widely diffused, and of preparing them in the way I propose for the press, is one of which no adequate conception can be formed by any person who has not had some experience in works of a similar kind. But I have resolved to engage resolutely in the task, if I undertake it at all, and to spare neither industry nor expense in endeavoring to execute it, as far as my ability will allow, in a manner creditable to the fame of Washington, to our literature, and to our national history.

“For further information, as to my purposes and qualifications, permit me, sir, to refer you to Judge Story, with whom I have conversed on the subject, and who manifests a lively interest in the plan of collecting into one body all the writings of General Washington. With Mr. Webster and Mr. Wheaton I am also acquainted, and I doubt not they will readily answer any inquiries you may wish to make respecting my character and pursuits.

“I shall write to Judge Marshall, and I hope you will do me the favor to show him this letter, that he may fully understand my views and motives.”

The above letter is important, for it represents not only Mr. Sparks' acquired knowledge concerning the Washington papers, but his first matured plan of arranging and publishing them. His evident acquaintance with other sources of supply than the Mount Vernon collection gave him a certain command of the literary situation, although Judge Washington did not immediately realize the fact.

The warmest encouragement was given Mr. Sparks in his project by some of the best men in this country. Joseph Story wrote to Jared Sparks from Salem, January 20, 1826: “I think your project of collecting the works of Washington a noble project, and deserving of universal encouragement. I know not into whose hands the

task could have better fallen. Your letter to Judge Washington is excellent both in matter and manner, and develops your plan in such a way as cannot but command his approbation. I go to Washington next Thursday, and have so many things to do in the mean time that I can scarcely put my thoughts on paper. On Monday next I attend a corporation meeting of Harvard College at the Athenæum, Boston. Can I see you there a few minutes in the forenoon? I will cheerfully give you a letter to Judge Washington, or carry your package myself. I think you will do well to write to Chief Justice Marshall. His work on the Colonies ought, by the bye, to be reviewed by some able hand."

Edward Everett also encouraged the project. He wrote Jared Sparks from Washington, February 2, 1826: "I duly received your favor, making inquiry about General Washington's Revolutionary letters, etc. They are all in existence in the Department of State, and (what cannot be said of most of the papers there) bound and in a convenient condition for reference. Your project seems to me an admirable one. I wish it all success, and will do anything here which I can to aid it."

Daniel Webster, then a member of the House of Representatives for Massachusetts, wrote on February 4, 1826: "It will give me true pleasure to aid you in your intended collection of General Washington's works, in any and all ways in my power. Judge Story has not yet arrived, but we expect him this eve. I will have an early conversation with him on the subject. I think your proposed work one of great importance, and which you could so execute as to do yourself great credit."

Judge Story soon arrived in Washington, and on the 23d of February, 1826, reported to Mr. Sparks the unfavorable result of his interview with Judge Washington and Chief Justice Marshall: "I have delivered your let-

ters respecting the publication of General Washington's letters to Chief Justice Marshall and Judge Washington. With the latter I have had considerable conversation on the subject. I learn from him that he and the Chief Justice have already prepared three volumes, which are ready for the press, and will soon be put to press. Judge Washington does not incline to favor your project, but as he intends writing you himself, I forbear to state his views. The truth seems to be, that he deems these letters a sort of family inheritance, and that no person ought to be permitted to have anything to do with the publication unless he stands in his own intimate confidence.

"I regret exceedingly that he should not heartily embrace your proposal. I do not believe that the task will or can be better performed by any one than yourself. It is a noble enterprise, and requires industry, caution, research, and enthusiasm. I *conjecture* that the forthcoming volumes will contain merely a selection of letters without note or comment. Under such circumstances the publication must be in every way imperfect and unsatisfactory, since much of the value of such a work must arise from the ability of the reader to comprehend the circumstances to which it refers, and the collateral facts with which it is connected.

"I have thought that Judge Washington was unwilling to be pressed further on the subject. He stated, however, to me this afternoon that he should converse with the Chief Justice respecting it, and afterwards write you."

Sparks wrote to Judge Story, March 4, 1826, upon the unpromising situation: "I was not much disappointed with the report of your ill-success respecting the Washington papers, although my zeal was a little dampened by the news. I was disposed to give my time and exertions to a very laborious undertaking, because I thought a good

end would be answered, and because I had a desire to send out a perfect edition of Washington's writings. By a reasonable access to the papers at Mount Vernon, the plan might be accomplished with entire success. I consider such a privilege no *favor* to me; I ask it only as a means of doing the greatest justice to the subject. But all the important materials may be obtained from other quarters, though with great trouble, and my present impression is that I shall pursue the project. Washington's public letters and papers are the property of the nation. As such they ought to be before the nation, and he who brings them out does a public service.

"I have not heard from Judge Washington nor Judge Marshall.

"With many thanks for your kind attention to this business, I am, sir, yours very truly."

Here is a letter, dated at Washington, March 13, 1826, from Bushrod Washington to Jared Sparks: "Your letter of the 26th January was handed me by Mr. Justice Story, and I owe you an apology for the delay which has taken place in answering it. The truth is that, although living under the same roof, the important cases which the judges have had to examine and discuss in conference diverted the attention of the Chief Justice and myself from the subject, insomuch that it is but lately that we had an opportunity of conversing upon it.

"The only answer which it is now in my power to give to your proposal will be contained in the following statement of facts: A part of the work which you contemplate writing has for some years past engaged the attention, and commanded the labors, of the Chief Justice and myself. It is now completed, and we expect in the course of the summer to put to press about three volumes of what we judge to be the most interesting of General Washington's letters, written during the War of the Revo-

lution, and subsequent to its termination. It is further our intention to publish many of the letters addressed to him by the governors of the several States, foreign officers, and others during those periods.

“The letters written by him prior to and during the French War are, many of them, copied, and will be published at some future period.”

Chief Justice Marshall wrote to Jared Sparks from Washington, March 26, 1826: “I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 26th of January by Judge Story, stating your intention of publishing an edition of all the works of General Washington. Feeling a deep interest in the fame of our illustrious fellow-citizen, I am gratified at the expectation of seeing his works ushered to the world by a gentleman whose literary reputation ensures full justice to his memory. I can bestow on the plan only my best wishes for its success, and the feeble aid which is afforded by a subscription to it. The papers are in the possession of Mr. Washington, and are entirely at his disposal. He has shown me the letter addressed by you to him, with his answer to it. If the publication he is about to make shall defeat the more enlarged and perfect edition which you propose, it will be a circumstance which I shall regret. It is not the object of Mr. Washington to attach any notes or illustrations to the publication he proposes making, but simply to select some of the most interesting of the letters and to offer them to the public.”

Jared Sparks firmly intended to carry out, if necessary in an independent way, his own literary project. He continued actively to prosecute his inquiries for further information concerning Washington's correspondence. Indeed, instead of yielding to disappointment on account of apparent rebuff, this literary explorer began, like Ledyard, after failure in one quarter, to take even wider

ranges than before. Mr. Sparks now proposed collecting materials for a history of the American Revolution.

Thomas Jefferson wrote to Mr. Sparks from Monticello, April 8, 1826: "I am happy to be informed of the historical work on our country which you are about to undertake, because I know that whatever you undertake will be well done. In your search after materials, you will of course look into those possessed by Congress. The collection of American history they received with my library was generally rich, that particularly so of pamphlets from the commencement of our dispute with Great Britain to the commencement of open hostilities, and of thirty or forty years of newspapers before that.

"I am sorry I shall be able to be of little use to you. Age and ill-health disqualify me from it, and the increasing disability of my hand will soon oblige me to make it known that I am no longer able to write at all, or to answer letters on any subject.

"I may perhaps in conversations, during the welcome visit you are so kind as to promise me, be able to furnish some suggestions. But even in that way the decay of my memory will curtail much the store of my recollections. With my regrets that I shall be able to be of so little service to you, accept the assurance of my great esteem and respect."

After an extensive tour of historical inquiry through the Southern and Middle States, as later described in selections from his journals, Mr. Sparks was in position to write the following letter from Boston to the Hon. Bushrod Washington, September 12, 1826: "Your favor of March 13th, declining to aid me in a publication of General Washington's works, was duly received. I had already made such progress in the undertaking that I could not reconcile myself to the idea of abandoning it, although compelled to prosecute it under many disadvantages. Since that

time I have visited all the Southern and Middle States, examined thoroughly the public offices in each, and procured copies of General Washington's letters, and the replies of the governors. In addition to these, I have obtained copies of the valuable Revolutionary correspondence on file in the different offices. These letters contain a rich treasure of historical matter, the substance of which I shall use in making the notes and historical illustrations to the edition of Washington's works. I am now on the eve of a tour for a similar investigation in the New England States; after which I shall go partially through all the files in the office of Secretary of State at Washington, and gather the materials deposited there. I have, moreover, collected numerous letters from private sources, particularly from among the papers of the major-generals of the army, which are with their descendants in different parts of the country.

“In short, I am very confident of procuring nearly everything which can throw light on the public character and transactions of General Washington, and these are the points in which the public is generally interested, and with which posterity will seek to become acquainted. Yet my ambition was to make a perfect edition of his writings, one that should stand as a perpetual monument, worthy of his fame and of his country. I can truly say that I had no other motive in commencing this project, and although I doubt not the pecuniary results will be adequate to the expense of money, and perhaps of time and trouble, in carrying it on, yet this has been and is still a secondary consideration. My only regret is, that the work must at last be imperfect, my great purpose defeated, my hopes but partially realized, and a reasonable expectation of the public disappointed.

“At this stage of the business, and with these views, I hesitate not to appeal again to you; and I do it the more

confidently as my design has met with universal favor where I have made it known, and from gentlemen on whose judgment I can rely, and whose approbation ought to inspire confidence. I have not only received prompt assistance where it has been desired, but I have invariably witnessed a strong and deep interest in my undertaking. I would now ask you whether, upon reviewing the subject with the above facts and circumstances before you, it does not on the whole appear to you an object worthy of your regard, to aid in laying before the public a full collection of General Washington's writings by allowing those papers to be consulted which are to be found only in your possession?

“The day must of course come when all these papers will find their way to the public in some form or other. The voice of the country, the genius of history, will demand them. As this will in the nature of things happen, is it not better that they should be published under your own eye, with your inspection and guidance? This seems to me so obvious a fact, that I cannot suppose it needs for a moment to be insisted on. Your only hesitation, therefore, must be in regard to the manner of issuing the publication. You propose to do it by selections and in parts, publishing some letters written during the Revolution first, and then those received by General Washington from other persons, and, last of all, his early letters relating to the French War. Having some knowledge of the details of literary undertakings, and of the public taste in these matters, I am fully convinced that this plan will not succeed. Works brought out in a shape so broken and disconnected will have but a limited sale, nor can a bookseller be found who, at much hazard, would engage in such a scheme; whereas, if the entire works of Washington were presented to the public in a form suited to the dignity of the subject, a national interest and a national feel-

ing would be excited, and a wide and honorable patronage might be expected.

“That the subject may at once be brought to a definite point, I have resolved to make you the following proposal. With the permission to have access to all the papers in your possession, and an unrestricted use of them, I will engage to execute the work according to the plan proposed in my former letter, taking upon myself the charge and responsibility of the literary part, and the business of finding a publisher and superintending the publication; and I will agree then to divide with you equally the property of the copyright and the profits of sale, that is, you being entitled to one half and I to the other; it being understood on your part that any paper may be withheld which you do not deem suited for publication, and on my part that the expenses which I have incurred, and shall hereafter incur, in procuring materials for the historical illustrations of the work, shall be deducted before any division of the property, or of the profits of sales, shall be taken into consideration. This seems to me as liberal an offer as can reasonably be asked. In regard to other considerations, I know not that I can say more, but must leave you to decide as your judgment shall dictate.

“If you see objections to this proposal which shall induce you to decline accepting it, I shall shortly make my project fully known to the public, soliciting materials from every quarter, and proceed in preparing the work with as much expedition as the nature of the undertaking will admit.”

Judge Washington wrote to Mr. Sparks from Mt. Vernon, November 24, 1826: “Your letter of the 12th September came to my hand some time during the present month in consequence of my long absence from home; and being one of a large bundle of letters which had been accumulating, it has only been perused within the last hour.

This, I trust, will be accepted as a satisfactory apology for my silence. I shall write to the Chief Justice to-day and state to him your proposition; as soon as I receive his answer, you shall hear from me conclusively, and I hope satisfactorily."

Mr. Sparks himself wrote from Boston to Chief Justice Marshall, December 1, 1826: "On the following pages you will find a copy of a letter which I wrote some weeks ago to Judge Washington. He informs me that he has written to consult you on the proposal therein contained; and as I have thought it possible that it might not occur to him to send you a copy of the letter, I take the liberty to forward it for your consideration.

"Since I saw you in Richmond, I have visited all the old States, and carefully examined the public offices in each, and procured copies of all the important papers relating to the Revolution, and, among others, all the letters of General Washington. I have also had access to the papers of many of the officers of the army, among whom are Sullivan, Lord Stirling, Steuben, Clinton, Lincoln, and I am now busily engaged, with a copyist constantly employed in pursuing my investigations. In most cases I am favored with the loan of all papers not contained in public offices, which I retain till I have examined them thoroughly, and taken copies of all that are important. I shall pursue this through all the Revolutionary papers in the country to which I can obtain access, and I have not yet met one instance in which this was not cheerfully granted. Among the masses of papers which have already passed through my hands, I have of course found great numbers of General Washington's letters. My success, in short, has been such that I have resolved to execute an edition of his works in as perfect a manner as I can, and to use the materials I am collecting in making appropriate illustrations.

“I need not repeat to you how important it will be to the entire success of the undertaking, for me to have the use of the papers in Judge Washington’s possession. My views on this subject you will see in the letter annexed. As I know Judge Washington has entire confidence in your judgment, I cannot but hope that you will see the thing in the same light as myself, and will encourage him to accept the proposal which I have made. This offer is in itself a highly liberal one, especially considering the vast pains I have taken in collecting materials from other quarters.

“Feeling assured that you will cordially promote this object, as far as you will think it consistent with all the merits of the case, I am,” etc.

Marshall replied to Sparks from Richmond, December 10, 1826: “Your letter of the 1st inst. reached me yesterday just as I was on my way to court. Mr. Washington had previously communicated your proposal to me, and I had instantly advised his acceptance of it. I cannot doubt your having received a letter from him on the subject early in this month.

“I have always believed that the correspondence of General Washington would appear to more advantage if published according to your views of the subject, under the superintendence of a gentleman who can devote a sufficient portion of his time to the work, and is qualified to do it justice. Neither Judge Washington nor myself were in a situation to do this, and his purpose did not extend beyond a selection and a publication of the letters selected, unaccompanied by comment or notes of any description. I wish you all the success you anticipate.”

On the 1st of January, 1827, Mr. Sparks wrote from Baltimore the following letter to Judge Washington: “Before I left Boston I received your favor of the 24th November, stating that you had under consideration my

proposal respecting the papers of General Washington, and that you had written to Chief Justice Marshall on the subject. I also soon after received a letter from the Chief Justice, in which he expressed a full approbation of my plan, and said he had communicated his opinion to you. In a few days I shall be in Washington city, which I visit for the purpose of prosecuting my researches in the public offices. As the Supreme Court will then be in session, I presume you will be there, and I shall seek an early opportunity to converse with you, and ascertain your final decision in regard to my proposal."

Judge Washington wrote to Mr. Sparks from Mount Vernon, January 2, 1827: "I received yesterday an answer from the Chief Justice to the letter I wrote him on the same day that mine to you bore date. He informs me that he answered that letter on the day he received it, which answer of course miscarried, in a manner quite unaccountable, between Richmond and Alexandria. I have only now to say, in respect to the proposition contained in your last letter, that we accept it. Presuming that we shall see you in Washington during the sitting of the Supreme Court, which commences the 8th inst., I shall add nothing further at present."

Mr. Sparks prepared to spend the spring of 1827 at Mount Vernon in a careful examination of the papers. He wrote to Judge Washington from Baltimore, February 17, 1827, signifying this intention: "I write merely to remind you that I shall be prepared to visit Mount Vernon in the first week of March, and propose to spend about three months in close application examining the papers. It will be proper, I presume, that some written instruments should exist between us, and I hope you will have it prepared when I call on you in passing through Washington. You observed that Judge Marshall has in his possession the papers relating to the period previous to

the Revolution. As it will contribute greatly to facilitate my work to begin and go on in chronological order, you will do me the favor to procure these papers as soon as it can conveniently be done. I hope to be prepared to send out a prospectus and collect subscriptions in the autumn. This will be a task of much labor, and I shall seek for the best agents."

Leaving for subsequent description Mr. Sparks' delightful experience at Mount Vernon, and his further correspondence with Judge Washington and Chief Justice Marshall, let us now turn to those interesting journals of travel and historical investigation in the Southern, Middle, and Eastern States in the year 1826. It was this previous inquiry for manuscript materials, and this personal examination of original documents, that gave Mr. Sparks such absolute command of the papers of Washington at Mount Vernon. It is also important to bear in mind that in this work of a literary explorer we discover one of the leading characteristics of Jared Sparks, the biographer of John Ledyard.

CHAPTER XIV.

SPARKS' JOURNAL OF A SOUTHERN TOUR IN 1826.

March 22d, Wednesday. Left Boston at five o'clock in the morning for Hartford, by way of Dedham, Medfield, Pomfret, and Ashford. Bad road and indifferent company the whole day, neither of them desirable accompaniments to a ride in a stage-coach. . . .

23d, Thursday. Off before daylight, and at Hartford by eleven o'clock on board the steamboat. Two or three Connecticut farmers in the stage to Hartford, who complained of the usury laws of that State, as producing in their present operation many evils. The law is, as heretofore in Massachusetts, that, if a lender of money is known to demand more than six per cent., he forfeits the whole debt. . . .

24th, Friday. At daylight awoke in my berth, and found the steamboat quietly moored at the wharf in New York. Breakfast at Bunker's; meet there Mr. Carter, Marean, and other acquaintances. Called on Mr. Sewall, Mr. Sedgwick, and the agents of the "N. A. Review." Mr. Sedgwick is engaged in procuring a republication of Mrs. Barbauld's works in New York, at his own risk; has corresponded with Miss Aikin on the subject, and promised to send her the proceeds of the sale. We both thought it desirable to have a review of the work in the "North American." Left N. York at one o'clock in company with Mr. Carter, and had a disagreeable, rainy passage, by steamboat and stages, to Trenton.

25th, Saturday. Arrived in Philadelphia at ten

o'clock; called on Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Taylor, and Rev. Mr. Ware, then in that city; and also Mrs. Astley. Staid but two hours, when I set out for Baltimore in the steamboat down the Delaware. Crossed to the Chesapeake from Newcastle, Mr. Roche of New Bedford, and Mr. Lamot, in company. Various conversation, a little reading, and a due portion of *ennui*.

26th, Sunday. At sunrise awoke at the wharf in Baltimore, and went to Barnum's; slept several hours, having taken no rest, except while traveling, since leaving Boston. Called at Miss Williams', where I met several friends. Many cherished associations came to my mind in this family. I resided there four years, at an eventful period of my life, received unbounded kindnesses, and found a most welcome home. My fortunes separated me from my labors and connections in Baltimore, but my memory will always recur with delight and deep interest to the days of my residence there, and to the people whose kindnesses and confidence were a solace to me, amidst the trials of various kinds which I was called to endure. Ill-health weighed heavily upon my spirits, and anxious cares oppressed me, but in the people of my charge I found uniform sympathy and affection. These can never be forgotten.

In the evening attended church. Mr. Dewey, of New Bedford, preached. Here again the magic power of association was busy, but I forbear.

27th, Monday. Rode to Washington in the morning. Mr. Houston, member of Congress from Tennessee, in the stage-coach; a violent oppositionist; was an officer in General Jackson's army and wounded in battle; thinks no man quite so wonderful as General Jackson, and supposes him above all others entitled to the Presidency. Told some striking anecdotes of his habits and manners as commander of an army; remarkable power of gaining

the affection of the soldiers. In one case walked through a march of several days, and gave up his horse to be ridden alternately by wounded soldiers. In a battle with the Indians a squaw was killed with an infant in her arms, which was found after the battle and brought to the general. He immediately ordered the best care to be taken of it, and sent it soon to his wife. Under her charge the child grew up, and he is now sent to school, and treated in all respects by the general as one of his own family. This same Mr. Houston two days before made a warm speech in the House of Representatives against the Massachusetts claim. He descanted much on this topic, and said the claim ought not on any principles of justice or policy to be allowed.

Took tea with Mr. Everett, having previously met Mr. Wallenstein, and accompanied him to Mr. Everett's lodgings. Conversation on the Panama question, which is now coming before the House. Mr. Wallenstein, although the main spoke in the wheel of the Russian embassy to this country, is much in favor of the President's views of this subject. Walk and converse with Mr. Wallenstein on various topics, and he promises to write for me a review of Commodore Kruzenstern's works, that is, his voyages and charts. Wallenstein and Kruzenstern were particular friends in St. Petersburg.

Received to-day a letter from Judge Washington, and another from Chief Justice Marshall, on the subject of an edition of General Washington's works, which I proposed to collect and publish. Some weeks since, I made application through Judge Story to Judge Washington, developing my plan, and desiring to have access to the papers at Mt. Vernon, as the only means of making a perfect collection. Judge Washington declined acceding to this proposal, on the ground that he and Judge Marshall had already prepared some of General Washington's letters

for publication, and in due time the most of his papers would be published. Thus my plan is defeated, or at least partially so, as the papers cannot be fully obtained from any other quarter. See my letters to Judge Washington and Judge Marshall, and theirs in reply, on file.

28th, Tuesday. Writing letters all the morning to Dr. Channing, Professor Norton, Samuel A. Eliot, Mr. Gray, and others. Left Washington at one o'clock, P. M., and arrived at Fredericksburgh in the evening, steamboat down the Potomac.

29th, Wednesday. Writing in the morning. Walk about the town of Fredericksburgh; very pleasant location and vicinity; vegetation coming rapidly forward; early fruit-trees in blossom; season at least four or five weeks in advance of Boston. Passed the evening with Mr. Gray, agent of the "North American Review," who is a sensible, intelligent man, and has been very successful in circulating the work. He thinks there will be no such thing as book-making in Virginia for a century to come. People here prefer talking to reading, as Mr. Houston said of those of Tennessee. The "Review," however, is gaining favor in Virginia. A prejudice long existed, but it is going off, and people seem more and more inclined to judge the book by its merits, and not from their own apprehensions. Among forty-six subscribers on Mr. Gray's list, however, there is only one clergyman, and his name is recently inserted. There are eight physicians, and the same number of lawyers.

30th, Thursday. Left Fredericksburgh at one o'clock in the morning, and arrived at Richmond (70 miles), over a most barren, desolate country, at three o'clock, P. M. Among the passengers in the stage were Baron Stackelberg, Swedish Minister to the United States, a lady, the widow of Tobias Lear, and her son, and Lieutenant Campbell of the navy. The company on the whole was fortu-

nately combined, and things went off smoothly, except on one occasion, when a short debate on politics took place. Baron Stackelberg avowed himself, as an individual, a decided friend of the Panama mission, and spoke of Mr. Adams' message on the subject as a very able paper. One or two others believed the mission to be full of mischief, and declared they had never seen anything from Mr. Adams that indicated great abilities, or cool, good sense. By this time matters were carried so high that it was found best to drop the subject. The baron remarked in the course of the conversation that he considered Mr. Adams among the ablest, if not the ablest statesman now living.

Called on Mr. Wickham in the evening, with a letter of introduction from Mr. William Sullivan; very politely received, and passed two hours with him. Conversation on the resources of Virginia, slave population, tobacco, and John Randolph, and other miscellaneous topics. Tomorrow I am to be introduced, by the aid of Mr. Wickham, to the clerks who have possession of the public documents, that I may examine those parts pertaining to the Revolution.

31st, *Friday*. Mr. John Wickham, to whom I brought a letter of introduction, is absent from town to-day. His son, Mr. William F. Wickham, introduced me to the clerk of the Council, through whom I obtained access to the archives of that body. It appears that when the British entered Richmond, in 1781, the papers of the Council were carried off or destroyed. There is one old volume for 1749, and nothing more till 1776, after which the series is complete. This journal consists of a very brief record of the proceedings of the Council, referring to letters and documents on file. None of these letters have I yet been able to find.

The first letter-book begins January 9, 1781, and there

are three volumes for that year, one of them, and part of another, written by Mr. Jefferson, as governor of the State. These letters are chiefly on the army, and written to Washington, Greene, Lafayette, Baron Steuben, the president of Congress, and to officers of various ranks in different parts of the State. They are highly valuable as materials for a history of the Revolution. From the above date the series of letter-books appears complete.

I found also a most interesting volume of manuscript papers, lettered on the back as follows: "Letters to the Committee of Correspondence and Inquiry from April, 1773, to May, 1775."

It occupies seventy long folio pages. The legislature of Virginia was the first to propose, by a formal act, the Committees of Correspondence, March 12, 1773. On the 19th of the same month, the Speaker (Randolph) sent a copy of the resolution to each of the other colonies, inviting all to adopt the same measure. The proposal was accepted by them all, and this manuscript volume contains the replies of each legislature to the Assembly of Virginia, commonly in the words of the resolutions of the legislature; and also several communications afterwards sent by committees of correspondence, especially those of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. In regard to the time of assenting to the proposal of Virginia, the legislatures seem to have been guided chiefly by the date of the succeeding session. No objection to the scheme appears to have been intimated from any quarter, but on the contrary it was most cordially approved in every instance. The plan was adopted by the Rhode Island legislature May 7th, and by Massachusetts May 28th; and by the other colonies whenever the legislatures convened. There is a long and valuable letter signed by Thomas Cushing and Samuel Adams, and another from the committee in Philadelphia, which express in full and strong

terms the grounds of complaint against the British government, the absolute necessity of resisting aggressions already imposed, and in short the entire spirit which burst out with so much vehemence in all parts of the country in 1775. This volume contains none of the letters written by the Virginia committee, but only those which they received.

Passed all the morning in the Council Chamber examining papers. Towards evening walked over the town. The view from the State House (Capitol), up and down James River, is exceedingly beautiful. The Capitol is in many respects a fine building, in tasteful architectural proportions. There is, however, one remarkable blunder. The stately pillars which support the pediment, and the half pillars on the sides of the building, are, from top to bottom, of the same diameter. How so strange a blunder occurred in a building of much architectural pretension, I have not been informed.

In the centre, under the dome, is a marble statue of Washington, a little larger than life. The figure stands erect, leaning with one arm on a post made of a bundle of rods, a plough at the feet, and a cane in one hand. His costume is precisely that which he was accustomed to wear in the army, sufficiently ungraceful, it is true, for a piece of statuary, but to my taste it is precisely what it ought to be. Let us have our great hero as he was, and not in the garb of any ancient Greek or Roman. A fine marble bust of Lafayette occupies a niche near the statue of Washington.

April 1st, Saturday. The morning was passed in reading Gerardin's continuation of Burk's "History of Virginia," particularly for the years 1780-81. It is a meagre history, and bunglingly put together. Gerardin was a man of talents, but came late to the country (being a Frenchman) and never learned English well. His "Con-

tinuation," however, is doubtless authentic, as it was written under the eye of Mr. Jefferson, and with the use of some of his manuscript papers. Met Mr. Wickham at the Capitol, went with him into the Council Chamber, and saw Mr. Richardson, clerk of the Council. He was absent yesterday. He gives a better account of the papers than I had before received, although the principal part of those relating to the time of the Revolution are lost. A few valuable letters from General Washington and others are on file, and may be easily examined.

CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL.

Called on Chief Justice Marshall; entered his yard through a broken wooden gate, fastened by a leather strap and opened with some difficulty, rang, and an old lady came to the door. I asked if Judge Marshall was at home. "No," said she, "he is not in the house; he may be in the office," and pointed to a small brick building in one corner of the yard. I knocked at the door, and it was opened by a tall, venerable-looking man, dressed with extreme plainness, and having an air of affability in his manners. I introduced myself as the person who had just received a letter from him concerning General Washington's letters, and he immediately entered into conversation on that subject. He appeared to think favorably of my project, but intimated that all the papers were entirely at the disposal of Judge Washington. He said that he had read with care all General Washington's letters in the copies left by him, and intimated that a selection only could with propriety be printed, as there was in many of them a repetition, not only of ideas, but of language. This was a necessary consequence of his writing to so many persons on the same subjects, and nearly at the same time. He spoke to me of the history of Virginia; said Stith's History and Beverly's were of the

highest authority, and might be relied on. Of Burk he only remarked that the author was fond of indulging his imagination, "but," he added in a good-natured way, "there is no harm in a little ornament, I suppose." He neither censured nor commended the work. He conversed some time on what he calls an error in the history of Virginia as generally received. Robertson states that Virginia recognized King Charles II. before he was proclaimed in England. Henning, it seems, in his voluminous compilation of Virginia statutes, has denied the fact. Judge Marshall says that Henning is right in stating that no such act was ever passed formally by the legislature or assembly of the colony, but yet he is mistaken in affirming that such was not the state of feeling among the leading people. Beverly affirms it was, and as he was connected with the leading families of the colony, and acquainted with the circumstances, his testimony ought to be received implicitly. Such and other things were the topics of conversation, till the short hour of a ceremonious visit had run out. I retired much pleased with the urbanity and kindly manners of the Chief Justice. There is consistency in all things about him, — his house, grounds, office, himself, bear marks of a primitive simplicity and plainness rarely to be seen combined.

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

Dined with Mr. Wickham; much animated and agreeable conversation on literary, political, and local topics. Mr. Benjamin Watkins Leigh was present, a very intelligent man, and of quick colloquial powers. The controversy about Washington's Farewell Address came up. Mr. Leigh said he had seen in Judge Marshall's hands a copy of a letter from Mr. Jay which explained the whole matter. When this subject was agitated some time ago, Judge Peters, of Philadelphia, wrote to Mr. Jay inquiring the

state of facts. Mr. Jay replied that after General Washington had drafted his Farewell Address, he sent a copy to him and Hamilton for them to examine, and suggest any additions or alterations which they thought proper. A few words they added, but neither omitted nor altered anything. Hamilton wrote out the whole with his own hand; in this copy the additions were made; he then wrote a fair copy, which was returned with General Washington's manuscript. Some of the additions suggested were retained, but Mr. Jay does not recollect which they are. Hamilton's first copy was retained, with the interlineations. This is the paper which fell into the hands of Mr. King, and for obtaining which there is now a suit in chancery by Hamilton's family. When this business is terminated, it is presumed Mr. Jay's letter will be published with a full exposition of the case.

I wrote a note to the governor, at the suggestion of Mr. Wickham, making application to the Council of State for permission to examine the papers of the department, and take copies. The result I shall know when I return from the South. A copy of the note is on file.

DOWN THE JAMES RIVER.

2d, Sunday. Left Richmond at six o'clock, A. M., in the steamboat, and arrived in Norfolk at twelve at night. Little to be seen in passing down the river, — here and there a valuable estate on the bank, but the borders of the river are in many places low and marshy. Passed the old site of James Town, sixty miles above Norfolk. One house only remains of the first town that was settled by the English in America. The ruins of a church and a few houses are seen. The place is a kind of sandbar making into the river, forming a peninsula, with such extensive marshes in the rear as to make it very unhealthy. The river at this place is not less than three miles wide,

and it grows broader from this point till it empties into Hampton Roads. It is a noble stream.

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NORFOLK TO CHARLESTON.

3d, Monday. At Norfolk ; wrote letters to Mr. Jefferson, Edward Everett, Mr. Folsom. Visited Portsmouth and the Navy Yard at Gosport in company with Mr. Hall.

4th, Tuesday. Left Norfolk at nine in the morning, in the stage-coach, and arrived at Murfreesboro' same evening.

5th, Wednesday. From Murfreesboro' to a house eighteen miles from Tarborough.

6th, Thursday. To Fayetteville.

7th, Friday. Passed the day at Fayetteville ; conversation with McRea, agent for the "N. A. Review ;" also with Mr. Hadlock, bookseller. . . .

8th, Saturday. In the stage-coach on the road to Charleston.

9th, Sunday. Stage-coach on the road to Charleston.

10th, Monday. Arrive at Charleston at eight o'clock in the morning ; stop at Mrs. Courtney's in Broad Street, and dine at Mr. Gilman's. Received letters from Messrs. Young, Webster, Douglas, Whiting, Adams. Much fatigued with the long journey.

11th, Tuesday. Writing letters all the morning to Mr. Webster, President Holley, Mr. A. Young, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Skinner, Captain Whiting. Look over Drayton's "Memoirs" with a view of ascertaining in what quarter to search for papers illustrating the Revolution. Pass the evening at Mr. Gilman's, in company with Mr. Crafts, Mr. A. Gibbes, Mr. Adams, President of the Charleston College, and other gentlemen.

12th, Wednesday. Inquire about papers ; no one

knows anything on the subject, but all are ready to mention numerous other persons who are presumed to be fully informed of the matter. Judge Proileau calls and introduces me to the library. No manuscripts there, nor any other documents pertaining to the Revolution, except a file of a newspaper printed in Charleston at the time. Dine with Mr. Belcher, in company with Mr. and Mrs. Gilman and others.

13th, *Thursday*. My friend and classmate, Mr. Eggleston, who is settled in Charleston, introduced me to the Secretary of State, from whom I obtained permission to examine any papers in his office. After an hour's toil in tumbling dusty folios, we found nothing whatever bearing on the period of the Revolution. There are a few musty volumes of colonial matter, being chiefly copies of bonds and invoices, but nothing in the nature of a journal, nor any facts whatever of historical value. During the whole period of the Revolution no single paper or record of any description was found, nor does the secretary know that any such are contained in his office. There are other public documents at Columbia, and among them it is possible there may be something of importance. Mr. Eggleston next introduced me to Major Garden, author of "Anecdotes of the Revolution." He could tell nothing of manuscript papers of the Revolutionary times. When the British were here in 1780, many papers were destroyed; it is probable that others were taken by individuals, and it is not likely that any of them were preserved in the public archives. Drayton's "Memoir" contains letters and other documents of value. A great many must have been written, — such as the correspondence of the Committee of Intelligence, the Committee of Safety, governors' letters, etc. In the library is a file of a newspaper printed in Charleston 1731–32.

14th, *Friday*. Passed the morning making calls on

friends, and in the library of the city. A good but not extensive collection of books. Very little in the way of American history. Dine at Mr. Proileau's with several gentlemen of the city, among whom were Mr. King, Mr. Bee, Mr. Pringle, Mr. Gadsden, Mr. Pettygrew, attorney-general, Mr. Legare (pron. Légrée), Mr. Fraser. These gentlemen are mostly lawyers, and the party was exceedingly agreeable, — men of intelligence, liberal views, and affable manners. I had a letter to Judge Proileau, and his civilities have been marked and serviceable to me. I only regret that I cannot stay much longer in Charleston, to enjoy the society, which is proverbial for its refinement and hospitality, and which, from my short experience, has been in these respects no more than justly represented.

A singular incident occurred here to-day. A negro was condemned to be hung for setting fire to a house. The sentence was to be executed between the hours of twelve and two o'clock. At twelve he was brought to the place of execution, but no hangman appeared, nor did any one invested with this office come forward till the time had expired. The negro was taken back to prison. It is said that fifty dollars were offered to any person who would act as hangman, but none could be found.

15th, Saturday. Judge Johnson has many valuable Revolutionary papers in his possession, particularly those of Governor Rutledge and General Pinckney. They are supposed to be copied into volumes. Mr. Rutledge, to whom the governor's papers belong, lives in Tennessee. Mr. Gadsden's papers were all destroyed by him when he was taken prisoner. The papers of Rutledge and Pinckney may probably be obtained.

RESEARCHES IN GEORGIA.

Left Charleston at noon in the stage-coach for Augusta. The low country, nearly as far as Barnwell, exhibits a dis-

mal appearance to a traveler; almost an unbroken series of swamps covered with thick brushwood, reeds, and trees, hardly a house to be seen for many miles. Here and there a solitary plantation, with a few straggling whites, emaciated, and apparently struggling to preserve the thread of life against the all-devouring effects of the climate. These things, contrasted with the companies of slaves that meet you wherever there is any attempt at cultivation, give the whole country an air of wretchedness, and the traveler sighs to escape from scenes so disheartening and revolting.

16th, Sunday. Seventy or eighty miles from Charleston, we emerged from the swampy country, and arrived at the region of pine lands, or pine barrens, as they are appropriately called; the soil a deep sand, and hardly productive of any kind of cultivation. In the morning passed a large plantation, where the slaves were numerous, and so scantily clothed, both male and female, as to set decency at defiance. It being Sunday, and therefore the slaves' holiday, some of them were at work by the roadside, cultivating each his small patch of sweet potatoes, or perhaps a little cotton. The master was lolling in the piazza of his house, surrounded by groups of these half-naked slaves, apparently unconscious that there was anything disgusting in the scene around him. Such is the power of habit.

As we approached the Savannah River, the country assumed a better aspect, — soil more fertile and inhabitants more numerous. Crossed the river a little after sunset two miles below Augusta, at a bluff famous in the times of Indian wars. Reached Augusta at nine o'clock. This place is sustained principally by its cotton market, it being, after New Orleans, the most extensive in the United States. The moment I stepped out of the stage I was accosted in a familiar and eager manner by a person

of good appearance: "Sir, are you from Charleston?" "Yes, sir." "Pray, how is cotton there?" "Indeed, I cannot say, sir, as I am not in that line." The man turned on his heel and left me. The talk of the people in every direction was of cotton, and I heard lamentations from every quarter touching the present depression of prices, and the gloomy prospects. During the cotton speculations a year ago, the increase of price was so rapid that a mania seized on the farmers, and even good fields of corn were cut up and cotton planted in its stead. Cotton is now at nine and one half cents a pound, a price which hardly pays for cultivation, and corn is \$1.25 a bushel. In all the south country, I have heard one unceasing complaint of the low price of cotton and the expense of provisions. Negroes will not eat wheat flour.

17th, Monday. Left Augusta at three o'clock in the morning, in the mail stage-coach, for Milledgeville. Slept at Sparta, or rather took lodgings there a few hours while the stage stopped. A cock-fight in the town had drawn together the neighboring gentry, and the town was full; gambling and noise all night. The gamblers were in small parties in separate rooms, which seemed designed for the purpose. The cock-fight is to last three days, and to be succeeded by races, which will continue through the week. Betting is said to run high. I went into the gambling rooms, and the business was conducted with method and systematically; playing for money of various amounts; much drinking and profane language, but no quarreling. The picture, however, was full of disgust. I desire neither to see it again nor to contemplate it more.

18th, Tuesday. Arrived in Milledgeville at ten in the morning. From Augusta about forty miles, the country is a pine barren, and the road heavy sand. The remainder of the way, through the villages of Warrenton, Powellton, and Sparta, there are some good plantations, particu-

larly on the Ogechee River. Cotton is the prevailing crop, with a little corn for home consumption. 'Between Augusta and Milledgeville (96 miles) I should presume we met more than 100 wagons loaded with cotton for the Augusta market. The wagons were commonly drawn by five horses, and each conveyed from five to eight bags of cotton, usually eight bags. The wagons are large, like those of Pennsylvania, and the teamsters carry their own provision and that of their horses. They encamp in the open air in the night, on the border of a creek, or near a spring of fresh water, and kindle a fire in the woods, which gives them light and warmth, and by which they cook their food. In riding in the stage in the night, encampments of this kind are frequently seen on the roadside throughout the Carolinas and Georgia.

Presented my letters of introduction to Dr. Benjamin A. White, who was extremely civil, and kindly offered his services to promote my objects in this place. Dr. White was graduated at Harvard College in 1811. He introduced me to the Secretary of State, of whom I inquired about Revolutionary papers. He said there were none in his office, but that all papers of this sort were in the archives of the council.' Dr. White then introduced me to Major Wood, an officer of that department, who gave me permission to examine the papers, and I spent the afternoon in that employment. Read McCall's "History of Georgia" till bedtime, — those parts particularly relating to the Revolution.

Governor Troup is absent on his plantation some miles in the country, and I fear I shall be disappointed in seeing him, as he is not expected to return till the end of the week. But I am allowed free access to the public documents, and can thus attain my object.

19th April, Wednesday. Passed the whole day looking over the papers in the Executive Department. There is

a regular journal entitled "Minutes of the Executive Department," embracing the entire period of the Revolution. The journal from 1771 to 1783 is contained in two thick folio volumes. These I have examined from beginning to end, and marked various parts to be copied. They contain materials of interest, inasmuch as many letters from the executive to the leading officers of the Revolution are entered at full length in the journal. There is particularly a long letter of this sort to General Lincoln when he took command of the Southern army, giving a minute account of the state of things in Georgia at that time, and a similar one to Governor Rutledge, of South Carolina. This journal was continued under the colonial government till November 22, 1775, when Governor Wright was taken prisoner, and his government broken up. The old Council was succeeded by the "Council of Safety," the first of whose doings on the journal is dated December 11, 1775. From that time the transactions recorded are wholly those of the Provincial Council, till the organization of the new government under the Union.

Among the files of letters in the Executive Department, I have selected several to be copied. They are as follows, viz. : 2 letters from General Washington ; 10 letters from General Green to the Governor of Georgia ; 2 letters from General Green to Governor Rutledge ; 21 letters from General Wayne to the Governor of Georgia ; 1 letter from Robert Morris ; 1 letter from Telfair and Jones ; 1 letter from Governor Rutledge.

The above are all the letters of general value which I found among the files. Many letters are filed which were written to the governors by the officers of the state militia. Some of these have historical value, as giving accounts of battles and skirmishes, but they are mostly of a local nature.

The "Journal of Assembly" does not commence till 1786. All that existed previously to that date has been lost, or probably carried to England during the Revolution. Governor Wright held possession of Savannah some time after the Provincial Congress was formed, and it is supposed that he took possession of many papers and carried them to England.

Joseph V. Bevan, Esq., of Savannah, is engaged in writing a history of Georgia, and has collected a great many private papers relating to the Revolution. Letters of a public character were preserved by individuals at the time of the first Revolutionary movements, chiefly because there was no public depository for them. Such was the case in all the colonies, and these papers are now for the most part in possession of the descendants of the conspicuous actors in the Revolutionary scenes.

Particulars upon which to consult Mr. Bevan hereafter : 1. As to Revolutionary papers received by him from individuals. 2. Whether he has been able to obtain the letters of the early Committees of Correspondence. 3. In the journal of the Council of Safety it is recorded, December 16, 1775, that the proceedings of the Provincial Congress, so called, were preparing for publication in a separate pamphlet. Were they ever published? 4. Is it known what became of the "Journal of Assembly" previously to 1786?

20th April, Thursday. Morning in the Executive Department; made arrangements with Dr. White to have the papers, which I have marked, copied and sent to Savannah, and thence to Boston. In the afternoon walked over the town, and into the vicinity. The Océnee River is half a mile from town, and is crossed by a well-constructed bridge. Above the bridge and in sight are rapids and small islands, which form an agreeable view. Boats ascend the river nearly to the bridge, but it is a

passage of nearly twenty days to the outlet at Darien, and merchants frequently prefer to transport their goods overland from Savannah. The Océnee and Ocmulgee unite to form the Altamaha.

Milledgeville is a pleasant village, built on a surface of small hills and valleys, which give it an agreeable appearance. The State House occupies a central and elevated position. The houses are separated by gardens, and the streets planted with trees. The prevailing belief that this town will not be the permanent seat of government has caused it to decline. You see houses and stores, in various parts, closed and unoccupied. It is thought that Macon, thirty miles to the west, on the Ocmulgee, will ultimately be the seat of government.

Spent the evening with Dr. White, where I met several gentlemen of the town. The Creek Treaty makes some talk. All the lands purchased by the United States for Georgia have been disposed of among the people by lottery. Whenever a tract has been obtained by treaty, it has been immediately set off into lots by the State, and each lot made a prize in the lottery. In the first instance the names of all the persons in the State, duly qualified, were put together, and drawn out one by one, and each name thus drawn was entitled to the lot of land, the number of which was drawn out in connection with his name. When the next treaty was made, and another purchase effected, another lottery was drawn on the same principles, the names of those who had previously drawn prizes being left out.

The present treaty embraces all the remaining lands of the Creek Indians, and they are valuable. The lottery for disposing of these lands, therefore, becomes a matter of much more interest than any heretofore, both because the lands are more valuable, and because the names entitled to prizes are reduced to a comparatively small num-

ber. This is doubtless a main reason of the extraordinary excitement on the subject. The lottery scheme is not universally approved, but after it was begun it was in a measure necessary to continue it; otherwise strict justice could hardly be rendered to the persons who had drawn no prizes. It is thought by many that it would have been much better for the State to have sold the lands, and established a fund for some useful purpose. Yet the lottery scheme has caused the lands to come more readily into market by a competition in prices, and to be more rapidly settled.

One event only has happened to make my short residence in Milledgeville such as I could not desire it to be. Two evenings ago, while I was sitting in my room, my ear was assaulted with cries and screechings of a person in distress. I immediately went to the piazza, and could distinctly hear the strokes of a whip, and the cries redoubled. I walked in the direction of the noise till I came to the market-house, where I found a small crowd assembled, and a man employed, with his coat off, whipping a negro. The end of a rope tied the negro's hands together, and they were drawn above his head to the full extent of his arms by passing the rope through a pulley, suspended from a beam, and then drawing it tight by the other end. The negro was naked, except a pair of tattered pantaloons. His master was armed with a very heavy teamster's whip, with which he was beating him with all the strength he could command. The poor negro was writhing under his tortures, and imploring the mercy of his master, but all in vain. To my best judgment there were nearly a hundred lashes inflicted. I never witnessed so shocking a scene, and it was rendered doubly aggravating from the obvious fact that the negro suffered rather from the master's caprice and sudden anger than from any just cause of punishment. The master told him repeatedly of

his offense, while he was whipping him, and it was really too trivial to merit notice from a considerate man. He said the negro had been found in a grogshop, and had ventured some remote hints that he should run away. The negro denied that he purchased anything in the grogshop, and said he was there accidentally. After the master had applied the whip till his passion was exhausted, the negro's hands were untied, and he was locked into a dungeon, constructed in one corner of the market-house, where he was to remain through the night. The whole affair was a shameful and outrageous exhibition, and could serve no other purpose than to harden the heart and blunt the sensibility in a community which should frequently witness it. Never in my life have I felt my indignation rise so high. The laws ought not to suffer such exhibitions in public. Let cruel masters exercise their tortures in private, and not outrage the feelings of society by giving vent to their inhuman passions.

21st April, Friday. Left Milledgeville at ten o'clock in the morning for Augusta. Full stage and various company; among others was Colonel Joel Baley, whose name has recently been before the public in connection with the Creek Treaty. He resides at the Indian Springs, where the treaty was made, and was knowing to all the circumstances from beginning to end. There are some inexplicable things about the business, even as explained by Colonel Baley, — a little juggling probably on both sides; yet it is evident that Governor Troup has acted on much more justifiable grounds than the public have been ready to suppose from the apparent warmth of his communications on the subject. The truth is, the United States agents have managed matters with great folly, and in some cases with obvious duplicity. . . .

22d April, Saturday. After riding all night arrived in Augusta at four o'clock, afternoon. It is a dismal

road and country from Augusta to Milledgeville, — heavy sands, interminable pine barrens, wretched log hovels, with here and there only a planter's house in which there would seem any hope of the common comforts of life. Found Mr. Gilman in Augusta, and passed the evening with him, in company with Mrs. St. John, a former parishioner of mine in Baltimore; and also with Colonel Cumming, famous for his combats with McDuffie during the last year.

23d April, Sunday. Heard Mr. Gilman preach in the morning in the Academy, where Mr. Crawford (late candidate for the Presidency of the United States) taught a school for several years. The audience was large and attentive. At three o'clock in the afternoon attended service at the Presbyterian Church, performed by Woodbury, who is on a mission for the aid of the Bible Society. At five o'clock went to the Baptist Church, where was a great crowd collected to hear Mr. Shannon, a young Irish preacher, who had given public notice that he should preach against the Unitarians. He had attended Mr. Gilman twice and taken notes. In his discourse he professed to touch on the whole controversy. He was violent and sweeping in his remarks, but not bitter. He seemed to know nothing of the real merits of the controversy, and to speak more from feeling and first impressions than from investigation and judgment. He reiterated the commonplaces and quoted Greek, but without much point or purpose. In the evening, at eight o'clock, Mr. Gilman preached again. Mr. Shannon had referred to him so often, and made such use of his remarks, that he thought it necessary to address the audience, before the sermon, with further illustrations of the views he had advanced, and to correct several erroneous statements which Mr. Shannon had made. The Academy room was full to overflowing before the preacher arrived, and many afterwards

went away without being able to obtain admittance. The audience appeared to listen with the greatest attention and interest. The spirit of inquiry is abroad in Augusta. Mr. Gilman's two discourses this day were excellent, well calculated to enlighten the uninformed, and inculcate the practical doctrines of Christianity. He spoke with earnestness and effect. Mr. Woodbury's discourse was also directed against Unitarians. This mode of opposing the opinions of others is sure to awaken public attention, and to defeat its own aims.

VISIT TO COLUMBIA, S. C.

24th April, Monday. At three o'clock in the morning left Augusta for Columbia. Passed through Edgefield, where I saw a black man with a rope round his neck, one end of which was in the hand of a white man on horse-back, who was thus driving the negro like an unruly brute. The black was encumbered with a heavy burden on his back, and was obliged to keep pace at some times with the horse at full trot. It was a cruel and barbarous sight, but too common to make any impression on the people. Slept on the borders of Lexington County.

25th April, Tuesday. Arrived in Columbia at eleven in the morning, after a tedious and monotonous ride from Augusta, — pine barrens, unceasing sands, clouds of negroes where any vegetation appears. Edgefield is the only town on the route. Lexington is a small settlement amidst a waste of pines. Called on Dr. Cooper, President of Columbia College, and presented my letter of introduction; conversed with him a short time, and with Professor Nott; am to meet them again in the morning to be introduced to the proper person for giving me access to the papers in the Executive Department.

26th April, Wednesday. Dr. Cooper called at eight o'clock, and introduced me to Mr. McCord, a gentleman

of the bar. Mr. McCord walked with me to the State House, and by his aid I was introduced to the keepers of the records and papers in the Executive Department, the Assembly, and Senate. Professor Nott likewise accompanied me. Proposed first to examine the papers in the Senate; and Professor Nott reconciled the keeper to this proposition by assuring him that he would remain with me during my investigations, and make himself responsible for the safe-keeping and proper treatment of the papers. Mr. Chapman, the keeper, seemed to regard me with suspicion, and looked at me as he would do at a land speculator who was in search of some mysterious document, and might do mischief by gaining too much knowledge. His scruples were happily quieted, however, by the plain statement of the case which I made to him, and by the interest shown in my behalf by the gentleman already mentioned. The result was, that all things were given in charge to Professor Nott, who remained with me in the Senate Chamber till two o'clock, aiding me in looking over the papers.

Dined with Mr. McCord, in company with a dozen gentlemen, among whom were Judges Nott, Johnson (of the upper country), and Colcock; also Mr. Preston, Mr. Desaussure, Mr. Butler, Mr. Bullard, and Holmes. Dr. Cooper came in after dinner. It was a very agreeable party. The conversation was that of men of intelligence, observation, and knowledge of the world. Professor Vanuxem, of the college, was of the party. Politics were duly considered. It was agreed that Everett's notions of slavery in his speech were calculated to make him popular at the South. The college in this place is flourishing by the patronage of the legislature. Money is often granted for the purchase of books, and there is at this time an appropriation of this sort. It is supposed that Professor Henry will go out to Europe to make the purchase.

27th April, Thursday. Devoted the whole day to researches among the records in the State House, with as much success, on the whole, as I had reason to expect. Professor Nott has aided me. Passed the evening at President Cooper's in company with the professors and several gentlemen of Columbia. Dr. Cooper possesses a vast fund of knowledge on almost all branches of science and general literature. His mind is capacious, quick, and fertile. He is not a voluble talker, but he speaks to the point, clearly and appropriately. The conversation turned on Professor Stuart's article on the Hebrew Pentateuch in the last number of the "North American Review." Dr. Cooper expressed a decided disapprobation of the argument, said it was defective in many points, and proposed to reply to it, if I would insert a reply in the "Review." I declined on the ground that controversy is as far as possible excluded from the work.

28th April, Friday. Finished my investigations in the offices, having looked over the journals, and marked such parts as I wish to have copied.

The old colonial journals of the Council are very full and in perfect preservation from the first settlement of the State down to the end of the year 1774. In these volumes I have found but very little relating to the Revolution. They are rich in matters of colonial history, particularly relating to the Southern Indians. There are upwards of forty folio volumes.

The journal of the Senate commences with January 8, 1782, after which it is complete. Whatever bears on the history of the Revolution I have selected. There were, probably, previous records of the Senate, but they are not now to be found.

The journals of the Assembly are complete from October, 1768, to April 15, 1775, except the first part of the year 1772, where the records of one session are missing.

The volume wanting is marked No. 35. The Provincial Congress took the name and character of an Assembly on the 27th March, 1776, and the journal is continued from that date till October 20 following, when it suddenly breaks off, and nothing more appears till January 8, 1782. On that day the Assembly met at Jacksonsborough.

On the 26th of February the House adjourned to meet at Jacksonsborough on the second Monday in August following. But the next record is at Charleston, July 7, 1783, at the beginning of a session; whence it follows that no journal remains of the second session at Jacksonsborough, even if any took place.

In no part of the archives in the State House have I succeeded in finding any letters of any sort, either on file or in letter-books. These must all have been kept by individuals; many are probably in the possession of the heirs of Governor Rutledge. These are exceedingly important in the Revolutionary history of South Carolina, as well also as the journal of the Assembly from 1776 to 1782, a space of six years, during the most active part of the struggle.

Mr. Desaussure of this place has put into my hands a volume entitled "Extracts from the Journals of the Provincial Congress of South Carolina, held at Charleston, Nov. 1 to Nov. 29, 1775. Printed by Peter Timothy. 1776. Charleston." 8 vo, pp. 165. With the same volume is bound the proceedings of the second session of the same Congress, from February 1 to March 30, 1776, pp. 167. At the close of this latter session the new constitution was adopted on the 26th of March; the Congress took the name of Assembly; and John Rutledge was chosen the first governor. It has been said that this was the first *written* constitution put forth in the colonies. I have heard the same said of Virginia. Which is correct? South Carolina obtained permission of the Continental Congress to institute a new form of government.

I think I have seen it somewhere stated that the proceedings of the *first Provincial Congress* were published. If so, the work, together with this volume, would constitute an accurate account of the proceedings of the revolutionists for the years 1775 and 1776. Laurens was president of the first Congress, and Drayton of the second. I find the following entry in page 8 of the volume mentioned above: "Colonel Laurens delivered up to his successor in the chair all the letters, papers, etc., which had come into his hands as President of the late Congress, President of the Council of Safety, and Chairman of the General Committee." Hence there were documents of a public nature at this early period which must have interest. It is stated, moreover, in the printed journal of proceedings, that the proceedings of the Council of Safety were read to the Congress from time to time till the whole were completed. At this time, it seems, the Council of Safety was appointed by the Congress to sit with full powers during the adjournment of Congress. Now the journals of this Council of Safety, as well as of the Committee of Intelligence, constitute highly important documents. It would seem most probable that they fell into the hands of Governor Rutledge, and are still among his private papers.

I have engaged Professor Nott to employ a copyist to transcribe for me all the materials, which I have marked as suited to my purpose, in the archives of South Carolina.

Dined at Mr. Preston's in company with several gentlemen whom I had before met. Since leaving Boston, I have not found a more intelligent, literary, and hospitable society than in this place. The college, doubtless, has an influence on the literary air of the place. Mr. Preston is a polished, well-informed man, and I am highly indebted to him for his assiduous civilities. Indeed, I may extend

the same remark to Mr. McCord, Professor Nott, and Judge Cooper. I have been treated by these and other gentlemen with marked kindness and attention. Professor Henry, who is engaged in translating Niebuhr, has been confined to his house by illness. I called on him to-day. He is a little discouraged in his undertaking, from the report of a translation being in preparation in England, and from the ill reception with which his proposal has been received by the publishers. He intends to proceed, however, and by the strong solicitations of his friends it is probable he will publish the work by subscription.

The college library is rich in valuable editions of the best works, and is constantly increasing by annual appropriations of the legislature. The college is now unquestionably in a very flourishing condition. It occupies an elevated and beautiful site. The president and professors live within the college grounds. The edifices are surrounded with trees and gardens.

29th April, Saturday. In the morning visited the Lunatic Asylum, and other parts of the town, in company with Mr. McCord and Professor Nott (Henry J. Nott). The asylum is a magnificent edifice, but as yet unfinished. It is probable that the State has been more bountiful in erecting this establishment than the exigency of the case required. The cost has been so great (more than \$100,000) that the patience of the legislature has become exhausted, and they have refused to make appropriations for completing the building. It may be supposed, however, that it will not be suffered to fall to ruins in its present stage. We passed several elegant private residences in different parts of the town, and, among others, those of General Wade Hampton and General John Taylor. The water-works supply the town with water by forcing it to a reservoir by steam, as in Philadelphia. A

new Catholic Church is erecting, which is a tasteful piece of architecture.

Left Columbia at twelve o'clock, and arrived at Camden (thirty-four miles) same evening.

30th April, Sunday. At Camden all day. Called towards evening on Mr. Deas, a senator in the legislature of South Carolina, to whom I had a letter. He rode with me to Hobkirk's Hill, one mile north of Camden, and showed me the battle-ground at that place. Took coffee at his house, and passed an hour with several persons. Then called on Dr. Blanding with a letter from Dr. Cooper; was entertained by Dr. Blanding with a minute account of the battle six miles north of Camden, in which the British under Cornwallis conquered the Americans under Gates, and in which De Kalb fell. The battle of Hobkirk's Hill, also, was fully explained by Dr. Blanding. The headquarters of the British army were for several months in Camden. De Kalb was mortally wounded, and was brought to town, where he died and was buried. His remains have lately been removed to a more central part of the town, where a plain but handsome and appropriate monument has been erected to his memory by the citizens of Camden. Lafayette laid the corner-stone. It does much credit to the patriotism and good feeling, as well as to the taste, of the people.

1st May, Monday. By stage to Cheraw, about fifty miles from Camden.

2d May, Tuesday. By stage to Fayetteville. The two last days' ride through an exceedingly poor country, consisting of sands and pine barrens. From Augusta to Fayetteville the country is extremely barren, and very thinly inhabited, except on the borders of the rivers and creeks.

RESEARCHES IN NORTH CAROLINA.

3d May, Wednesday. Stage to Raleigh, sixty miles. Free blacks and mulattoes in North Carolina and Tennessee have the privilege of voting, the same as white persons. Country improves as you advance inland. Called in the evening on Mr. and Mrs. Gales, who have just returned from Washington.

4th May, Thursday. Mr. Gales called in the morning, and went with me to the State House and the public offices; introduced me to the Secretary of State and Treasurer. Mr. Hill, Secretary of State, very politely offered me every facility in his power in examining the public documents. Mr. Gales introduced me to the different apartments of the State House. It is a beautiful structure, fitted up for the purpose of receiving Canova's statue of Washington. The arched room in which the statue is placed is exceedingly handsome, and shows this great specimen of art to advantage. The Assembly Room and the Senate Room, particularly the latter, are finished with taste and elegance. I have seen no State House in the Union which can be compared with this, especially in its interior arrangements and beauty. Passed the whole day in the secretary's office, reading the original journals of the Colonial Assembly, marking such passages as indicated the spirit of the Revolution. Dined with Mr. Gales.

5th May, Friday. Perusing the journals all day; find much to my purpose, and am surprised to see at how early a period, and with how much resolution, the people of North Carolina manifested their disapprobation of the English government, — complained of oppression and talked of resistance. In the strong feeling of independence which brought about the final crisis, this State was not behind any in the Union. If circumstances called

this feeling later into action, it was not the less ready to act. On all proper occasions it was exhibited without reserve ; and several of the colonial governors found the Assembly a very untractable body, frequently opposing their views, and calling in question the legality of acts of Parliament, and the justice of royal instructions.

The old journals of Assembly and Council are well preserved in this State, at least from 1750 onward, which is as far back as I have looked. During the Revolution they are full and complete. The journals seem to have been printed every year after 1776, beginning with the first Provincial Congress, held at Hillsborough. It is a little remarkable that not a single copy of the early printed journals is in any of the state offices or the library. I have seen only a few broken numbers, and fear a set cannot be obtained.

Passed the evening at Mr. Gales's, where I met General Jones. He has been much among the Creek Indians ; says they have a regular form of government, with king, council, and legislature ; pass laws which are printed and circulated ; have courts of justice and juries, and several schools supported by themselves.

General Jones told me that Harman Husbands wrote an account of the Regulators in North Carolina. This must be a curious work, as Husbands was himself a ringleader, and shut out by name from the general pardon. He removed to Pennsylvania, and headed the Whiskey Insurrection in that State.

Judge Murphy is now engaged in writing a history of the State of North Carolina. Much is expected from his undertaking. It is supposed he will have access to the papers which Mr. Francis H. Martin has been for many years collecting with a view to preparing a history of the State. The original materials in the public offices are also abundant. Thirty years ago Mr. Martin was pub-

lisher of the "North Carolina Gazette," and has enjoyed peculiar facilities for collecting historical materials. Mr. Murphy has also devoted himself much to the interests and progress of the State. His pamphlets on the internal improvements of North Carolina, although perhaps a little too sanguine, are nevertheless creditable to him as a writer and a man of liberal views and research.

6th May, Saturday. Employed all day in the office of the Secretary of State examining files of letters. I have looked through the files for the years 1777 and 1778. They were written chiefly to Governor Caswell, the first governor of North Carolina under the new constitution. The principal writers are, the President of Congress, the delegates in Congress from North Carolina, Governor Rutledge, of South Carolina, Governor Henry, of Virginia, General Lincoln, and the officers of the North Carolina army and militia; and, also, copies of Governor Caswell's answers. All these are safely preserved, though not well arranged.

The most curious and valuable letters for these two years are those from Mr. Thomas Burke, a delegate in Congress from North Carolina, to Governor Caswell. It was Mr. Burke's custom to take sketches of the debates in the old Congress. The most important of these he sent to Governor Caswell, and also wrote him very frequently and fully respecting the proceedings of Congress, and views of its members. These letters and sketches I have read with great interest, and directed copies to be taken of parts. Mr. Burke was a spectator at the battle of Brandywine, and one letter gives a very minute account of the action. He very freely censures General Sullivan, and considers his ill-judged movements the chief cause of the failure. He charges him with culpable negligence in not having acquainted himself with the roads and ground, and thereby making irretrievable blunders in not meeting

the enemy at proper points. From Mr. Burke's letters, it seems that the controversy about state rights and the powers of Congress began very early, even before the Confederation. He says distinctly that, in his opinion, Congress should have no power except such as was expressly delegated by the States. His letters on this subject were written in 1777.

There is a curious letter from Henry Laurens to Governor Caswell, written I think in 1778. Laurens was at that time president of Congress, and it seems the North Carolina delegates were highly displeased at some of his measures in that capacity. These delegates drew up a paper on the subject, which they proposed to send to Governor Caswell, and which they first submitted to the inspection of Laurens. He was much offended with the language used by the delegates, and the letter in question was written privately to Governor Caswell, charging the delegates with undue warmth, and of having been betrayed into misrepresentations. He speaks with much displeasure, and a little violence. Among other things Laurens says that he would tell it as a secret to Governor Caswell, that there was a party in Congress determined to "hunt him down," as he expresses it, and evidently considers himself ill-treated without a cause. I have not been able to find the letter of the delegates to which he refers. Burke was evidently an excitable man, as may be seen from his letters, apt to form hasty opinions, and indulge in conjectures.

Among the files are many letters from Governor Rutledge and Patrick Henry, then governor of Virginia. Rutledge's letters are short, and contain nothing but the simple matter in hand, appearing to be written by a man under a heavy pressure of business. As records of history they are not of much value. They relate mostly to the army, and are commonly written to urge on the North Carolina troops to the defense of Charleston.

Patrick Henry's letters are also short, and contain little matter. They are of a very different character, however, from Rutledge's, not indicating so much a man of incessant and oppressive occupation as of indolence and aversion to writing. Rutledge writes like one who has not time to say more, but Henry like one who struggles against nature to put on paper the little that comes from him.

7th May, Sunday. In the morning attended service at the Presbyterian Church, and heard Dr. McPheeters; in the afternoon at the Episcopal Church, and heard Bishop Ravenscroft. Thin congregations at both places. The Methodists said to be the most numerous sect here.

Looked over a work entitled "The Civil and Political History of the State of Tennessee, from the Earliest Settlement up to the Year 1796, including the Boundaries of the State. By John Haywood. Printed, Knoxville, 1823." 8 vo, pp. 504. The details of the work are too minute to be of general interest, but the author seems to have thoroughly possessed himself of his subject. The accounts of Indian treaties, wars, the first sales and settlements of lands, boundaries, and particulars in the history of North Carolina, are full. As a local history it is a work of value, but too diffuse on local topics for general reading.

8th May, Monday. The morning passed in reading the original letters on Revolutionary matters in the office of the Secretary of State. The files stop in the middle of the year 1780. In the governor's office I found letters of 1782 and onward, but for 1781, the most interesting year of the war in the Southern States, no letters were found in any of the offices; and after that date the originals are missing, the contents only being registered in books prepared for the purpose. For the years 1782, 1783, and 1784, the letters from Hugh Williamson, author of the "History of North Carolina," are numerous. He was

then in Congress, and made very full reports to the governor. Some of them I read, but they are verbose and heavy. . . . And yet he was called a sensible man and a learned; and when Everett spoke of him in his proper character, in a review, as a literary man, Dr. Hosack, of New York, took a mortal offense that such freedom should be used in speaking of so much dignity and wisdom. . . .

By the politeness of Mr. Secretary Hill I have been permitted to take copies of several of the letters, which have been deposited in the files, and the originals he has given to me. Some of them are curious as being the autographs of distinguished men, such as Governor Rutledge, Patrick Henry, Jefferson, Jay, Henry Laurens, Governor Caswell, General Lincoln, and others. I have the letter of introduction which Governor Rutledge gave to Lafayette and Baron De Kalb for Governor Caswell, when they first left Charleston to go to Philadelphia and join the army under Washington. These original letters will assist in completing a collection for the purpose of a volume of the facsimile autographs of the Revolutionary heroes and statesmen, which I may one day publish with suitable notices.

Spent an hour or two in the state library. The greatest wonder there is Lawson's "History of Carolina," a small, thin, quarto volume, printed in London, 1718. Three or four years ago it was purchased at the sale of a deceased person's property, for the state library, at the price of *sixty dollars!* There were several competitors, and by the competition it was run up to that price, the most remarkable instance of the bibliomania, probably, which has occurred in this country.

Three versions have been made of the laws of North Carolina: first, Iredell's "Laws of North Carolina," in one volume folio, published in 1790; secondly, Francis Xavier Martin's "Laws of North Carolina," in one quarto

volume, published in 1804, and another thin volume afterwards; and thirdly, a revision, with notes by Judges Taylor, Potter, and Mr. Yancey, published by Gales in 1825, in two volumes octavo. This last is much the best. Iredell's is valuable in a historical point of view, as it gives more of the old laws.

I have agreed with Mr. Hill to copy all the papers which I have selected for the purpose in his office, and requested Mr. Gales to send me the manuscripts, and also to procure for me the old printed journals.

Passed the evening at Mr. Gales'. From this amiable family, in all its branches, I have received many tokens of kindness, and never more than during my present visit to Raleigh. I leave them with reluctance.

RETURN TO RICHMOND.

9th May, Tuesday. Set off at three o'clock in the morning in the stage-coach for Richmond. This upper road is much more agreeable to the traveler than the lower one, which I passed from Norfolk to the south, — more marks of industry and comfortable living, — some pleasant country residences and well-cultivated plantations. The *scuppernong* grape is abundant on this road. The North Carolina wine of that name, however, is chiefly made in the low country near Plymouth and Washington. It is much used in North Carolina, and a demand is increasing in other quarters. A ready market is obtained for all that is made. I saw one vineyard near Warrenton, where the owner is preparing to make wine. The grape runs into widespreading vines, which are supported by frames; so that a vineyard makes one continued canopy. The vine will not grow if cut short in the European mode. The bark of the vine is smooth, and resembles the bark of a small hickory bush; the leaf is much smaller

than with other grapes. The branches are extremely numerous, and intertwine themselves very closely.

I have not yet said anything about the eatables of the South. One word on that subject. At this season I have found very little but ham, corn bread, rice, and eggs, in their various modifications and combinations. Corn is cooked with much more skill than at the North, and is made a palatable as well as most wholesome food.

Large hominy is prepared by taking the hull from the corn, cracking the kernels, and is cooked by boiling, — sometimes mixed with beans. It is an excellent dish for dinner.

Small hominy is prepared from very coarse Indian meal, with the flour sifted out, the hull removed, and then boiled, — something like New England hasty pudding. It is commonly set on for breakfast, and eaten with butter.

Corn bread and *corn cakes* are of various kinds, but all good. A coarse corn bread is made, which is set on warm at every meal. In some places I have found it the best thing on the table, and have made many a meal of this and ham and eggs. There is an excellent kind of corn cakes, almost always seen at breakfast, made of the finest flour, and baked very thin and of different dimensions, from three to six inches diameter. I was told that meal, eggs, and milk composed their constituent parts. They are light and well-flavored. It is a rare thing to see in the south country cold bread of any sort. Corn bread, in fact, becomes heavy and clogging when cold.

Rice cakes are made in various ways in South Carolina. One way is to boil the rice soft, and then bake it into cakes; another is to make their cakes of rice flour. In this state they resemble the corn cakes. In both forms they are excellent.

Buckwheat cakes, in their best estate, are almost pecu-

liar to Maryland and Virginia. I have eaten none, in any other place, which were anything better than humble imitations of those in the above States.

The best *oysters* in America are to be had in Norfolk, from the streams that run into the Chesapeake, particularly York River.

Canvas Back Ducks are found in perfection only in one place, which is the Chesapeake Bay, at Havre de Grace, where the Susquehanna empties into the bay. So much for my knowledge of culinary matters. In Richmond people eat sturgeon.

10th May, Wednesday. Rode all night, and arrived in Richmond at sunset to-day. Met Judge Marshall last evening at the town of Monroe, on the Roanoke River. He was on his way to hold his circuit court in Raleigh, and traveling in a sulky. He said he much preferred the stage for its expedition, but could not travel nights. Passed half an hour very agreeably with him. He spoke of Canova's statue of Washington at Raleigh; said he was no judge of the art, but was bound to suppose it a *chef d'œuvre*; he was glad the country had a specimen of art of so high an order, but said it gave no impressions of Washington, — it was not like him in any respect whatever. Houdon's statue, in the State House of Virginia, he observed, is a very exact representation of Washington, particularly if you view it in a position so as to look at the figure between the front and left side.

A case of libel is to come on at Raleigh, which the judge seemed to dread exceedingly. It is a case between two clergymen, Mr. Whitaker and Dr. McPheeters. A good deal of excitement exists on the subject, and the decision must involve principles which present legal difficulties and perplexities.

Petersburgh has the appearance of more thrift and business than almost any town I have seen at the South. It is a market for cotton, tobacco, and flour.

Talked politics with a man who had many words, but few ideas; much prejudice, but little knowledge.

11th May, Thursday. Read Chesterfield's letters before breakfast, an odd volume of which I found on my table, — a strange mixture of fine thoughts, elegant diction, knowledge of the world and of books, lively and fertile imagination, sense of right action, and loose principles of morals. There are few more fascinating writers than Chesterfield, and few who should be read with more caution. Went early to the Council Chamber, where Mr. Richardson, the clerk of the Council, informed me that during my absence the Council had given permission for me to examine and take copies of the journals and papers in the Executive Department. Have passed the whole day in making this examination. (See an account of the nature and extent of these papers in this journal, under the date of April 19th.) The journals of the Council begin with 1776, and are extremely meagre, being chiefly confined to orders, warrants, and the like. Correspondence and papers of interest are referred to as on file, and never entered on the journals. All that is of historical value I have noted. The volume containing the letters of the Committee of Correspondence is exceedingly important. I have directed the whole to be copied.

The governors' letter-books begin with January 1, 1781. The first volume and half of the second contain letters written entirely by Mr. Jefferson in five months. I have read these through, and selected such as bear on the general history of the war in the Southern States. It was a most critical period, when Cornwallis was in Carolina, opposed to the army of Greene; and when the British forces were in the Chesapeake, making incursions into the country, and Steuben and Lafayette were commanding the Virginia forces. The state of affairs was exceedingly perplexing to the governor, and the letters written

by Jefferson were in number prodigious, in addition to other public business. One is astonished to see how many letters to different persons, and on every variety of subject, were frequently written on the same day. General Washington, the president of Congress, the Virginia delegates, Generals Greene, Lafayette, and Steuben, he was in almost daily correspondence with; besides the commanders of an expedition under General Clarke, then acting against the Indians; and letters without number to the militia officers in different parts of the State, urging them to bring forward with all possible dispatch the quotas of militia into the field; and letters to commissaries respecting provisions for the army in various quarters. In addition to this, he attended the Council nearly every day. In all these labors are seen the same untiring activity, and exhaustless resources of mind, for which Jefferson has always been so eminent, and which have made him one of the most remarkable men of the age. These letters often contain remarks throwing light on the principles, as well as the history, of the Revolution. They give a better account of the campaign in Virginia, in 1781, than all the written histories put together. In fact, no written history has explained the events clearly.

Evening at Mr. Wickham's. Met there Mr. Benjamin Watkins Leigh, of whom the Virginians boast as a man of distinguished talents. He married Mr. Wickham's daughter; talks well.

12th May, Friday. Looked through the letter-books of the governors of Virginia till 1784. Governor Nelson, who succeeded Mr. Jefferson, wrote almost no letters. His health was too poor to allow him to attend to public business. He was chosen by the legislature, while in session at Staunton, June 12, 1781. Mr. Jefferson's term of office expired on the 3d, so that for nine days Virginia was without a governor. The British came to Charlottes-

ville, and the legislature fled to Staunton. Governor Harrison succeeded Nelson, who resigned in a few months. Harrison's letters are numerous, and some of them well written, but in this respect they are far behind Jefferson's. I have selected the best of those relating to the general history of the times.

Was introduced to the clerk of the Assembly, who gave me access to the documents in his department. The journals begin with 1776. There is one volume of the journal of the House of Burgesses for 1770-71, — no other colonial journals, and, as far as I can learn, no other colonial papers, except one or two old volumes of the Council matters, as heretofore mentioned. It would hence seem that there are not in existence any manuscript materials for a colonial history of Virginia. This history must be written wholly from such printed books as are now in being. Several particulars are collected in Henning's statutes which had not before been printed. Some ancient private manuscripts, I believe, are to be found. The journals of the Assembly are dry, and meagre in details. The acts afford a much better view of passing events, particularly in connection with the governor's letters for the time.

The races have taken place in Richmond the present week. All ranks take an interest in them, — gentlemen, ladies, mechanics, and negroes. The town is full of strangers, — taverns thronged, and all the fatigued travelers' plans of quiet and rest disconcerted and circumvented. John Randolph was here yesterday, with the appearance and manners of a madman. He carried in his hand a large purse of silver coin; with this he went to the races. He talked wildly, and behaved extravagantly.

13th May, Saturday. All day in the Council Chamber, reading the letters on file written to the governor of Virginia by Washington, Lafayette, and Steuben. There are many from each, — Lafayette's the most numerous,

amounting, I should think, to a hundred; about half of them written by his own hand. Nearly all the letters by the three persons above were written in 1781, previously to the capture of Cornwallis. One letter from Lafayette to Patrick Henry was written in Paris, 1785. Some of Lafayette's letters, particularly those written when he first commenced his march to take command of the forces in Virginia, are exceedingly interesting, and show him to have been a man of much more intellectual power at that time than he has usually had credit for. He speaks wisely and profoundly of the state of the contest, and the object to be gained, and always with an unfeigned warmth in favor of the cause in which he was engaged. Previously to his arrival in Virginia, Steuben had the command of the Continental troops and militia in that State. He was superseded by Lafayette as the senior officer. Steuben's letters relate chiefly to the militia of the State, and contain incessant applications to the government for new levies, clothes, arms, and provisions, till at length his patience became nearly exhausted. The tenor of many of Lafayette's is of the same kind. The fact is, the State was so much harassed by being made the centre of the war that it was not possible to raise men and provide for them with the expedition that was necessary. I have directed the best of Lafayette's letters to be copied, as well as those of Washington and Steuben. Taken in connection with Mr. Jefferson's letters as governor, they exhibit a most vivid picture of the war, and its mode of prosecution.

14th May, Sunday. Attended the Episcopal service in the "Monumental Church." The Bishop (Moore) was present, but one young man read the service, and another preached. The church stands on the same spot where the theatre was burnt several years ago, and many persons' lives were lost. In the portico is a marble monument,

a sort of cenotaph, on which are inscribed the names of the persons destroyed by the fire. Hence the name of the church. It has never been finished, and the portico, with stone columns and masonry, is already falling into ruins. It exhibits a melancholy spectacle, and does little credit to the taste, the enterprise, or the religious feelings of the citizens of Richmond. The City Hall is the handsomest edifice in the city. The Capitol is a clumsy and false, although an imposing, specimen of architecture.

15th May, Monday. Till three o'clock in the Council Chamber, perusing papers, chiefly letters from distinguished officers of the Revolution to the governors of Virginia. There is a bundle of letters from Cornwallis and Guy Carleton, relating principally to exchange of prisoners; and also a large bundle from Count de Grasse, Rochambeau, and other French officers; also from the French minister in Philadelphia,—all relating to the French troops while stationed in Virginia. Their interest is principally of a local nature, and they contain very few facts of historical importance.

It is remarkable that they are nearly all written in English, but with the French idiom so strongly marked as to show that they were written by Frenchmen. The chirography is French. I observed that Baron de Steuben's letters were written in English, and by a person of English education. I have seen but one letter written with his own hand, and that was in French. He was unpopular in Virginia, from not knowing the genius and feelings of the people. Lafayette was more successful, having more prudence and a better understanding of these points. He was reserved in action where he was ignorant, always professing the greatest respect for the institutions of the country, seeking knowledge, and exercising gentleness and moderation. I read a letter of General Greene's to-day, written at the time, and speak-

ing in the highest praise of Lafayette's command in Virginia. Many letters from Greene are on the files which I have looked over to-day, — some of them written in a vigorous strain, and indicating not more a great commander than a man of high intellectual power and knowledge of mankind. I marked several to be copied. On file are also several letters from General Morgan, — two or three in his own hand very curious. He was illiterate, and made strange work with the Roman characters, but a bright sunshine of mind shines out everywhere. I do not remember to have seen compositions so illiterate among any of the letters of the Revolutionary worthies, except General Rutherford, of North Carolina, who hardly spelt a single word right, or formed an intelligible character. He was a brave, meritorious, and successful officer. I have noticed that almost all the letters I have seen were written by men of respectable education. Marlborough could not spell.

On file also are letters from the Virginia delegates in Congress to the governor for the years 1781–1785. I examined them, but found very little worth copying. It was a custom for the delegates to write once a week to the governor, and he as often to them. The consequence is, that many of the letters are empty and dry. One from Mr. Monroe at the close of the session in 1784, relating to the controversy about Vermont, and other matters, is valuable. Mr. Jefferson wrote a few letters during that session, before his appointment to France, but they are lost. This is to be regretted, for no man of the time threw so much solid matter into his compositions as Mr. Jefferson.

A curious proposal was made to Congress in 1782 by the celebrated Polish adventurer, Bereowsky, to raise a legion of cavalry. It met with the approbation of Washington and a committee of Congress, but was rejected

apparently on the ground that, from the then state of things, it was doubtful whether the war would be prosecuted. Bereowsky then made the proposal to the State of Virginia, through the delegates in Congress. It was referred to the legislature by Governor Harrison, but not accepted, chiefly for the reasons that prevailed against it with Congress. Copies of all the papers are on file, and an original letter to the Assembly by Bereowsky, and also the original letter of the Virginia delegates recommending the proposal to the governor. Bereowsky, by these papers, appears to have been a near relative of Pulaski, and to have served with him in Poland. He purchased a ship at Baltimore, which he armed, and went to Madagascar, where he was killed by the French while he was attempting to fortify himself. The lives of few men have been marked by more eccentricity and romance than that of Bereowsky. I have directed copies to be taken of all that is important in the above papers.

I have at length closed my researches in Virginia. Have agreed with Mr. John W. Pleasants, assistant clerk of the Council, to copy all I have selected from different documents. The clerk of the Council is Mr. William H. Richardson. The gentleman with whom I can hereafter correspond in arranging matters, making payment, and sending on the copies, is Prentice Chubb, Esq., Richmond.

As to materials for colonial history, I have found nothing whatever in the archives of Virginia. Except one or two old volumes of Council journals, there is absolutely nothing previously to 1776, and almost nothing till 1781.¹ Everything disappeared when Arnold burnt Richmond. In North Carolina the materials are very meagre for a colonial history, — next to nothing. In South Car-

¹ In the Library of Congress are printed journals of the House of Burgesses from 1740 and onwards to the Revolution.

olina the Council journals are perfect, making more than forty volumes. In Georgia I found nothing colonial, except two or three odd volumes of journals, which are not worth looking through. Nowhere have I seen any letters, or official documents, relating to the events of the Provincial Government, and, except the volumes of Council journals in South Carolina, I do not think there is anything to be consulted for a colonial history in the Southern States, except what is in print. Further east the case will doubtless be found widely different.

RETURN TO WASHINGTON.

16th May, Tuesday. Stage from Richmond to Potomac Creek, seventy-eight miles. That strange, eccentric being, John Randolph, was in company. He talked all day; his memory is prodigious. He touched upon all subjects, — literature, politics, theology, history, with quotations innumerable from the Latin and English classics. His mind is a storehouse filled to overflowing. He was in good humor and high spirits nearly all day, and, as there was but one gentleman besides myself in the stage, his conversation was carried on almost entirely with me. My task was not a hard one, however, as he talked incessantly; and, indeed, if his conversation were printed, it would be quite as entertaining, profound, and versatile as his speeches during the present session in the Senate. It was literally a speech of twelve hours in length. He talked much of himself, his early life, political course, and private affairs; and he was particular in tracing up the genealogy of his family through both channels of father and mother. He traced the chain on the father's side to Pocahontas, and was evidently proud of being descended from the aborigines of the country. As usual he was full of his denunciations of the present government and its measures. He mourned in bitter terms over what he called the fallen

state of Virginia, and said the old gentry had disappeared and been displaced by a set of people who disgraced their ancestors. In fact, a great drawback on the pleasure to be derived from his conversation was his ill-natured attacks upon character, and incessant grumbling at the degeneracy of men and of the times. He is vain, and was evidently pleased to see the multitude gaze at his singularly fantastic dress. He said people thought him mad, but that they were mistaken. He recognized me, as I had been somewhat acquainted with him four years ago in Washington. I had also been a classmate and intimate friend of his favorite nephew, who died in England soon after he left college. To this nephew he was extremely attached. He told me that he was his sole tutor from his infancy, till the time of his going to Cambridge, his father having died when he was an infant. No student had entered college better qualified than young Randolph, particularly in the Latin language. I mentioned this to his uncle, who was evidently pleased with it. "I can believe it, sir," said he; "I took great pains with the boy. I had nearly forgotten my Latin. I learnt it anew that I might be able to teach him. I taught after the plan of Horne Tooke; he learnt with great rapidity; the only punishment I ever inflicted on him was to take away his *Cæsar* when he had recited a lesson badly; I put it in my own library with a remark on the title-page expressive of my disapprobation; he found the book, and was overcome with grief; he never faltered again, sir. I took him from his mother before he could speak; he slept in his crib by my bedside; I was his friend, his guardian, his father, his instructor, his all; he had no other teacher or guide; he answered my fullest hopes; I sent him to Cambridge, sir, where he was ruined. He was suffered to incur expenses, and live in a style of extravagance, which would turn the head of any young man. The

unpardonable negligence of his tutors at Cambridge I cannot forget; it was their fault that such things should be allowed."

Thus he talked about his nephew for a long time, and the circumstance of my having been his intimate friend and classmate seemed to open the heart of the uncle, and to bring back recollections that wrought upon him with no little effect. His prepossessions against Harvard were evidently strong, and in a good degree false. I endeavored to correct them, as far as delicacy would permit; he listened patiently, and shook his head in silence; and closed the subject by saying: "There's something wrong, — I will not say rotten, — there's something wrong in Denmark." I confess I could say little to much purpose in extenuation of the neglect of the government of college in allowing openly, as certainly was done, the extravagant expenses of Randolph, in dress, horses, carriages, etc. Taken all in all, he was one of the most promising, perhaps the most promising young man, who has been at Cambridge within my knowledge of the institution. I was very warmly attached to him, and knew his mind and attainments perfectly.

17th May, Wednesday. Awoke at five o'clock, and found myself on the steamboat at the wharf in Washington. Took lodgings at Gadsby's; called on friends; visited the Capitol, listened to the debates, met many Representatives whom I had formerly known; at night was more fatigued than after riding one hundred miles in a stage-coach. Washington is a tedious place to all but ambitious, giddy-brained politicians, and those who love to labor and suffer for the public good. Which is the larger class I am not bound to decide.

18th May, Thursday. Passed the whole day in the Congress library, examining the Department on American History and Politics. On American History the li-

brary is exceedingly meagre, containing nothing but a few of the commonest books; but on American politics it is full, particularly to the year 1808, when Mr. Jefferson left the government. It was his habit to preserve pamphlets and papers, and they are all deposited in this library. Dine with E. E. [Edward Everett].

19th May, Friday. In the library; making calls. Dine with Mr. Sampson, the celebrated Irish counselor. He now lives in Georgetown, with his son-in-law, Captain Tone, who is the son of Theobald Wolfe Tone, who made so distinguished a figure during the trouble of Ireland thirty years ago. He was an officer in the French army, and after his death his family came to this country. His widow is now living at Georgetown. A work has just been published, called a "Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone," by his son, Captain Tone. It contains many particulars concerning Ireland. Mr. Sampson has engaged to review it, and to give a history of the "United Irishmen," their grievances, and the events of the times. I met at Mr. Sampson's the celebrated Washington lawyer, Walter Jones, a man renowned for his genius and his indolence. He was rather taciturn, but his talk abounded with ideas.

20th May, Saturday. Mr. Webster told me yesterday that Mr. Clay, Secretary of State, desired to see me, and wished me to call on him before I left town. I had intended to wait on him and obtain permission to examine the Revolutionary documents in the office of the secretary. I called on him to-day at the Department of State. The conversation turned soon on South American affairs, and Mr. Clay, with great apparent frankness, told me that he had read my article in the "North American Review" on the alliance of the Southern republics, and went into a minute explanation of the views of the cabinet in accepting the proposal to join the Congress at Panama. My article had been much referred to in the

debates in Congress on the subject, and its facts and sentiments perverted by the party opposed to the Panama mission. Mr. Hayne, especially, made a very popular speech, the entire basis of which was taken from that article. The misfortune was, that the article stopped too short; it merely went into a brief detail of the objects proposed by the South Americans in regard to their own affairs, without reference to this country; whereas, to have been the most serviceable, and best suited to the times, it should have proceeded to state explicitly the advantages to be derived to the United States from a union with them at the Congress of Panama. In short, when I wrote the article I did not suppose there would be any serious opposition to the mission, but that every person would at once allow that no harm could follow from it, and that much good might result. As things have turned out, the article was rather an injury than a benefit to the cause. Mr. Clay spoke freely, and without the least reserve, concerning the policy of this country in its intercourse with South America, and dwelt particularly on the immense importance of establishing commercial relations on the principles of perfect reciprocity. This he has done, he said, in the new treaty with Guatemala, just ratified by the Senate. He gave me light on these matters, which will be serviceable to me hereafter. On other topics he also touched, and intimated that an article on the use and abuse of patronage, in reference to our Constitution and form of government, would at this time be of service in fixing the views and opinions of the community on this subject. A document, he said, had been communicated to the House of Representatives, containing an account of the appointments made by the several Presidents, which might serve as the basis of the review. His notions seemed to me good, but the plan is evidently intended to strengthen the administration, and it is not

for the interest of the "North American Review" to take up any of these topics in the spirit of party, or with the express view of supporting the administration. On this point it behoves me to be cautious, but it appears to me that an article of a general nature on the above subject will do good.

Mr. Clay consented at once to my request to examine the Revolutionary papers in the Department, at any future period when I should be disposed to do it.

Governor Dickerson of the Senate has given me a letter to Daniel Coleman, Esq., secretary of the State of New Jersey, at Trenton, to whom I shall apply for access to the public papers in that State.

Congress is in a good deal of confusion to-day. The time fixed on for adjournment was Monday, 22d, but yesterday the Senate voted to postpone the day till Thursday. To-day the proposition came before the House, and was rejected. In fact, there seems a strong desire on the part of all the members to be away as soon as possible. They have had a very long, stormy, and unprofitable session, and at this stage of things there is evidently no spirit of conciliation in any quarter.

21st May, Sunday. At church morning and evening, and heard Mr. Little preach. President Adams was present in the morning. I understand he attends Mr. Little's church constantly. He is a man of method, and in nothing more than in his attendance on public worship. Such is the report of the people of Washington.

RESEARCHES IN MARYLAND.

22d May, Monday. Stage to Annapolis, forty-two miles. Called on Chancellor Bland, but he is absent in Baltimore. Gave my letter of introduction to Mr. Culbreth, clerk of the Council, and explained to him my views respecting the public documents and records under

his care. He very kindly offered every facility in his power to enable me to prosecute my inquiries, and to-morrow morning is appointed to commence the business. At tea with Mrs. Bland ; walked with her in the evening to the fort, — a beautiful site at the mouth of the Severn River.

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23d May, Tuesday. All day in the Council Chamber reading journals and manuscript documents. The Revolutionary papers, from the time the new government was organized in 1776, are full, and well preserved. The letters of the governor and Executive Council are copied into books, three volumes of which, coming down to 1784, I have this day read, and have selected the most valuable to be copied. Owing to the circumstance of there having been no great military operations in this State during the Revolution, these letters do not contain so much interesting historical matter as they do in some of the other States. They chiefly relate to the affairs of the State, militia, recruits for the army, clothing, provisions. The correspondence with Lafayette, during his expedition into Virginia in 1781, is the most important on the Revolutionary records of the State. It is observable that all these letters were written in the name of the Council, and not of the governor, and they are thus deprived of that individuality which gives spirit and interest to written communications. The letters seem to have been written by different members of the Council, whereas in Virginia and North Carolina the early letters were evidently written by Governors Jefferson and Caswell.

The journal of the Council is entire, and, indeed, it is nearly perfect from the commencement of the government under the Proprietary. I looked over the volume beginning 1636, and several succeeding ones, well preserved.

24th May, Wednesday. Reading letters on file in

Council Chamber. These also have been well kept. They consist of the letters sent from various quarters to the executive of Maryland during the Revolution, and are filed in alphabetical order. This method is not so good as according to dates, yet I have found little difficulty in recurring to any letter I desired. I have made the fullest use of the letters from the delegates in Congress to the governor, and also of Lafayette's letters, which breathe the author's spirit and enthusiasm. Almost all the letters on the files are from subordinate officers and agents in the State, and of little importance in a general history. A few of these I have selected.

Part of the day I have spent in turning over the "Maryland Gazette," a newspaper published here, and the oldest paper now printed in the United States. It was begun in the year 1745, and the present publisher, Mr. Green, has an entire copy of the whole bound. I began with the year 1765, and marked everything which I discovered bearing on the Revolution. It was an independent paper, and contains many materials. It was begun by the present proprietor's grandfather, continued by his father, and is still kept up, with the same name, by himself. The family have been printers from early times.

25th May, Thursday. Looked at the documents in the office of the clerk of Assembly, and the Land Office; saw records dated 1633, and several volumes of journals of the old House of Assembly. On the whole, it is evident that the materials for a colonial history of Maryland are full, and in a tolerable state of preservation. They are much scattered, however, in the different offices, and no person seems to be acquainted with them, and to know where they can all be found. Bozman examined those of earliest date with great care in preparing for his history of Maryland. They might easily be arranged. Those connected with the Land Office have been copied

and carefully arranged, as was necessary, because they are constantly referred to in verifying titles.

From among the Revolutionary correspondence I selected several letters, written by distinguished men, which Mr. Culbreth offered to submit to the governor and Council, with a view to gain their consent to allow me the originals and take copies in their room.

Have looked the "Maryland Gazette" through from 1760 to 1776, and taken minutes of its political contents.

The proceedings of the House of Delegates, from the first Assembly under the Constitution to the present time, have been printed. I saw a set in Mr. Green's office, but there is no full set in the offices of the State. By a law passed the last session, the executive is authorized to procure a set of these, and the proceedings of the Conventions which governed two years from 1774 to 1776. The proceedings of the conventions were printed at the time.

Left Annapolis at three o'clock P. M., and arrived in Baltimore at sunset. Read Chancellor Bland's memorial to the legislature of Maryland, in which there is much learning and good reasoning on the judiciary of the State.

26th May, Friday. Long conversation with Chancellor Bland on the history of Maryland, and of the United States. The chancellor's knowledge of these subjects is very extensive and accurate. He tells me that he knows but one copy of the journals of the conventions of Maryland, and that is now in his possession, and belongs to Judge Duvall, who was secretary to some of the conventions. The chancellor doubts whether an entire copy can be procured in the State; promises to send to me immediately the above copy for my inspection. The mode of government in Maryland during the two years between the old system and the new is a curious subject of inquiry.

Mr. Williams has furnished me with Bacon's Laws of Maryland, Kilty's Report respecting the English Statutes in force in the State, Kilty's Guide (valuable preface), and Mr. Green, of Annapolis, gave me a copy of Hanson's Laws of Maryland. These materials are abundant concerning the legislative and judicial history of Maryland down to 1790.

27th May, Saturday. Rode out to the Savage Factory, fifteen miles from Baltimore, with Miss S. and Miss N. Williams, and Mr. Young. This establishment is under the charge of Mr. A. A. Williams, and is in all respects one of the best organized in the United States. I have seen none which promises better to the proprietors, or has more local advantages.

28th May, Sunday. At church morning and evening, Mr. Young the preacher. Dine with my friend, Edward Hinkley.

29th May, Monday. Mr. Hinkley agrees to procure for me, as far as it shall be in his power, the following books: —

1. "Proceedings of the Conventions of the Province of Maryland, held in the City of Annapolis on the 22d of June, 1774; on the 21st November, 1774; on the 8th of December, 1774; on the 24th of April, 1775; and on the 26th of July, 1775. Printed by Frederick Green, Annapolis." Small 4to, pp. 26.

2. The same for 7th of December, 1775. 4to, pp. 62.

3. The same for 8th of May, 1776. 4to, pp. 29.

4. The same for 21st of June, 1776. 4to, pp. 33.

5. The same for 14th of August, 1776. 4to, pp. 91.

It was at this last convention that the Constitution of Maryland was adopted. The journal is printed in an abridged form in "Hanson's Laws."

Mr. Hinkley will also endeavor to procure a copy of the "Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates"

from 1776 to 1790; also the journals of the Senate for the same time.

I have engaged Peter H. Cruse to review Wheaton's "Life of Pinkney."

The person with whom to correspond in Annapolis is Thomas Culbreth, clerk of the Executive Council of Maryland.

The five "Proceedings of Conventions" above mentioned, to be procured by Mr. Hinkley, constitute the volume previously mentioned by Chancellor Bland. He sent me the volume, and I took from it the titles and dates as above.

RESEARCHES IN PENNSYLVANIA.

At five o'clock in the afternoon left Baltimore in the steamboat for Philadelphia, and parted from many kind friends. General Bernard, and Mr. Rabello, Brazilian minister to this country, were on board the boat, to both of whom I was introduced. General Bernard is a man of quick parts and abundant information, talks fluently, and is affable and plain in his manners. Mr. Rabello is grave in his deportment, somewhat reserved, and of few words, — not unconciliating in his manners, however, nor disinclined to take a proper share in conversation when he is engaged in it.

30th May, Tuesday. Arrived in Philadelphia in the morning; spent the day in the library of the Philosophical Hall. Looked over twelve volumes of MSS. pertaining to the Revolution, which formerly belonged to Mr. Pettit, commissary in the army. These papers are chiefly valuable as containing many letters written by General Greene while he was Quartermaster-General in 1779. The whole relate to the Commissary's Department, and as such have not much permanent historical value, although among them are many letters from Washington, and other distinguished officers. Dinner with Mr. Vaughan in company with Mr. Astley; tea at Mr. Taylor's.

✓ 31st *May, Wednesday.* All the morning (after writing letters) in the Athenæum, looking over a series of pamphlets which belonged to Dr. Franklin. My attention was chiefly given to volumes thirty and sixty, in which are very copious manuscript notes by Dr. Franklin. These notes were written in England about the year 1767 or 1768, and are on the margin of pamphlets relating to the Stamp Act and the right of the mother country to tax the colonies. Many of them are pointed and characteristic, and show Franklin not only to have understood the subject fully, but to have been a most determined patriot even at this early period. He is particularly full in his remarks on the protest of the Lords against the repeal of the Stamp Act. These notes should be printed in connection with such portions of the text only as are sufficient to explain them. Afternoon in the Philosophical Hall, reading documents relating to the Revolution; was there introduced to Mr. Richard Henry Lee, who has recently published a very creditable memoir of his grandfather. Dined at Mr. Astley's, in company with Professor Hodge, of the Princeton Seminary, and the Rev. Mr. De Witt, of Harrisburgh. In the evening at Professor Patterson's, Dr. Mease's, and Mr. Vaux's. Conversation on Owen's establishment at Harmony. Mr. Vaux had seen gentlemen recently returned from that place, whose accounts are by no means flattering. The Duke of Saxe Weimar, who is now in Philadelphia, was there several days. One of the head men of the establishment said to him, "Sir, we are not Deists, we are Atheists." The building formerly occupied as a church by the Harmonists is now converted into a dancing-room, and used for that purpose on the Sabbath days. It is a part of the plan to have everything in common. There is professedly no religious faith or principle. Under such a system it is in vain to look for morals. In short, this establishment must evidently be-

come the resort of a few misguided though honest enthusiasts, and of a great many vagabonds whom society has cast out. The union is unnatural, and the fabric must fall.

1st June, Thursday. Left Philadelphia at four o'clock A. M. in the stage, and arrived at Harrisburgh at twelve at night, having traveled nearly one hundred miles. The country from Philadelphia to Harrisburgh, through Lancaster, as an agricultural district, is the best I have seen in the United States. It is in a high state of cultivation, and, while the south country is parching with drought, all kinds of vegetation here flourish with luxuriance. Mr. R. H. Lee was in the stage-coach as far as Lancaster. He proposes another edition of the memoir of his grandfather, to be published in Boston. He says there is yet in his possession a great mass of unpublished papers which belonged to Richard Henry Lee, and to Arthur Lee. The former he proposes depositing in the Philosophical Hall at Philadelphia, and the latter in the library of Harvard University. His example is an excellent one, and should be followed. In this way papers will be preserved with much more care, and will be always accessible for historical purposes. Mr. Lee told me that he was preparing to remove from Virginia to Pennsylvania, and that his principal reason was to escape from a slaveholding State. He wished his children to be reared in a free State, believing it essential to their future prosperity and happiness. It was manifest to him, he said, that the slave States were in retrogression, and would continue so; that slavery was not more revolting in itself than mischievous in its effects on the condition of the free population. He was convinced that it is the part of every wise man, who can do it, to escape in time from the evil.

These Pennsylvania stage-coaches I can compare to nothing but Noah's ark; they are receptacles of all liv-

ing things. To-day we had fourteen passengers, nine of whom were females. It was a merry party; such a chattering was seldom heard. There was talk about weddings, engagements, bonnets, ribbons, shopping prices, and various other matters. There was laughing at the gentlemen who were so ungallant as to go to sleep, and nod in a lady's face, much to the discomfiture of her head-dress; then such an array of bandboxes was never seen, stowed away in every corner, and hanging like bird's-nests from the protruding points of the coach. The gay bevy of ladies all left us at Lancaster, and from that place to Harrisburgh I had no other companion than a dark, sullen son of the West, who spoke only in growling monosyllables, and seemed wholly unaware that nature or life had any charms for the heart of man. Night closed over us at length, and it was no unpleasing sensation to hear the wheels at twelve o'clock rattling over the pavements of the capital of Pennsylvania, and to see the stars twinkle in the dim waters of the Susquehanna.

2d June, Friday. Walked over the town in the morning, delivered my letters, and was introduced by Mr. Shunk to the office of the Executive Department. Mr. Trimble, the Deputy Secretary of State, is an old gentleman who has many years occupied his post, and under whose immediate charge the executive papers are kept. I explained to him my views, but he was slow to comprehend; talked of hurry in the office at this time, and other things, till I began to be a little discouraged. He seemed to shrink from the images of large bundles of letters on file which danced before his mind, and huge folio journals, and to say inwardly, "I wish you would not trouble me with these matters." I was not in a relenting mood, however, and went on to talk and explain, till the venerable deputy secretary, apparently to get rid of my importunity, professed to comprehend my meaning, and said, if I would

content myself for a time to read manuscript journals, he should be at leisure to open the files.

I took him at his word, and he produced three volumes of the original minutes of the Committee (or Council) of Safety for Pennsylvania, beginning with June, 1775. Upon these I have been employed the whole day.

A very good library is collected here belonging to the State, many volumes of which were presented by William Penn. It is under singular regulations, being almost entirely shut out from the world by its rules. The legislature consider it the peculiar property of its own body, and restrict its use to themselves alone, and some of the principal officers of the government. By what right do the legislature employ the people's money to buy books, and shut them up from public use? The same question may be asked in regard to the Congress library. It should be the first principle of all libraries to diffuse knowledge by as extensive a circulation of books as possible. The library here is never open at any regular hours except during the session of the legislature. I spent an hour to-day in a negotiation with the librarian and others to devise means for taking a volume from the library and carrying it ten yards, into the secretary's office. The librarian said he had no power to suffer a book to be taken from the rooms, except by persons duly authorized, but suggested that it might be done by an order from the deputy secretary. I propounded the matter to this officer, who turned upon me such a look of amazement as to freeze up instantly the very fountains of hope. "An order, sir! Such a thing was never done in this office." "Sir," said I, "you do not perhaps understand me. By virtue of your office you have power to take books from the library; it is very important for me to have a volume of the printed journals to compare with the manuscripts; and the librarian says you have

only to write a line to him and the volume can be obtained." "Such a thing was never done, sir," he retorted again. I might have replied, "And for a very good reason, I suppose: such a case never before occurred." But this would have been too deep for the deputy secretary, and I was quiet. I said no more, but betook myself seriously to pondering how I could remove the tremendous obstacles, and get the book from the library rooms, in the centre of the State House, into the secretary's office in one of the wings. Half despairing, I at length accosted the deputy secretary again. He opened his eyes, but listened. He would not hear a word as to the order, but reiterated, "Such a thing, sir, was never done." As if a thing which had never been done could never be done! It was in vain to expostulate, and the affair ended in his agreeing to call at the library to-morrow morning, and endeavor to procure the book. So much for absurd library rules and narrow views.

The laws of the State are printed, and also the journals of Assembly, and sent in due proportion to each county from the secretary's office. The printed volumes are just completed, and they are now in the operation of being put into boxes, to be sent to each county. Three thousand copies of the laws and five hundred of the journal are circulated. They are sent in wagons to each county. The journal (but not the laws) is printed in German as well as English. Few of the laws are printed in newspapers. This mode of circulating is a tardy business, and not very effectual.

3d June, Saturday. In the secretary's office all the morning reading the journals of the Committee of Safety, and of the Executive Council, which succeeded that committee. The afternoon I passed in the state library, looking over the printed journals, and works relating to the political history of Pennsylvania.

4th June, Sunday. Attended meeting in the morning, and heard Mr. De Witt preach, who is a Presbyterian minister of this place. I saw him while attending the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and he has been very civil to me since his return to this place. In the afternoon and evening I was not well. . . .

6th June, Tuesday. . . .

. . . Have been all day employed in looking through a bundle of letters, principally written by General Washington and General Wayne to the executive of Pennsylvania. Among these is one of ten folio pages in General Washington's own hand. This is remarkable, as almost all his official letters were copied by his secretaries. Wayne's letters are strikingly characteristic, abrupt, pointed, and good-humored.

Mr. Trimble was secretary to the Council not long after the formation of the new government, which was in 1777. He held this station three years, while Dr. Franklin was president. He says it was Dr. Franklin's custom to come into the Council Chamber at ten o'clock and stay till twelve. He was then infirm, and was commonly brought in a sedan chair. The two hours of his attendance were never regarded as a time of business, but were generally taken up in story-telling. Dr. Franklin was full of his anecdotes; his manner was to be exceedingly grave to the very end of his story, and then to join most heartily in the laugh. Mr. Muhlenberg, the vice-president, a gentleman of much good nature and pleasantry, used to say, after Franklin had retired, "Come, gentlemen, let us come to order; it is time to proceed to business now the president is gone."

It is reported of Franklin that, when the Pennsylvania Convention were about instituting a new form of government, he objected to the plan of a legislature with two branches, and carried his point chiefly by saying that it

was like a wagon with a team at each end pulling in contrary directions. I inquired of Mr. Trimble respecting this point. He said it was true, that Franklin was mainly instrumental in establishing the first form of government in Pennsylvania after the Revolution commenced, and that this consisted of one branch only. His views had been strongly impressed on this subject by the practice of the old Proprietary government in Pennsylvania, where a law must be approved by a second branch before it could go into effect, and where also there was a negative of this branch. He had seen such delays and evils growing out of this system that he had made up his mind that it could not be so modified as to be made beneficial. Experience, however, has proved his mistake. Pennsylvania herself went along very clumsily in the business of government while the first scheme continued in operation, and was in a few years induced to alter the constitution for a more liberal form.

I must not forget to mention that I have this day seen the chair in which the presidents of the old Congress sat, and which bore the weight of Hancock when he signed the Declaration of Independence. It looks like other venerable old chairs. It is now used by the Speaker of the House of Representatives in Pennsylvania. I sat down in it, but was not aware of being inspired by any uncommon measure of political wisdom. When I am in Philadelphia I spend much of my time in the library of the Philosophical Hall. I there sit in Dr. Franklin's chair, which is bequeathed to the society of which he was the first president. The difference between the two is that the former is the chair of a statesman, and the latter of a philosopher. The congressional chair is of mahogany, but little carved, plain in its structure, with a tall back rising some twelve inches above the head, and having a slight gilt ornament near the top. Franklin's chair is more massive,

more antique in appearance, and supplied with various appurtenances which show that its image was first created in the head of a philosopher. These two chairs, and the presidential chair in Harvard College, I take to be the most remarkable specimens of this kind of furniture in America. If age gives precedence, the Harvard chair will doubtless put in the strongest claims; as to other qualities I will not decide.

Passed the evening very agreeably in conversation with Mr. Strickland, the celebrated architect, who is my fellow-boarder. He is now engaged as engineer in surveying the route of a canal which passes near this place, and is a project of considerable magnitude lately undertaken by the State. He has recently returned from Europe, where he has been expressly to perfect himself in the arts, or sciences, for which he seems to have an enthusiastic attachment. He was the architect of the United States Bank in Philadelphia, the finest specimen of Grecian architecture in America. He is now commencing a work in numbers, with elegant drawings, to illustrate the various departments of civil engineering.

7th June, Wednesday. Employed all day in reading the letters on file in the secretary's office, and in the office of the clerk of the Assembly. Mr. William Grimshaw called in the morning. I had a letter to him; he is a lawyer in this place, and the author of a small history of England, and of the United States, designed for schools.

The "Minutes of the Committee of Safety," contained in the office of the Secretary of State, are bound in three volumes, beginning July 3, 1775, and ending March 13, 1777. Dr. Franklin was the first president of this Committee, or Council, and constantly attended when the Continental Congress was not in session. Robert Morris was the next president. Rittenhouse was a member of the board during the second year of its existence, and

was rarely absent from his post. He was Engineer to the Council. The Committee of Safety was appointed by the Assembly, with very extensive powers, embracing all the authority usually given to executive officers, and apparently all other powers but those of making laws and raising money. They ordered new levies, made appointments, built vessels, issued regulations for army and navy, arrested suspicious persons, seized on papers, and imprisoned.

A Council of Safety was instituted immediately after its removal to Lancaster, when driven from Philadelphia by the British. The act authorizing this Council was passed October 13, 1777, at Lancaster; the Council convened October 17th, issuing a proclamation on that day, in which its powers and purposes are set forth. The last record of its proceedings is dated December 6th. It was composed of all the members of the Executive Council, and certain other persons named by the Assembly. It was to be dissolved at any time by the Executive Council; and it was thus dissolved by proclamation December 6, 1777. It was a useless body, as all its duties were easily discharged by the Executive Council.

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8th June, Thursday. Reading letters on file received by the executive, and also letters sent by the executive. Two or three curious particulars came up in a historical point of view, one of which is the account of differences between General Washington and the Council of Pennsylvania. I have directed copies of the whole correspondence to be taken.

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 To-day has been the fair in Harrisburgh. The rabble from the neighboring country has been gathered into the town, and shows, dancing, piping, and various testimonies of rude hilarity have been exhibited. These are demor-

alizing assemblages, and the legislature has passed laws prohibiting fairs ; but the laws could not at once break down a confirmed habit. The fairs are now called market-days by those who lead in them, and thus the law is evaded. The people claim a right to assemble, in a peaceable and orderly manner, when they choose. The law against fairs is dormant.

9th June, Friday. Finished my researches in the offices of state, and left my memoranda in charge of Mr. Trimble. I have engaged Mr. William Grimshaw to attend to the copying of the whole, and to send the manuscript to the care of Mr. Small, Philadelphia.

The materials for a colonial history of Pennsylvania are full. In the secretary's office there is, in manuscript, the journal of the Council of the Province of Pennsylvania, and the territories thereunto belonging, commonly called the "Provincial Record," in nineteen volumes. The first record is dated Philadelphia, January 10, 1683, William Penn himself president of the Council in session. This journal comes down to 1775, when the old Council ceased to exist. From that period the "Minutes of the Council of Safety," and then the "Minutes of the Executive Council," make the series complete to the present time.

"The Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives" have also been published from the beginning. Three volumes, printed by Franklin & Hall in 1752, comprise the period between the first record, December 4, 1682, and 1742. From that time the journal of the House of Representatives has been printed in full. The first two volumes under the new government, and the last under the old, are very important in connection with the history of the Revolution.

The volume of Pennsylvania laws, called "Galloway's Laws," contains such acts as have been printed from

1682 to 1775, in which latter year the work was printed. Then comes "McKean's Laws," in two volumes, beginning where Galloway's closes, and ending with 1781. "Dallas's Laws" come down to 1801, in four volumes. This work embraces none of the early laws, except such as were then in force, but apparently contains all the acts that were passed from 1781 to 1801. Galloway's and McKean's Laws are essential in writing a history of the Revolution.

As I was desirous of inquiring into the condition of the papers left by General Wayne, Governor Findlay politely offered me a letter to his son, who resides in Chester County, near Paoli.

General Bernard, the former Secretary of State, showed me the original charter granted by King Charles to William Penn. It is composed of four large sheets of parchment, with highly ornamented borders, and stitched together in form of a book. He also showed me several Indian treaties, with the uncouth signatures of the chiefs, and the wampum given by Cornplanter to the governor when he ceded his territory. Here are deposited, also, the colors taken from the Hessians at Trenton. There are six or seven stand, much tattered, and they will soon fall to pieces, unless preserved with more care. They were rolled up in a wallet, and thrust into a corner. They were given to Pennsylvania on account of the bravery of her troops in the engagement.

Left Harrisburgh in the stage at two o'clock in the afternoon, and arrived at Lancaster the same evening.

10th June, Saturday. From Lancaster to Paoli. General Evans, to whom I had a letter from Governor Findlay, supplied me with a horse, and I rode to Mr. Wayne's, only one mile distant. Mr. Wayne said his father left a large mass of papers, which he had carefully preserved, but that he had recently put them into the

hands of a person who was preparing a biography of General Wayne, which would be somewhat extensive, and doubtless embrace the most important materials. Mr. Wayne thinks these papers very valuable, as throwing light on the Revolution,—that General Wayne was in constant correspondence with many persons, and preserved all his papers. He supposes the work will be ready in a few months.

Returned to Paoli, and then rode to Valley Forge, about five miles. Here the American army was encamped under Washington while the British had possession of Philadelphia, that is, from December, 1777, to June, 1778, about six months. The scenery of this spot is beautiful. Its local advantages for protecting an army are very great. A small creek here empties into the Schuylkill, on the margin of which arise hills with an abrupt ascent. On the sides of these hills the army was encamped, protected by the Schuylkill on one side, and the ridges of the hills, which are covered with wood, on the other. The house in which General Washington resided is still standing, at the bottom of the valley, near the site of the old Forge, from which the place took its name. The Hon. Isaac Anderson, formerly member of Congress, was present, and explained to me the grounds and stations held by the different branches of the army. He was a young man at the time, but had a distinct recollection of all particulars.

White Marsh, where the army was encamped for a time, is ten or twelve miles below Valley Forge, on the east side of the Schuylkill.

11th June, Sunday. Rode out this morning to see the "Paoli Monument," about two miles from Paoli. General Evans accompanied me. This monument was raised in 1817, to commemorate the event of what has been called "the Massacre of the Troops under General Wayne." On

the night of the 20th of September, 1777, General Wayne was ordered to hang on the rear of the enemy, who was then in this neighborhood, in the valley between Paoli and Valley Forge. A party under General Grey surprised Wayne in his camp, and killed fifty-three men, as recorded on the monument. These men were buried together, and the monument is erected over their remains. General Wayne was censured at the time for allowing himself to be thus surprised, but a court of inquiry cleared him from all censure. Mr. Wayne (Hon. Isaac Wayne) yesterday told me that the thing had never been properly represented; that there was no surprise or massacre, but that General Wayne's men were prepared to receive the enemy, and resisted. The common belief is, however, that Grey's party approached the picket, who fired and was killed; that they took the flints from their guns to prevent any possible alarm, and then marched directly into Wayne's camp, and butchered the men with the bayonet, while many of them were asleep. Wayne was in a log-house at a short distance, and barely escaped. The men had been on hard duty, and were excessively fatigued.

Left Paoli in the stage at two o'clock P. M., and arrived in Philadelphia in the evening.

12th June, Monday. In the Athenæum; called on friends; writing and reading. Walk and talk with Mr. Vaughan, who pointed out to me the place of Franklin's residence, now built over with small houses and crossed with a lane. Mr. Vaughan was intimately acquainted with Dickinson, the author of the "Farmer's Letters," and resided much at Wilmington while Dickinson lived there. This was the time in which discussions on the Federal Constitution ran high. Mr. Vaughan urged Dickinson to write on the subject, and he at length consented. He produced a series of articles with the signature of *Fabius*. The condition was, that no person but

Mr. Vaughan should know the author, and nearly all the essays were taken by him from Dickinson at Wilmington, and were first published in an obscure paper in Philadelphia to insure secrecy. The editor supposed them to come from Lancaster. They were immediately copied into other papers and circulated widely. Dickinson afterwards published a second series of the letters of *Fabius*, in which he inclined more to the French politics than suited the old party.

Mr. Small, the bookseller, told me to-day that Judge Washington, some months ago, offered him the copyright of three or five volumes of "General Washington's Letters," and asked him \$10,000.

Passed the evening with Mr. Walsh, who is always agreeable in conversation, quick in thought, fluent in language, and fertile in anecdote. Mr. Hopkinson and Dr. Chapman were also present part of the evening. There are few brighter and livelier minds than that of Mr. Hopkinson. He is a stanch defender of Hunter against the article in the 50th No. of the "North American Review," and believes Hunter will reply. Dr. Chapman doubted not that Hunter was an impostor; Mr. Walsh thought the evidence against him strong, but was willing to suspend his opinion. There is no tracing the root of prejudice. I find persons here who suppose Governor Cass, in the article above mentioned, remarked freely on Long's expedition to gratify an old pique; and Mr. Walsh repeated what he had before written to me, that it was a settled thing for Cass, Clinton, and Schoolcraft to puff each other, and decry everybody else that writes on Indians, or anything else which comes in contact with them. In this matter I doubt not that Mr. Walsh's imagination has led him astray. But whose does not?

RESEARCHES IN DELAWARE.

13th June, Tuesday. One hour in the morning in the library of the Philosophical Society. Left Philadelphia in the stage at eight o'clock for Wilmington, and arrived there at half past one. Visited Mr. Victor Du Pont, to whom I had a letter from Mr. Vaughan. The establishment of the brothers Du Pont is four miles up the Brandywine from Wilmington. The situation is on the bank of the river and romantic. Victor Du Pont has been known as a politician of some note in France. In this retreat he lives in a style of considerable elegance. He gave me a letter to Henry M. Ridgely, Secretary of the State of Delaware. He is himself a member of the Senate of the State. Returned to Wilmington in the evening, and lodged there.

14th June, Wednesday. Agreed with Messrs. Henry and Albert Wilson, editors of the "Delaware Watchman," to be agents for the "North American Review." Took the stage at eight o'clock in the morning, and arrived in Dover at sunset, having traveled fifty miles over a very level road. In Newcastle I inquired about the Swedes who first settled there, before Penn's landing in this country. None remain; they are dispersed in the country, a few only in the neighborhood. Presented my letter to Mr. Ridgely, and am sorry to find my prospects of procuring materials here are very slender. Almost no papers of historical interest remain in the secretary's office. But more of this to-morrow.

15th June, Thursday. Mr. Ridgely introduced me into the secretary's office, and convinced me by ocular demonstration that it contains no manuscript papers of early date. I found nothing but the journal of the Privy Council under the old Constitution, — meagre beyond description, — and the muster-rolls and pay-rolls of the

several companies belonging to the Delaware regiment during the Revolution. From these I have collected a tolerable history of that regiment.

Dined with Mr. Ridgely in company with his brother, Chancellor Ridgely, who was a member of the Convention of 1792 which formed the present Constitution of Delaware. John Dickinson was also member of that convention, and was chosen to be president, but declined on the ground, doubtless, that he wished to take a more active part than he could do as president. Mr. Montgomery was president. Dickinson had drafted a constitution, which was reported, and, in those parts relating to the modes of election, executive and legislative powers, adopted without much alteration; but the judiciary system was essentially changed from his plan. Mr. Ridgely represents him as a timid politician. He was always subject to alarms and apprehensions of evil. Mr. R. says that Grayson, in his letters from Pennsylvania, draws a very exact picture of Dickinson. He wanted decision and firmness in action, as much as he appeared to possess them in his writings. He is believed to have been born on the borders of Maryland, but his father early purchased an estate near Dover in Delaware, between the town and the bay, and in this county Dickinson received his early education. He afterwards spent three or four years in Europe, then returned and resided in Philadelphia, where he soon after wrote the "Farmer's Letters." When Dr. Franklin proposed to abolish the Proprietary government in Pennsylvania, Dickinson opposed the measure. He also voted against the Declaration of Independence, and, when attacked for it by a strong writer under the signature of *Valerius*, he defended himself by saying he thought the time was not yet arrived for such a step. He was chosen president of the State of Delaware while he yet resided in Pennsylvania, and attended to the duties

of that office, though he did not permanently change his place of residence. While president of Delaware he was chosen president of Pennsylvania, which office he accepted, still retaining the other. Nor did he seem inclined to resign either of them, till some uneasiness expressed by the legislature of Delaware induced him to resign the presidency of that State. Under the old government the three counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, which now constitute the State of Delaware, enjoyed a separate legislature, under the governor of Pennsylvania. It was the governor's custom to meet the legislature at Newcastle; and perhaps Mr. Dickinson thought the new system of things would go on in a similar manner. Some of the members of the early Congresses, chosen to represent the State of Delaware, did not reside in the State. Thomas McKean was a delegate for Delaware while he was chief justice of Pennsylvania. Such is Chancellor Ridgely's account.

One reason why the secretary's office contains no papers is that this office has had no fixed place till recently. The secretary has lived in different parts of the State, and the office has been at his own residence. All the papers have thus been scattered and lost. The early presidents probably kept the papers they received. This opinion is confirmed from the fact that Cæsar Rodney's papers have been printed in part in Mr. Niles' selection of papers on the Revolution, and among these are General Washington's letters to him as president of the State of Delaware.

Chancellor Ridgely told the following story. In the old Congress, on a certain occasion, Nelson of Virginia proposed to have a body of Continental troops sent into that State to quell internal commotions. Rodney of Delaware opposed the motion, stating that Delaware had internal troubles, but managed to quiet them without call-

ing in the aid of Continental troops, and he doubted not that Virginia could do the same. Nelson rose, and expressed himself with a good deal of contempt of *little Delaware*, and professed to be much astonished that the gentleman should presume to compare that State with the wide dominion of Virginia, and intimated that there was not any parallel between them. Rodney, who was naturally shrewd, with a good share of humor, rose very gravely, and acknowledged himself to have spoken unadvisedly, agreed that Virginia was a great State, justly deserving the protection of her neighbors, and proposing that the *Delaware* regiment should be sent to take her under its special charge and protection. The effect of this proposition on the house was such that Nelson was glad to drop the subject without further discussion. The story used to be told afterwards at dinner-tables, much to the annoyance of Nelson.

Engaged in the afternoon and evening reading the journals of the Assembly of Delaware, otherwise called the "Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of Delaware."

16th June, Friday. Occupied till dinner examining the journals of Assembly, and copying from them a few extracts. The first printed journals which I have seen began in the year 1762. From that period they appear to have been regularly printed to the present time, though not annually; for, in one case, four or five years were printed together. The journal for 1762 is said on the title-page to have been "published by Thomas McKean and Cæsar Rodney, members of the Assembly." For many years the journal was published under the direction of McKean, Rodney, or George Read. Sometimes only one hundred copies were printed, as appears by the resolves of the Assembly to that effect. It is extremely difficult now to find a copy. I can hear of but one, and

that is the copy I have been consulting, which belongs to Chancellor Ridgely.

The "Laws of Delaware" have been printed in five volumes. A sixth is nearly ready, embracing the last acts. These volumes contain all the printed acts, and, indeed, all the acts which have been passed, except a few of a private nature. Henry M. Ridgely, Esq., Secretary of State, says he will procure from the legislature a copy of these laws and send me.

Dined in company with Judge Davis and Mr. George Read, grandson of the signer of the Declaration of Independence of that name. Mr. Read said his grandfather left many papers, and that his brother, William Read, has recently collected and written from a life of George Read, for the work entitled a "Biography of the Signers of the Declaration." To these papers he says I can without difficulty obtain access.

When the subject of independence was discussed in Congress, McKean and Read were the only delegates present from Delaware, and the latter was opposed to the Declaration. In this state of things McKean saw that the vote of Delaware would be lost, and he sent an express with all possible dispatch for Rodney. He arrived in the morning but a short time before the assembling of Congress on the 4th of July, and thereby secured the vote of Delaware.

It was the understanding that, if the "Declaration" was carried, it should be signed by all the members. On this ground Read signed, although he voted against the measure. Dickinson, who took an active part in the opposition, did not sign. Mr. Read says there is a tradition in the family that his grandfather had a long interview with Dickinson on the morning before the signatures were to be affixed, and endeavored to persuade him to sign, but without success. Dickinson's timidity completely

overcame him ; and perhaps he thought, also, there would be too great an appearance of inconsistency in putting his name to an instrument which he had so warmly opposed. There was no just occasion, however, for this delicacy, and his reluctance must be ascribed chiefly to the timidity of his character. McKean was necessarily absent at the time the signatures were affixed, and he signed afterwards.

Mr. Read mentioned one fact very much to the credit of Dickinson. He had early contracted a warm friendship for George Read, which was never diminished. A short time after Read's death, Dickinson called to see his widow, and said he was aware that his friend's pecuniary circumstances were not very prosperous during the latter years of his life, and was fearful she might find herself under some embarrassments in these respects. But, he added, it was a pleasure to him to be able to assist her, and took from his pocket the deed of an estate worth \$6,000, which he presented her. Mr. Read did not say whether she accepted it or not. Dickinson studied law at the Temple in London.

The grand Court of Appeals, at which the chancellor presides, is now holding its session here. I attended two or three hours this afternoon. Heard an argument on a law point by Mr. Rodgers, the attorney-general, and a reply by Mr. Clayton, senator in Congress from Delaware. There is no end to the quibbles and refinements of law. It is happy for Delaware that the people have but few laws, and that they have latterly repealed old laws nearly as fast as they have made new ones.

Judge Davis, of this State, tells me that he knew Dickinson well ; that he was timid, but was always noted for his amiable temper, affable deportment, great kindness, and practical benevolence. Dickinson, Mr. Clayton, — father of the present senator in Congress from Delaware,

—and Chancellor Ridgely were the principal agents in forming the constitution of the State, and carrying it through the convention.

17th June, Saturday. Mr. George Read, Jr., gave me a letter of introduction to his brother, William T. Read, who wrote the Life of his grandfather which is inserted in the "Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence." He has in his possession all the remaining papers of George Read. I arrived in Newcastle at five o'clock this afternoon, and immediately presented my letter to Mr. William T. Read, and he voluntarily offered me the papers for examination. I have spent four hours in looking through the parcels, and selecting papers to be copied. Many of the most important have been published in the biographical sketch above mentioned. The letters to Rodney, McKean, and Dickinson, and theirs in reply, are particularly valuable. I have examined the whole, and engaged Mr. Read to procure copies to be taken of such parts as I have designated, and to write me by mail at the same time. George Read was an active man through the whole Revolution, and in connection with Dickinson, Rodney, and McKean, contributed much to aid the progress of events.

George Read, the signer of the Declaration, resided in Newcastle. George Read, the son, now lives here. George Read, the grandson, also lives here, and is a lawyer.

PHILADELPHIA.

18th June, Sunday. Arrived in Philadelphia at nine o'clock. Mr. Vaughan had insisted on my taking lodgings with him in the Philosophical Hall; and here I am now, sitting in Franklin's chair, surrounded by divers philosophical instruments, books, antique and modern busts, implements of agriculture, cases of minerals, shells, insects, and other insignia of the high order of philosophy. In the evening at church, and heard Mr. Furness.

19th June, Monday. In the library of the Philosophical Society all day. Dr. Mease told me the following anecdote. A week before the battle of Guilford, when the troops were very destitute of clothes, particularly of shoes, Colonel Henry Lee hit upon an expedient for supplying a part of his men. He came to a Quaker meeting-house during the time of service, and ordered his sergeants to go in and take the boots and shoes from the feet of the assembled worshippers. The order was executed, and the scene was not a little ludicrous, for some did not part with their boots without reluctance; and the sturdy sergeants were seen dragging the resisting Quakers in various directions across the floor by the heels of their boots. The work was at length finished, and a good stock of boots secured. The anecdote was related to Dr. Mease by Captain Piquett, of the Delaware line, who stood at the door by the side of Lee and witnessed the scene. Piquett served as captain through the whole Revolution, and is now living in Wilmington, Del.

Passed an hour with Mr. De Wallenstein in the evening. He is engaged in writing an article for me on the works of Commodore Kruzenstern, who is noted for his maritime expeditions under the Russian government. Also at Mr. Furness's.

20th June, Tuesday. Morning in the library of the Philosophical Society. Call on friends. List of historical books to be procured for me by Mr. Small. . . . Accomplished many little matters too numerous to mention. Sent two last numbers of "North American Review" to General Evans. Wrote Wilson about the agency, and told him that many subscribers might be obtained in Delaware with a little pains. Walked and talked with Mr. Hurlbut. Left Philadelphia at twelve o'clock, and reached Trenton at half past four. Stop at Vancleve's, and call immediately on Mr. Daniel Coleman, Secre-

tary of State, to whom I had a letter from Governor Dickerson. With marked affability, and disposition to lend me every aid, Mr. Coleman showed me all the records in the different offices of the State. Those relating to the Revolution are scanty. To-morrow I am to engage in active operations.

Read Wallenstein's paper on Observatories, which he wrote for the committee of Congress. It is good, — better than either of the others sent to the same committee. The "New York Review" has been too hard upon it, — unjust, indiscriminating.

TRENTON.

21st June, Wednesday. Mr. Coleman took me into the New Jersey state library, which is kept in a room in the State House, and in which are deposited all the original journals and acts of the old colony and the State. I here found also a fuller collection of the laws of the different States than I have anywhere else found.

The Revolutionary correspondence in the secretary's office is very scanty. All the letters of importance have been taken out, or were never deposited. Those which remain relate chiefly to the settlement of accounts at the close of the Revolution, both with the United States and individuals in the State of New Jersey. In his office, also, are all the old records of wills, deeds, and papers relating to lands.

In the library I found a large folio volume of manuscript letters (originals), chiefly written to Governor Livingston during the Revolution. Many of these were from General Washington. The whole collection is highly valuable, and I have spent the greater part of the day in looking it over, and selecting such as I wish copied. From the secretary's office I have also procured a few letters.

Among Governor Livingston's papers, which I understand are in the possession of his descendants in New York, there must be many valuable papers.

There are abundant materials for a history of New Jersey, not only in manuscript, but in print: 1. Journals of the Assembly in print, from 1710 to this time. 2. Journals of Council in print, from 1776 to this time. 3. Leaming and Spicer's Laws, 1 vol. folio. 4. Nevill's Laws, 2 vols. folio. 5. Allinson's Laws, 1 vol. folio. 6. Wilson's Laws, 1 vol. folio. 7. Paterson's Laws, 1 vol. folio and large 8vo.

The legislature of New Jersey appointed a Council of Safety to act in certain defined cases. This Council had several sessions, and in the state library is a manuscript volume containing the minutes of the whole. The beginning of the first session was March 18, 1777, and the last record is dated October 8, 1778.

The only written history of New Jersey is Smith's. It is a very imperfect book. I compared in some parts with the journals of Assembly, and found that Smith had passed over the most important incidents. Smith does not pretend to make his history complete later than the year 1721, although he brings down a sketch to the year 1765. In the parts I examined he does not appear to have read the journals. The year 1738 is particularly interesting. The Assembly was convened for the first time under a distinct government after a separation from New York. The governor required certain appropriations for the support of the new government. The Assembly hesitated, and finally refused to comply with all his request. The governor abused the members in round terms in a message at the close of the session. The Assembly appears not to have been very accommodating. In short, the same spirit will be seen to have actuated

this Assembly that stirred up and carried through the Revolution thirty years afterward, — a determination to have an entire control over the money they granted.

The more we look into the history of the colonies, the more clearly we shall see that the Revolution was not the work of a few years only, but began with the first settlement of the country: the seeds of liberty, when first planted here, were the seeds of the Revolution; they sprang forth by degrees; they came to maturity gradually; and when the great crisis took place, the whole nation were prepared to govern themselves, because they always had in reality governed themselves.

22d June, Thursday. Finished my examination in the state library and secretary's office. Mr. Coleman has agreed to procure a copy of all the papers I have selected, and to forward the same to Mr. Small, Philadelphia. He will also procure for me, if he can, autographs of Abraham Clark and John Hart, two of the signers of the Declaration of Independence from New Jersey. Mr. D. Fenton will purchase the books which I want, and give me notice.

With Mr. Coleman I examined the battle-ground in Trenton, where the Hessians were attacked and surrendered; General Washington's headquarters and movements; and the grounds on which the fires were kindled to deceive the British, while the American army retreated and attacked the enemy at Princeton. This has always been considered a cunning piece of generalship. The credit of it is due to St. Clair, as he says in his narrative, and as I believe is true. The town of Trenton is now so much extended over the battle-ground that but an imperfect idea can be formed of the various movements. The principal fortification stood on an eminence near the south margin of the creek that empties into the Delaware a little above Trenton bridge. The spot is now con-

verted into a gentleman's garden. The owner politely accompanied us to examine the place, and pointed out some particulars. He says there is an old man living in town who was in the fortification during the engagement. The old man's story is that General Washington rode up while they were firing, surveyed the posture of affairs around for a minute, when he said, "Ply them well with grape, boys," and rode away. The Hessians surrendered in two parties, one on the plain back of the town, and the other on the bank of the creek. Rahl was shot on the skirt of the town, while riding at the head of his troops. He was picked off by a musket fired from the corner of a house, as the tradition goes. The man who shot the musket was living many years, and told the story. Rahl was carried into a meeting-house, where he died.

Left Trenton at seven o'clock, and lodged in Princeton.

PRINCETON.

23d June, Friday. Made an arrangement with Mr. Borrenstein to be agent for the "Review." Called on Professor Hodge, of the Theological Seminary, with whom I was acquainted. He is a fine scholar and amiable man, zealous in his professional studies, and active in the cause of general improvement in theology and literature. He reads the German writers, and thinks they have been much overrated, — the theological critics, I mean. Mr. Hodge is now engaged in a periodical work consisting of essays on theology, chiefly translated from the German or Latin by different hands. He complains that some of the articles in the first volume are much less perfect than he could desire, owing to the unskillfulness of the translators. But he is now more cautious to intrust this work to abler hands. Among other contributors he mentioned Professor Patton, Professor Marsh, and Mr. Gibbs, of New Haven.

Professor Patton and Mr. McLane called on me. Professor P. gave an interesting account of a course of lectures he is preparing on the Greek classics. The students have printed a tragedy of Æschylus to aid in illustrating these lectures. Professor P. is undoubtedly one of the very first classical scholars in this country. I arrived in New York at half past six, and stopped at the City Hotel.

NEW YORK.

24th June, Saturday. Visiting friends. Dine at Mr. Sedgwick's; tea at Professor More's. At the opera in the evening; liked it much better than I expected; highly pleased with some things; wonderful powers of music. The opera is ludicrous when regarded as an exhibition of acting disconnected with the music; but when regarded as an exhibition got up to show what effect can be produced by music, it has meaning and force. I should soon be an admirer of the opera. Miss More is a lively, intelligent, and amiable girl.

25th June, Sunday. At Mr. Ware's church morning and evening; Mr. Ingersol preached. Dine with Mr. Pearson; tea at Mr. Ware's, where I met Mr. Henry Ware and Professor Deane.

Dr. Hosack presented me with his works; that is, two volumes of essays and several pamphlets. He complained much that the former editor of the "North American Review" treated him rudely in speaking of these essays, especially in regard to Dr. Hugh Williamson. Dr. Hosack said that the editor wrote to him with much complaisance when his essays came out, professed a wish to see them, and an intention to bring them favorably before the public; and at length criticised them in a very offensive style. So says Dr. Hosack. He thinks very highly of Mr. Williamson,—says he was learned, amiable, and ardent. He has a very beautiful portrait

of him by Trumbull. Williamson's "History of North Carolina" is certainly a very poor book. Dr. Hosack has all his papers.

26th June, Monday. Business with Mr. Sewall in the morning. Called with Mr. Bleecker on Dr. Hosack, who is president of the Historical Society, and obtained permission to visit the society's collections at all times. Mr. Bleecker and Dr. Francis accompanied me to the rooms. These contain a well-selected library of about five thousand volumes, now in a good deal of disorder, and apparently never arranged with much method. Injudicious steps were taken by the purchasing committee at first. A lottery was granted by the legislature, which was intended to produce for the society about \$12,000, and, on the anticipated strength of this sum, the committee were somewhat extravagant in their purchases. Debts were accumulated; the scheme of the lottery was sold for \$8,000, instead of \$12,000; so that in the end, what with the first expenditure and the interest, there is now a debt remaining against the society of about \$6,000, without any other means to discharge it than the books themselves. It has been proposed to sell the books. To this proposal strong objections have been made. Another scheme is to sell all the books except such as pertain in some way to American history or literature. This is probably the wisest plan. In the infancy of the institution, it would seem unnecessary to collect any other works than such as pertain directly to the illustration of its objects. Books of a general character can be found anywhere. The society seems at present to be under embarrassments, and its operations a good deal retarded. The president says, however, that all troubles will at length be removed, and that the society will prosper. They are now printing a continuation of Smith's "History of New York," which was left in manuscript by the author.

There are some valuable manuscripts in this library. The papers of General Gates and of Lord Stirling are there, and others relating to the Revolution. I passed the afternoon in examining Lord Stirling's papers. They are chiefly letters written during the Revolution, and the ten years preceding.

Called at Mr. Rembrandt Peale's painting room. He is full of enthusiasm as usual, and wrapped up in his art, — an amiable, worthy man, and an artist of no ordinary pretension. His portrait of Washington seems to have gained universal approbation, and to be considered, by those who recollect Washington, as giving a much more perfect representation of him than any that has been drawn. In the year 1795, Washington sat to Rembrandt Peale, three sittings. The father, Charles Peale, also painted Washington at the same sittings. The upper part of the father's portrait was better finished than the lower, and the contrary in the son's. From this original picture, together with such improvements as he has thought proper to introduce from his father's portrait painted as above mentioned, Rembrandt Peale has finished his picture. He intends publishing a large lithographic copy, drawn by himself, after the model of Dogget's lithographic drawings of the Presidents of the United States.

The evening at Mrs. Schuyler's with a party. Halleck, the poet, was there, and Chancellor Jones, and Mr. Wheaton, and several Boston people. Passed half an hour in the afternoon with Mr. Bryant, who is now making arrangements to commence the new review, being the "New York Review" and the "United States Literary Gazette" combined. The prospects are tolerably promising, but I fear not sufficiently so to insure that encouragement which a man of Bryant's powers and worth deserves.

27th June, Tuesday. Morning in the library of the Historical Society. Lord Stirling's papers deposited there are valuable. A trunkful of William Duer's papers contains a few letters that will be to the purpose. Allen McLane's papers are there. He was an officer in the Delaware regiment, and afterwards collector of the port of Wilmington. From a letter which I found signed by Mrs. Barlow, it appears that she deposited all General Gates's papers in the New York Historical Society. Her husband (Joel Barlow) was preparing to write a history of the Revolution, and General Gates had given him all his papers for this purpose. They are not now to be found. I was told that they were loaned to Wilkinson when he was preparing his Memoir of himself. This report I could not verify, as I had no opportunity of again seeing Dr. Hosack. The report is more than probable, since the papers are not in the library. I shall again visit New York for the purpose of procuring copies of such of the above papers as I want.

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RETURN THROUGH CONNECTICUT.

28th June, Wednesday. Took the steamboat for New Haven at seven o'clock in the morning, and arrived at five in the afternoon. Called on Mr. Gibbs, librarian and lecturer, who walked with me to the new burial ground, which, with its numerous tasteful monuments, and the manner in which it is planned, is highly ornamental to the town. The gravestones in the old burial ground have been removed and are placed here, and their former site has been converted into a common. The prejudices of the people withstood this removal for some time, but they at length yielded. In a few instances the remains were removed, but for the most part the graves were left undisturbed, and the stones only removed. In the

new burial ground are the remains of President Stiles, Roger Sherman, President Dwight, and General Humphreys.

Passed the evening very agreeably with Professor Silliman. As he married into the Trumbull family, he gave me a clue to papers which may prove useful. He told me the following story of Roger Sherman, which he believed to be in print, but could not tell where : When Sherman was in the old Congress during the Revolution, he was on a certain occasion chairman of a committee for making provision for clothing the army. Among other things, he made a very minute report respecting the supply of shoes, showing, from the cost of leather, and of the manufacture, that much deception had been practiced, and that the government had been defrauded in this article. In closing his remarks on his report, he said : " Mr. Speaker, that you may not be surprised at the minuteness of my knowledge on this subject, I may tell you that it is one upon which I have some claims to speak with confidence, as I was myself bred a shoemaker." Sherman was a self-taught man, but has rarely been excelled in native good sense, soundness of judgment, singleness of heart, and uprightness of character.

29th June, Thursday. At breakfast in the hotel, met accidentally my old friend Hurd, whom I have not seen for eleven years. I was much pleased with the fortunate interview, and promised to visit him at his residence in Farmington on Saturday.

Mr. Gibbs showed me the college library, which is not large, nor does it seem to have received recent additions. The collection is good, however, and probably supplies all the wants of the students. Called with Mr. Gibbs on the celebrated Noah Webster, and passed three quarters of an hour in his study. He is now absorbed in the project of publishing his great Dictionary, — showed me his manu-

script, and explained his plan. There can be no doubt of Mr. Webster's very profound researches into the origin and structure of the English language, and particularly in tracing the analogy of languages. He is an enthusiast, and so must any man be, who will make progress in any pursuit. It must not be forgotten, however, that this quality leads to different results in different persons and in different pursuits. For instance, enthusiasm in mathematics, or any of the exact sciences, will do no harm, as it is restrained all along by rigid demonstration. But enthusiasm on other subjects, where facts are more obscure, and certainly less obvious, will necessarily carry the mind astray in some particulars. The imagination will assume a control to which it has no claims, and error and truth will be mingled. Such is in some degree the character of Mr. Webster's studies. They open a wide field for the play of the imagination, for conjecture and doubtful analogies. Hence he will come to innumerable results which may or may not be true; which another man will question, because he can come to other results just as probable, if not more so. For the learned I am fully convinced that Mr. Webster's Dictionary will have great value, although it may contain objectionable points, and peculiarities which a mind of another cast would not have admitted. The preface will be the most difficult part for him to execute. In all his publications he has manifested a singular want of judgment in estimating the comparative value of his own attainments, and in setting forth what he deems the most important discoveries which he has made. His friends in New Haven are aware of this foible, and they are resolved to counteract it in the present instance as far as the nature of the case will admit. He showed me his synopsis, in which words of various languages are referred to their roots; and to one so little skilled in these matters as I am, it is perfectly astonish-

ing to find what an immense number of words in numerous languages may be referred to the same origin. There is unquestionably much ingenious conjecture in this process, but still there is much of reality, and the synopsis, if published, would be not only a curious but a valuable work. It would make a quarto volume of moderate size. The author does not contemplate publishing it at present, — perhaps never, as he says he was assured in Europe that such a work would not pay for the printing. I am glad to have seen Noah Webster, for I respect him for his great attainments, and for the noble, untiring zeal with which he has devoted a whole life to the investigation of an important though neglected subject. The example is worthy of all praise. Let these who condemn, first do as much, and do it better.

Professor Silliman showed me through the establishment for the College Commons, which is commodiously and economically arranged. He then took me through the cabinet of minerals, which is truly a magnificent exhibition, altogether superior to anything else of the kind in this country. Hours might be spent here in merely gratifying the eye. Visited the gallery of portraits in company with Mr. Gibbs and Professor Kingsley. Excellent portraits of Bishop Berkeley, Dr. Dwight, Governor Trumbull, and some others. Berkeley was a large patron to the college in presenting to it his library when he left America. Sat with President Day half an hour. His study is within the college walls. Such a thing would be odd at Harvard. Each professor at Yale has a study in some one of the colleges. The effect in the way of discipline is unquestionably good. It may, perhaps, be owing to this circumstance that Yale College is governed, and well governed, at an immense economy of time and trouble, compared with Harvard. Government meetings are not the eternal torment of professors and tutors from

one month's end to another, till the soul of the poor sufferer is weary of its existence; and disturbances among the students are rare at Yale.

Thus passed the morning. After dinner, sat an hour with Professor Kingsley, and examined a volume of President Stiles's manuscript journal, which was in his possession. There are ten or twelve volumes in the whole, embracing a large portion of the author's life. Dr. Holmes often quotes this journal in his *Annals*. The volume which I examined has very little value. It chiefly contains record of the most insignificant events, such as the text from which he or somebody else preached, and the news of the day abridged from newspapers. Professor Kingsley said the other volumes were of the same character. The author's mind rarely appears. In some cases he draws characters, and they are well done, but occasionally with too much asperity. These volumes were left by will to the president of Yale College for the time being, with directions that they should be retained in his possession.

At six o'clock in the afternoon I left New Haven, having been favored by Professor Silliman with letters of introduction to Mr. Day, Secretary of State; Mr. Pitkin, of Farmington, author of "Statistics of the United States," and to Mrs. Wadsworth, of Hartford, daughter of the late Governor Trumbull, and sister to Mrs. Silliman. Arrived in Hartford at twelve o'clock at night in the midst of a heavy rain; stage-house full; put down at a neighboring tavern, a dingy, repulsive-looking place. But nothing could be done, and he is a weak man that will complain at a lot which cannot be avoided. I acted the philosopher, threw myself on a bed, and it was soon the same to me as if I had been in a palace. The morning toilet and breakfast were matters soon dispatched, and I sallied out to look for better quarters, and soon found them at Bennet's

Hotel, one of the best public houses I have seen in the United States. Travelers love to talk of taverns and stage-coaches; and it is natural they should, for they live in them, and their immediate happiness or misery depends on them. . . .

30th June. . . . At nine I ascended the steps of the State House, and entered the secretary's office. Mr. Day is absent, but the clerk offered all facilities when he read my letter. Not a single paper is to be found in the office relating to the executive correspondence during the Revolution. Governor Trumbull was at the head of the government during that whole period, and it is supposed he retained all the correspondence, and that it is now among the Trumbull papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Mr. Pitkin called on me while in the secretary's office, having learnt in town that I was there. I gave him the letter from Mr. Silliman, and we immediately entered into conversation on his historical projects. It seems he is engaged in writing a history of the United States, with particular reference to the political and civil progress of the colonies, and the foreign and commercial relations entered into during the Revolution and since. He has not advanced far, but is gathering materials. Concerning the Trumbull papers he spoke as follows: They were offered to Yale College by Mr. David Trumbull, son of the governor, but for some reason the offer did not meet with that ready acknowledgment which the son thought it deserved, and no measures were adopted for obtaining the papers. Meantime they were offered to the Historical Society of Massachusetts, and Dr. Belknap was employed for several days in selecting such as were valuable, and they were transferred to the society's library in Boston. It has been hinted that President Stiles was somewhat deficient in this business, by neglecting to procure the papers, and

that this neglect is to be ascribed to a disposition not very friendly towards Governor Trumbull.

Roger Sherman's papers were also examined by his son, who selected the best, and deposited them in the Massachusetts Historical Society when he lived in Boston. He is now dead. A very interesting correspondence between John Adams and Roger Sherman, on the American Constitution, is now in the hands of Mr. Ebenezer Baldwin, of Albany.

Professor Silliman told me of a private correspondence between General Washington and the second Governor Trumbull, which is now in the hands of Mrs. Wadsworth. Mr. Pitkin tells me that the letters are now in his possession. I delivered my letter to Mrs. Wadsworth. She is quite willing I should inspect the letters, and that they should be copied for publication as far as Mr. Wadsworth and Professor Silliman may judge expedient. Her father was secretary to Washington, and he wrote to him in a private and confidential way. I shall see the letters to-morrow at Farmington.

There are preserved four manuscript volumes of the Committee of Safety of Connecticut. This committee was in active operation from the beginning to the end of the Revolution. The first record is dated June 7, 1775, and the last, October 28, 1783, embracing a period of more than eight years and four months. The council sat at irregular periods, and at short intervals, sometimes several days in succession, and then one or two only, as the case might require. The place of session was generally at Lebanon, where the governor resided; but it was frequently at New Haven and Hartford. The governor was almost always president. The journal of the council is meagre, containing little more than the record of votes relating chiefly to the care of the militia and the Continental regiments of Connecticut. The powers and duties

of the council were much the same as in other States. Tories and prisoners of war seem to have come particularly under the jurisdiction of Councils of Safety. Governor Franklin, of New Jersey, was sent to Connecticut by the Continental Congress, and put in charge of the Committee of Safety. The reason why the powers and organization continued so much longer in Connecticut than in the other States is probably that no constitution, or new form of government, was here established. In the other States, wherever the new constitutions were adopted, the Committees of Safety were no longer required, and they ceased of course.

Visited the Washington College in this place, and was shown through the room by Professors Hall and Doane. Considering the recent establishment of this institution, it puts on a very flourishing aspect. Professor Hall has a good cabinet of minerals. The site of the building is exceedingly favorable, about a quarter of a mile back of the town. The view from the tower of the chapel is one of the finest in the country, and vies with that at Round Hill in Northampton. Had half an hour's very interesting conversation with Mr. Thomas H. Gallaudet in the evening. He is Principal of the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb in this place, the success of which has excited the admiration of all visitors. He related some remarkable facts, which his experience has brought to light, in regard to the development of the human mind without the use of language. It is a subject full of deep interest and sound philosophy. I have agreed to visit the institution on Monday.

1st July, Saturday. Rode out to Farmington, nine miles west of Hartford, and passed the day with Mr. Pitkin and Mr. Hurd. Conversed again more fully with Mr. Pitkin on his historical projects. He has taken up the subject with a good deal of zeal, and already investigated

it deeply. In fact his work on statistics bears on the point as far as relates to the Revolution. He has had access to materials which will throw much new light on the diplomacy of the country.

He showed me the file of correspondence between Washington and the second Governor Trumbull, above mentioned. It is wholly of a private character, and some free remarks are contained in Washington's letters. Governor Trumbull, it seems, had urged him to stand again for the Presidency. In alluding to this subject, Washington speaks of the state of parties with some warmth, — that if a "broomstick were set up, the Sons of Liberty would vote for it and make it President, to gratify the wishes of a party." These are not his exact words, but the sentiment is the same.

3d July, Monday. Visited the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb in company with Mr. Doane, and was shown over the establishment by Mr. Gallaudet. I have seldom witnessed so interesting an exhibition. The success with which the attempt is attended of communicating ideas to the deaf and dumb is wonderful. It is done by two general methods, — first, by signs expressing general ideas of objects or things ; and, secondly, by spelling each word by signs expressive of alphabetical characters. Both these modes are used together, as the nature of the case may require. Three classes were under the tuition of deaf and dumb teachers, of whom Mr. Clerc was one. It requires about six years for a pupil of ordinary capacity to learn to write with facility. This institution deserves the patronage of the benevolent everywhere.

Passed an hour or two in the office of the Secretary of State looking over colonial papers. These seem to have been tolerably well preserved. The records have been kept in manuscript from the very beginning of the separate colo-

nial government. I saw a volume beginning with 1636. There are still preserved letters of value written mostly between the years 1696 and 1710. These are from the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, from the Lords Justices, and from the King in Council; also letters from the agents of the State who resided in London, and the governor's replies, — particularly two very long letters from Governor Saltonstall, — the whole written between 1697 and 1731. There is also a correspondence with Sir Edmund Andros, between the years 1675 and 1696, consisting of fifty-six letters. It is remarkable that no parts of the journals of the Senate, Assembly, or Council of Connecticut have ever been printed to this day. In no other State has there been so much negligence in this respect. The laws have been printed imperfectly, and it is hardly possible now to find a copy of the statutes. Engaged H. Huntington to procure for me a copy of the statutes, and a file of a newspaper printed in Connecticut during the Revolution. Left Hartford at two o'clock, and lodged at Ashford.

4th July, Tuesday. Walked to the residence of my mother, sister, and brothers, eight miles.

5th July, Wednesday. Passed a part of the day with the Rev. Mr. Loomis, my early teacher and friend.

6th July, Thursday. In the afternoon rode with Mr. Loomis to Mansfield, where I took the stage and lodged in Ashford.

7th July, Friday. In the stage at four o'clock in the morning, and arrived in Boston at five in the afternoon. The shops were shut, as on the Sabbath, on account of the funeral of the late President John Adams, which was then taking place at his former residence in Quincy, and which a large number of the citizens attended. The streets were almost deserted.

Thus ends my tour. I have been absent three months

and a half from Boston, and in that time have passed over a distance of about three thousand five hundred miles. My body and mind have been greatly benefited by the journey. In no period of my life have I in the same time acquired so much knowledge, or made so many valuable acquaintances.

SUMMARY OF RESEARCHES.

In a letter to the Hon. A. H. Everett, dated Boston, September 12, 1826, Mr. Sparks gives the following interesting summary of his researches up to that date: "I have made a long tour of four months the present season, no less than a trip to Georgia and back by land. I had various ends to answer, and accomplished the most of them, — health, interests of the 'Review,' historical researches, and knowledge of men and things. I have got a passion for Revolutionary history, and the more I look into it the more I am convinced that no complete history of the American Revolution has been written. The materials have never been collected; they are still in the archives of the States, and in the hands of individuals. During my tour I have examined the public offices of every State south of New York, looked over all the files of Revolutionary correspondence and the journals of that period, and have procured copies of everything most valuable. I am shortly to set out on an expedition through all the New England States for the same purpose; and also to collect many similar papers, to be found in different parts, which belonged to major-generals and other public men."

The above journal of Mr. Sparks' Southern tour and return to Boston in 1826 is of particular interest to students of Southern history, who are now increasing in number at our university centres. Mr. Sparks' notes on Southern archives and manuscript collections will enable

scholars to compare the present available material with that which existed sixty-seven years ago. The same journal is, moreover, full of interesting comments on Southern life and manners in ante-bellum days. Although hastily written at odd moments, and never intended for publication, Mr. Sparks' notes of travel and observation contain little that is purely personal or ephemeral. He had a useful public purpose in mind when he recorded the results of each day's experience. Many of the points noted will be helpful and suggestive even now.

APPENDIX.

I.

RESEARCHES IN NEW YORK AND NEW ENGLAND.

IN the autumn of 1826, Mr. Sparks made a tour through Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Vermont, and New Hampshire for the purpose of investigating the materials for American history that were then preserved in state archives, in the libraries of historical societies, and in private hands. The journal of this pilgrimage through eastern New York and parts of New England is of decided interest to historical students, and not without value as a picture of travel and society at the beginning of the second quarter of this century. At Albany he met Mr. Van Rensselaer, the Patroon, and had an amusing interview with "Citizen" Genet, who had married the daughter of Governor George Clinton. At Bennington, Vermont, Mr. Sparks made a special study of the field where one of the decisive battles of the Revolution was fought, August 16, 1777. He collected from surviving veterans all known facts and traditions, and wrote out in his journal a detailed sketch of the fight between Stark and the Hessians.

It is the opinion of certain specialists in American history that copious selections from Mr. Sparks' journals of historical exploration in this country, Canada, and Europe ought to be published. The foregoing journal of his Southern tour is a fair specimen, *in extenso*, of his

notes of travel. They were continued, from time to time, from 1826 to 1857. There are in the Sparks collections six original manuscript volumes, or journals, of the above character: (1) 1826-28; (2) 1828-29; (3) 1829-31; (4) 1831-39; (5) 1840-56; (6) 1857.

It has been found possible to add, in appendices to this first volume, a few topical selections from the earlier journals. The following extracts are taken from memoranda of travel in New England and New York in the fall of 1826.

September 18th, Monday. — I have been at home from my Southern journey two months and a half, and having submitted to that worst of all evils, a removal of my effects and residence from one house to another, having set up a plan for living somewhat improved and more independent than formerly, and having put into the hands of the printer all the copy for the October number of the "North American Review," I am now at leisure to undertake another tour in prosecution of my historical inquiries. My design is to examine the archives in Rhode Island, New York, and New Hampshire, and to make such selections as I can obtain from private papers, with a particular reference to facts illustrative of the history of the Revolution. At six o'clock the stage drove up to the door, and breakfast being already dispatched, and all matters arranged, I stepped into the coach, and in seven hours found myself in Providence. . . .

RESEARCHES IN RHODE ISLAND.

This evening I have called on Mr. Samuel Eddy (or, as they call him here, "*Eddy*," author of the celebrated "*Eddy's Reasons*"), with whom I had much friendly intercourse in Washington, and with whom I have since corre-

sponded on the subject of my present inquiries. He offers to introduce me in the morning to Mr. Bowen, Secretary of State, who will give access to the files of Revolutionary correspondence in his office. Mr. Eddy thinks there are no private papers in Rhode Island that will be of any value to me. He was formerly Secretary of State; and when he took that office all the papers were in confusion. He filed them according to their dates, and they now may be easily consulted. Spent the evening in reading Botta's "History of the American Revolution."

September 19th, Tuesday. — Went to the secretary's office at eight o'clock, and Mr. Bowen very politely proffered me every facility and aid for examining the papers on file. I began with the year 1774, being the earliest date. There is almost nothing, however, till the middle of 1776, from which time the correspondence is full through the whole Revolution. Governor Wanton, who held the office at the breaking out of troubles, was devoted to the royal interests, although chosen by the people. . . .

September 20th, Wednesday. — Passed the whole day in the secretary's office, and completed the examination of the files of Revolutionary correspondence. Mr. Eddy will procure copies to be taken of all the letters I have selected. Among the number are more than fifty from General Washington, and several curious ones from General Greene, and from other officers.

It is worthy of remark that the statutes of Rhode Island have never been published in a separate form. At the end of each session of the legislature a brief journal of proceedings, called a "Schedule," is published, which contains the resolves, and the acts at large, but without any dates except the months. The acts thus published hold good till they are repealed or modified; and from time to time there is a revision, when all the laws undergo a com-

plete examination, and such changes as a committee may think proper to make. When the body of revised laws is thus prepared, the whole code is reënacted by the legislature, law by law, and section by section; so that all that precedes this code is null, and no longer to be consulted. Such a system may be practicable in a small State, yet it is full of evils. Much of the value of a good law depends on its permanency. This practice of modifying and changing gives an uncertainty to the laws, which must prove very pernicious. The judges are chosen annually by the legislature, six in each county, making thirty in the whole; and five more to constitute a supreme court. It is the custom never to choose a lawyer for a judge.

It is stated by Judge Johnson, and has been repeated by Mr. Hunter in his late oration, that Rhode Island declared itself independent of the British crown before it was done by the United Colonies. This is not strictly correct. There was an act passed in May, 1776, repealing an act for promoting allegiance to the king, and providing for all legal instruments to be made out, not in the name of the king, but of the governor and company of Rhode Island and the Providence Plantations, and also constructing the forms of the oath of office accordingly. This was a virtual declaration of independence, to be sure, but no more than had been done in effect by all the States which had set up governments for themselves; and I am inclined to think there is no propriety in calling it a declaration of independence by way of distinction from the other States.

When Mr. Eddy was Secretary of State, he collected a full set of the "Schedules" from 1774 onward. It is the only complete set which he knows of, and was procured with much difficulty from the different clerks' offices in the State. I must hereafter consult this file more *in extenso* during the period of the Revolution; and also the

“Providence Gazette,” which was begun before the year 1770, and has been continued without interruption till the present time. It has recently been united with another paper, and is now called the “Providence American and Gazette.”

There is no history of Rhode Island, although materials are not deficient. Mr. Foster, of Providence, has spent many years in collecting materials. He is old, and will never write a history. Mr. Eddy says it will be difficult to make a history which will not give offense to some persons, owing to old feuds which prevailed in families and parties, the remnants of which remain. . . .

RESEARCHES IN CONNECTICUT.

September 21st, Thursday. . . . — At two o'clock I arrived in Windham, and took a private conveyance to Lebanon, six miles distant. Mr. Williams, son of the signer of the Declaration of Independence from Connecticut, and to whom I had a letter from Professor Silliman, received me very politely, and promised me all the intelligence in his possession. I spent the evening in looking over his papers, part of which he had received from his father and part from the papers of Governor Trumbull. I selected several letters, copies of which Mr. Williams offers to have taken for me.

September 22d, Friday. — Passed the night at Mr. Williams', and resumed the examination of the papers this morning. Governor Trumbull lived in Lebanon during the Revolution, and his house is now standing. General Washington and the French officers used to visit him here. . . .

In Mr. Williams' possession is a curious paper, entitled “Account of the Pequot War,” by Lion Gardiner, in fourteen manuscript folio pages, in small hand, and in the handwriting of the author. There is another copy, in the

handwriting of Governor Trumbull, which is made more plain, as the original is in the ancient character. A letter accompanies it, written by Lion Gardiner, and dated East Hampton, 1660, in which year the memoir was perhaps written. Mr. Williams has also the original commission of Henry Vane and John Winthrop to John Winthrop, Jr., to treat with the Pequot Indians, and also the original instructions; the first a half page folio, the second $1\frac{1}{2}$ page folio. They are dated 1635, and have the original signatures. Connecticut is written in these instruments Queneticut. The fact that Governor Trumbull and the council were the same officers during the Revolution as before was of great importance to the efficiency of Connecticut in carrying on the war. There was no change in the government, and no derangements on that score. It is said that Connecticut did more than any other State in proportion to its numbers. Passed half an hour with Mr. Bull, minister of Lebanon, and left there at twelve o'clock for Windham. I am much indebted for Mr. Williams' hospitality and communications. At seven in the evening I found myself at Bennet's Hotel, in Hartford.

September 23d, Saturday. — Conversed for a time with Professor Doane in the morning, and with Professor Humphreys, both of Washington College. The officers of this college possess great zeal, and apply themselves to its interests unremittingly. A new system of laws has just been formed, which in many respects is more liberal and judicious than any I have seen in the other colleges. Professor Doane promises to write me an article on the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb in Hartford. In the steamboat at eleven o'clock for New York. . . .

RESEARCHES IN NEW YORK.

September 24th, Sunday. — Found myself in the morning at the wharf in New York, after a rainy, dull,

disagreeable passage, which I had spent in reading Botta, meditating, and sleeping. Took up quarters at the National Hotel, a crowded, confused place ; but where is the place in New York that is not crowded and confused? . . .

September 25th, Monday.— Found letters for me at Mr. Sewall's counting-room. Passed half an hour with Mr. Wheaton. Called on Dr. Hosack and others. I wish to procure access to Governor Livingston's papers, a most active governor of New Jersey during the Revolution. Mrs. Ledyard, of this city, is a daughter of the late Judge Livingston, who was the son of Governor Livingston. To her I was desirous of being introduced, that I might inquire respecting these papers. Mrs. Russell, an intimate acquaintance of hers, accompanied me to her house, and she informed me that the papers went into the hands of her father's elder brother, whose widow now lives at Jamaica, Long Island, and who holds the papers. It is doubtful whether they can be examined, for this lady has always refused to let any part of them leave her possession, and even Judge Livingston could never obtain any of them. Mrs. Ledyard, however, will make inquiry, and offers to lend me any assistance in her power. She talks on the subject with much good sense and enlargement of mind.

Read the Report of the Commissioners for revising the Laws of New York, and the specimen of their labors which they have published. Wrote to Judge Story requesting him to give some account of this work for the "North American Review." Passed the afternoon in the library of the Historical Society, selecting parts of Lord Stirling's papers to be copied. These papers are numerous, beginning as early as 1755, and relating much to the French War of that day in America, also to a long investigation in England respecting Lord Stirling's title.

I begin the selection with those which first bear on the American Revolution. . . .

September 26th, Tuesday. — Among the papers in the Historical Society. Called on Mr. John Pintard, secretary of the society, who has all General Gates' papers in his possession. These are not in a condition now to be examined, but in a few weeks Mr. Pintard will have them arranged for the purpose. . . .

September 27th, Wednesday. — Conversed with Dr. Hosack on the Gates papers and other matters. He has uniformly shown a strong disposition to aid my purpose, and, as president of the Historical Society, has procured me the freest access to everything in the library of the society. Examining and selecting papers through the day.

September 28th, Thursday. — Selecting papers; some curious letters have fallen in my way to-day, particularly one from Burke relating to the Quebec Bill, while he was agent for the Colony of New York in London. It is long, and contains pointed remarks on the views and doings of the ministerial party at that time. I also found the original sketch by Franklin of a plan of a union of the colonies in 1754, which was agreed to by the Convention at Albany, with remarks on it by Governor Cadwallader, Colden, and James Alexander. These remarks were made at the request of Dr. Franklin. The original minutes of the Committee of Correspondence of the city of New York for 1774 are in the Historical Society. This is a thin manuscript volume, and is very curious from its containing a full account of the manner in which the New York delegates to the First Congress were chosen. There was a good deal of debating about it in the committee, but at length it was agreed that five candidates should be nominated to represent the city and county of New York, and their names proposed to the people, and

that polls for the election should be opened in the various wards. The persons thus nominated were unanimously chosen. Circulars were then written to all the counties, stating what was done, and requesting each to send delegates, or give notice whether it would confide its interests in the five chosen in the city. All but one county sent word that they were satisfied with the candidates elected. Suffolk chose an additional member.

Mrs. Ledyard has heard from the lady at Jamaica. She says Governor Livingston's papers are not now in her hands, but are held by Mr. William Jay, of Bedford, West Chester. Mrs. Ledyard will write to Mr. Jay. . . .

September 29th, Friday.—Selecting papers, particularly from the letters of General Stuart, of the Pennsylvania lines, which are deposited in the library of the Historical Society, and those of Allan McLane, of Wilmington, who was first a captain in the Delaware regiments, and afterwards in Lee's Legion. Read a manuscript pamphlet on the affair at Danbury, which is good, and most of which I have marked to be copied.

September 30th, Saturday.—In the library in the morning; conversed half an hour with Mr. Sampson on the article which he is preparing for the "Review" concerning Ireland. . . .

October 2d, Monday.—In the library in the morning; found journals of New York Senate and Assembly during the whole Revolution, and also the statutes at large of the same period, all much to my purpose, and must be borrowed hereafter; also journals of the New Jersey Council and Assembly for the same period. A full set of New York newspapers may be had in the library, such as the "New York Mercury," "New York Journal," Rivington's "Gazetteer," and some others. The "Mercury" was begun as early as 1730. The file in the library seems not complete, yet it is nearly so. . . .

Employed Benjamin F. Stevens to copy for me such papers as I have selected. His charge is four cents a copy sheet (ninety words). In Georgia I paid nine cents; in North Carolina was charged twenty; paid about twelve. In some places they charge as much as they can get; in others they have a rule, but this varies in different places.

Made as many calls as I could find time for. One of the evils of putting one's head into a city is that you must spend half of your time in calling and being called on, *i. e.* if you would . . . escape the censure of a want of politeness and common civility. It is an exercise of mind and character, however, which is not unprofitable.

Mrs. Ledyard has not yet heard from Mr. Jay concerning Governor Livingston's papers. When she hears she will inform me. Mr. Duer has seen papers relating to a correspondence with Washington and Lord Stirling; alluding, he thinks, to the difficulties in the army. He will search for them. A man here is preparing for the press an edition of Chastellux's Travels in this country, with many notes illustrative of the events and characters of the Revolution. He has copies of all the letters sent from Washington to Chastellux, obtained, as he says, in Charleston by Mr. Brevoort. He tells me that General Armstrong showed him a list of the names of the officers who approved the Newburgh letters at the time they were written. He says, moreover, that he has in his possession numerous papers relating to the Revolution. His name is Brennan, or something like it. How far his work will be popular at this day may be doubted.

RESEARCHES IN ALBANY.

October 3d, Tuesday. — In the steamboat at six o'clock in the morning, and arrived in Albany at seven in the evening, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles in thir-

teen hours. The day was beautiful, and Nature appeared in all her majesty. The scenery of the Highlands has no parallel of the kind in this country. Harper's Ferry resembles it, but it is on a less scale, and as a whole is much less imposing. Indeed, Harper's Ferry would never have been so much thought of, if Mr. Jefferson had not indulged his imagination so freely in describing it. . . .

October 4th, Wednesday.—Gave my letter to the Secretary of State, Mr. Flagg, who immediately offered me every facility for looking through the papers in his office. These are all put up with remarkable care and in perfect order, and bound in volumes. I have been all day occupied on the volumes containing the public correspondence for 1775. The most prominent letters are those of General Washington, Schuyler, Montgomery, Ethan Allen, Wooster, and others engaged in the Northern campaign of 1775; also several letters from Guy Johnson and talks with the Indians.

In the evening called with Dr. James on Mr. Van Rensselaer, or the Patroon. His lady is an intelligent, agreeable woman, much younger than himself. My conversation, however, was principally with the Patroon on Revolutionary matters, for I can think of nothing else now. I reproached myself after coming out for not talking more with the lady, and on things of a more modern date; but it was too late to correct my error. I must do better another time. At this moment I am full of anxiety to procure a copy of Burke's correspondence while he was agent for the colony of New York. A single letter in the Historical Society is all I can hear of. Mr. Van Rensselaer does not know where the papers are to be found, and fears they are lost. They were written to a committee of the Assembly, who were negligent. He will inquire, and let me know the result. . . .

Saw Mr. Davison, publisher of a newspaper and book-

seller at Saratoga Springs, who tells me that he has in his possession a manuscript journal written during the Revolution by Allan McLane, who was an officer in the Delaware line. . . .

October 5th, Thursday. — All day employed on the "Minutes of the Conventions in New York" in the year 1775. The first convention under the new forms assembled in New York city in April, and did no other business than to elect delegates to the Continental Congress. It sat three days. In May another convention assembled, under the name of the "Provincial Congress," which continued its sessions through the year, except occasional adjournments of two weeks, and during these recesses business was carried on by a Committee of Safety, consisting of a certain number of persons appointed by the Congress from their own body. The elections of the first convention and of the Provincial Congress were made in consequence of the recommendation of the Committee of Correspondence in the city of New York, communicated in circulars to the committees, or some leading persons in each county. The number of delegates was not limited, as such a step was not necessary, considering the mode adopted for voting; which was, that the city and county of New York should have four votes, Albany three, and every other county two. The same rule was followed by the Committee of Safety, although from most of the counties there was only one member. This was an excellent arrangement, inasmuch as it obviated all the differences that might otherwise have arisen respecting the proportional number of members that should be sent from the several counties. The present system allowed each to send as many as it pleased. The principal business of the Provincial Congress at this period was to carry into effect the resolves of the Continental Congress, to organize the provincial

forces, supply them with provisions and other requisites, and to stimulate the counties to do their share. The taking of Ticonderoga by Ethan Allen and Arnold made work for the Congress, and also the forces forming under General Schuyler on the northern frontier. The Congress also drew up a plan of accommodation with the English government, which was recommended to their delegates in the General Congress, and took into consideration the subject of issuing paper money. A report on this subject by a committee is very valuable. But my extracts from the minutes will explain all these matters, and enable me to draw out a perfect thread of history in all things of importance.

Passed half an hour with Governor Clinton, who is just returned from the interior of the State, where he has been making examinations for a canal. He is very much taken up with things of this sort at the present moment. Mr. Palmer is here, and concerting a scheme with Governor Clinton in regard to the mammoth canal of Central America. The plan of an active company is forming, of which Governor Clinton is to be the president. I am beset to take the matter up in the "North American Review." It is a great work, and cannot but excite a deep interest in the community. The "Review" shall do what it can to help it onward. Governor Clinton could tell me nothing about Burke's letters. He gave me a volume containing all the speeches of the governors of New York since the formation of the government; and offered to procure for me, if possible, a copy of the journals of the State. I am to see him further.

Mr. Baldwin showed me the correspondence between John Adams and Roger Sherman on a point in the Constitution of the United States, particularly that relating to the President's negative. It is a rencounter of deep, keen minds, and I shall take a copy. Mr. Baldwin has

the originals, being the grandson of Sherman. The argument is well sustained on both sides, and in a manner peculiarly characteristic of the two men. Adams had the wrong side, and experience has shown his objections to be imaginary.

Mr. Baldwin has also an original letter from General Wooster to Roger Sherman, in which he speaks of returning his commission of brigadier-general, sent him by Congress, and desires Sherman to give it back to Mr. Hancock. It is a feeling letter, as Wooster thought himself slighted by the Congress in their not making him a major-general. He says he had been thirty years a soldier without ever having any complaint of his conduct; and as he now held a commission under the State of Connecticut, he could dispense with his Continental commission, which he remarked was given to him by General Washington without a date.

In the north part of this State Mr. Baldwin recently saw the man, Nathan Beman, who served as Ethan Allen's guide when he took Ticonderoga. He was then a boy, and lived on the side of the lake opposite to the fort. He often went over for his amusement, and had that very day been in the fort, and knew all the pathways to it. Allen first desired the boy's father to accompany him; but he declined, and the boy volunteered, and the project proved completely successful.

General Wooster was appointed higher in rank by the Congress than Montgomery. Was not the circumstance of his giving up his Continental commission the reason why Montgomery had command over him in the Canada expedition? This point to be investigated.

October 6th, Friday. — I have this day examined the minutes of the Provincial Congress through the year 1775, and a series of letters for the year following. The State of New York was very backward in the spirit of

independence. On the files is a letter from the delegates in Congress, dated July 2, 1776, stating to the Provincial Congress that independence would certainly be declared very shortly, and desiring to know what course they should pursue in consequence. They say that all the other States had either instructed their delegates directly to vote for such a declaration, or had withdrawn former instructions and left the delegates at liberty to act for themselves. New York was the only State which still imposed on its delegates the requisition to oppose such a measure. In the letter above alluded to, the delegates explain fully the embarrassments to which they will be subjected by taking the ground of opposition. A new order of things would arise in consequence of the declaration, and they would be required to vote on many measures growing out of it, which they could not consistently do if they proclaimed themselves in the opposition. In the midst of this dilemma they solicit speedy instructions.

Such was the hesitancy of New York in regard to the great question of an entire separation of the colonies from the mother country that, when General Washington ordered General Lee to march to New York with a view of defending the city against a menaced attack from the enemy, the Congress was greatly alarmed, and was highly displeased with the step. Almost the only gentle and conciliatory letter that Lee ever wrote was written on this occasion to the Congress while he was on his march in Connecticut. The Congress feared that it would appear to the British as if they were taking a too active part, and that to bring an army into the city was only tempting the enemy to fire upon it from their ships. Governor Tryon had done much mischief in this colony, and the exposed state of the colony, by being in a central position, was doubtless one reason why the public spirit was so long reluctant to engage in earnest in the contest.

October 7th, Saturday. — Engaged on the correspondence and minutes of the Provincial Congress and Committee of Safety for the year 1776. This was an important period in New York; for it was in this year that the seat of the war was transferred from Boston to that city, — battle of Long Island, evacuation of the city, battle of White Plains, loss of Fort Washington, and retreat into the Jerseys. General Lee had command in the city in February, after which Lord Stirling had command for a short time, and then General Thompson till General Washington arrived in April. Governor Tryon still continued on board the *Duchess of Gordon* in the harbor, and even at this time sent abroad his proclamations, calling on the people to adhere to their king, and offering pardon to repentant rebels. Till after General Washington arrived, the Colonial Congress not only submitted to this insult, but permitted supplies to be constantly sent off to the vessel. Nor was it till General Washington remonstrated earnestly against this conduct that the Congress prohibited all intercourse, having been actuated probably by two motives, — first, a secret Tory hope of conciliation; and, secondly, a fear that, if supplies were refused, the British vessels would fire the city. And when the resolve for stopping supplies was passed in conformity with General Washington's request, it was accompanied with a long preamble, enumerating with much formality the injuries inflicted on the colonies by the British king and Parliament, and showing that they are justified in considering his majesty's subjects so far enemies as to withhold supplies from them while in hostile array. General Lee had been so much out of patience with the Congress that he took the business into his own hands, and prohibited intercourse; but this caused an excitement, a cry that the military was usurping the powers of the civil authority, and he desisted. Washington proceeded with

caution, and was successful, but not without drawing out the suspicions of the Congress. They complained; but Washington returned a soothing answer, which kept matters quiet.

Governor Clinton told me to-day that he has several of Washington's letters to George Clinton and to his father, copies of which he will give me. He says, also, that he has in his possession Baron Steuben's papers, unless they have been sent to the New York Historical Society. He will look; and if they are still in his charge, I shall have free access to them. He gave me a little volume, called "Hibernicus' Letters," written by himself about seven years ago. While traveling to the West two or three summers past, I met with this book, and read it with much interest. It exhibits much varied knowledge, and contains the best account I have seen of the canal, and of the western parts of the State of New York. The governor said to me, "These were hasty letters, written to make the canal palatable." I replied, "It requires no such aids now to make it go down." "No," said he, "times and things have changed; but at that time it labored hard, I assure you." The truth is, the merit of this great work is exclusively due to DeWitt Clinton. He risked his reputation upon it at a time when the voices of a great portion of the wise men of the country were against it; he made himself unpopular in his own State for pressing forward what was called a visionary project; but he persevered, and was successful, and accomplished a work which is now the admiration of the world, the glory of this country, and of an immense importance to the State of New York.

I spent the evening in reading the volume of Humboldt's "Personal Narrative" (vol. vi.), just published, particularly that part relating to the canals of the Isthmus. Along with much solid learning and profound

remark, there is a great deal of pedantry in Humboldt; many loose statements, and a parade of knowledge on all sorts of things, of which it was impossible for him to be well-informed. He has much in his notes and appendix about this country, where his chief authorities are Warden and Morse's Geography. Time will show that a great many of Humboldt's statements are loose, and not to be depended on. He attempts too much. . . .

October 9th, Monday. — Governor Clinton lent me to-day fourteen original letters from General Washington to George Clinton, of which I am to take copies. He has also in his possession more than fifty letters from Washington to his father, James Clinton, which he says his secretary shall copy for me. He has, moreover, put into my hands a box containing all the papers of Baron Steuben, — a very choice treasure, — which he says I may take with me to Boston, and select at my leisure such as will be to my purpose. They have been left with him for the Historical Society in New York. These papers are arranged and put up with care, and are of peculiar value because, Steuben being inspector-general of the army, returns were made to him, and his correspondence was extensive with all the principal officers, and among no other records probably can the state of the army at different periods be so well ascertained. Employed all day in the secretary's office examining the records for 1776 and 1777. . . .

Passed an hour with Mr. Yates, former Secretary of State, who is supposed to be better acquainted with the materials for the history of New York than any other. A volume recently appeared, called "A History of New York," by Yates and Moreton. It is said Yates disclaims having any part in that work. It is chiefly to him that the State is indebted for excellent arrangement of the secretary's office, and for the copious indexes affixed to the volumes of manuscripts.

October 10th, Tuesday. — . . . Mr. Simeon DeWitt, Surveyor-General of New York, has held that office nearly forty years, and he was the person who gave the names of classical heroes and authors to the towns in the western part of the State, from Homer down to Ovid and Virgil. He must be a man of feeble invention. It was a poor scheme. If he had collected his names from the Six Nations, who once inhabited the country, it would have been far preferable. It is one of the perfections of language, and a matter of great importance in human intercourse, that the same name should apply to as few things as possible.

CITIZEN GENET.

Had an interview of half an hour with Mr. Genet, the famous diplomatist in the days of high democracy, and a brother of Madam Campan. He married Governor George Clinton's daughter, and has lived for many years on the North River, between this place and Newburgh. His conversation is highly amusing. He has lately published a strange book, in which he professes to have discovered the principles of "aerostatic navigation," or a mode of sailing or swimming through the air, as a fish swims in water. He was extremely eloquent on this subject, and severe in his remarks on some Boston critics who had dealt somewhat harshly with his project. He said all in good nature, however, and closed his remarks by ascribing the ill-fortune of his scientific discoveries in that quarter to the ancient leaven of federalism, and a recollection of his democratical diplomacy. "Ah, they forget nothing; they pursue me yet; they rake up old things, and my poor fish in the air must fall and perish because I was an arrant Democrat thirty years ago; and, to tell you the truth, I am an arrant Democrat still. I love liberty even better than my aerostatic fish; but, after all, it is hard that my fish should suffer for my political

sins thirty years ago, if sins they were." And so he went on in a very jocose way about the Boston critics; said he meant to answer them, and publish in "Silliman's Journal;" for Silliman had been more indulgent to him than that Dr. Webster of Boston. "Ah, Webster is an ominous name: it reminds one of federalism; and Genet was, is, and ever will be, a Democrat. The critics shall be answered." I inquired of Mr. Genet about Governor George Clinton's papers, as this was a thing of more importance to me than federalism or the fish in the air. He said the papers of Governor Clinton were left in the hands of his executors, that they were numerous, and carefully arranged. The last he heard of them, they were in possession of the present lieutenant-governor, General Tallmage. Of this I must inquire further. . . .

October 11th, Wednesday. — Examined the office of the Clerk of Assembly for Burke's correspondence; but could find no papers whatever anterior to the new government. I now despair of recovering the said correspondence. In the State House is contained a state library, which contains a good selection of books, particularly on the law. At present the legislature makes an annual appropriation of five hundred dollars for the increase of this library.

At Mrs. Clinton's . . . tea party in the evening. It was much like other tea parties, — not very animated nor inspiring, — yet Mrs. Clinton managed things with dignity and great propriety, conversing freely and sensibly. The governor not at home. I talked the most of the evening with Chancellor Jones and Judge Spencer, two of the judicial luminaries of the State. The chancellor gave me a full account of the papers which Hamilton's family are attempting to get out of Mr. King's hands by a process of chancery. He says General Hamilton, a short time before his death, told his executors, Mr. Pendleton

and Mr. Fish, that they would find his papers in a certain condition, and must do with them what they thought proper. After the death of Hamilton the papers in question went into possession of Mr. Pendleton, and from him — at what time is not stated — into the hands of Mr. King. For many years Hamilton's family were not aware of these facts, till Mr. King told one of the sons that he had these papers, and showed them to him.

As to the nature of the papers, Chancellor Jones says that, as far as he can learn, they consist of a correspondence between Washington and Hamilton on the subject of Washington's Farewell Address, and a copy of that address in Hamilton's handwriting. The impression has therefore gone abroad that Hamilton wrote that address; but a letter just published, written by Mr. Jay in 1811, makes it certain that Washington sent a draft of the address to Hamilton and Jay, requesting them to examine it, and suggest such alterations as they thought proper. That General Washington's copy should not be marred, Mr. Jay says Hamilton copied the whole with his own hand, and that the corrections were made in Hamilton's copy. From this statement, as well as from other things, the chancellor has no doubt that Washington wrote the first draft of the Farewell Address. He believes, however, that the correspondence will show that Hamilton suggested many of the ideas, and thinks it more than probable that he first hinted to Washington the expediency of such an address on his leaving office. His impression is, on the whole, that the address may be considered as the joint production of the two minds, but that Washington's share was such as to make it emphatically his own, and that he relied no more on Hamilton than any friend would do on another, in a similar case, in whose judgment and wisdom he had great confidence.

The whirl of party politics is in full motion here. Mr.

Rochester, the new candidate for governor, put up in opposition to Mr. Clinton, dined with us to-day. Knots of his friends are gathering around him, and concerting plans for prosecuting the electioneering campaign with spirit and efficiency. The politics of New York are a labyrinth to which I have found no clue, although I have searched with no lack of inquisitiveness. Few among the people themselves know what wheels are in motion, or how they are moved; and the busy agents cannot predict the results, or even lay the dust which they raise with their own machinations.

October 12th, Thursday. — Finished all my investigations in the secretary's office, and prepared everything for the copyist, — one hundred and seventy-seven letters and one hundred and fifty-five extracts from the minutes. Employed Mr. Luce to copy the whole at six cents a folio of seventy-two words. The materials for history in the secretary's office are as follows: Dutch records translated by Francis Adrian Vanderkemp, in twenty-four manuscript folio volumes, embracing the period between the years 1638 and 1674; also "Council Minutes," in twenty-five folio manuscript volumes, from the years 1683 to 1775, with a few broken records during the time the British held possession of the city of New York up to the year 1783. In these minutes is contained the correspondence between Governor Tryon and mayor and council of the city in 1775, when Tryon left the city and went on board the vessel in the harbor, under pretense that his person was not safe on shore. He held his council, and pretended to govern the province, on board the vessel.

The other materials for colonial history are the journals of the Assembly, printed by Hugh Gaine, in two large folio volumes, the first volume printed in 1764, and the other in 1776. This work was reprinted from the old journals by a vote of the legislature. It is called "Gaine's

Edition." The two volumes take in the period from 1691 to 1775, the end of the Colonial government.

The Revolutionary papers are very full till the end of the year 1777. After the new government was formed, near the close of this year, George Clinton was chosen governor, and all the executive papers from that time are among his papers. The minutes of the proceedings of the first Committee of Safety in New York, and of the subsequent conventions, Provincial Congress, intermediate committees of safety, and the convention that formed the Constitution in 1777, are carefully copied out and bound in ten folio volumes. None of these materials have ever been printed. When the new government went into operation, the journals of Assembly and Senate were printed, and have thus continued ever since. A valuable selection for printing might be made from the early minutes, particularly those parts pertaining to the time of debating the points of the Constitution, and adopting that instrument.

After dinner I walked home with Elkanah Watson, famous in the annals of agricultural societies, canals, and various other things. He had a contest with Mr. Clinton as to the origin of the grand New York canal. Elkanah Watson claims to have been the originator, and quotes memoranda from his journal which he made in the West thirty years ago. He has given me two books, which, when I read them, are to explain the whole matter to me. He showed me a great many letters from distinguished men. He has two or three of an extraordinary character from John Adams. He promises to send me copies. In a large book he has pasted a copy of all the newspaper articles he has written in forty years, on all sorts of topics, political, civil, agricultural, physical.

• RESEARCHES IN VERMONT.

October 13th, Friday. — Left Albany last night at eleven o'clock in the stage, rode through a rainy night, and arrived at Bennington this morning. My object was to visit the ground on which Stark fought the Hessians on the 16th of August, 1777, one of the best fought and most decisive battles of the Revolution, and one of the most important in its consequences. Mr. Baldwin had given me a letter to Mr. Hiland Hall, a lawyer of Bennington, which I delivered; and Mr. Hall immediately offered to accompany me to the battle-ground, about six miles from the town of Bennington. We called on Judge Henry, who lives in the neighborhood of the spot, and who visited the scene the day after the battle, being then fifteen years old. His recollections were very strong on the subject, as he had often been on the ground, and conversed with a great many persons who were in the battle. On returning to Judge Henry's we found there Governor Galusha, of Shaftsbury, who was himself in the battle and commanded a company of militia from Shaftsbury, six miles distant. The following is the result of my examination and inquiries in regard to the immediate events of the battle.

BATTLE OF BENNINGTON.

When it was known that Baum was approaching, Stark marched from Bennington to meet him, sending Colonel Gregg with a small party in advance to reconnoitre. Gregg first encountered the enemy at a place called Sancoick, or Rensselaer's Mills, on the Walloomsac Creek, near its junction with the Hoosac River, and immediately retreated, and met Stark three miles in the rear. The army being then in a valley, on the right margin of the creek, Stark drew back about a mile to the summit of a

hill, and formed his men in a line extending across the road, his left wing reaching nearly to the creek, being thus posted in a very advantageous position to meet the enemy. He had one iron field-piece, badly mounted, which was placed in the road, but no use was at any time made of it. This was on the evening of the 14th. The Hessians in the mean time had advanced about two miles from Sancoick, where they halted.

An engagement was expected by the Americans on the next day, but as it was rainy, and the Hessians remained at their post, nothing more occurred than a few slight skirmishes between small advanced parties. It was evident, however, that Baum did not intend to make an attack until he should receive the reinforcements for which he had sent, for he employed himself all the 15th in throwing up a redoubt, and fortifying himself as well as he could. The ground he had chosen for that purpose was selected with great judgment, and was the best in the vicinity. It was at the top of a hill, very steep on all sides but the northwest, covered with woods, and washed by the creek on its eastern base. This encampment was on the highest point, and the fortification he threw up covered but a small area, and was composed wholly of the trunks and branches of trees, which were cut on the spot and rudely put together. He had two field-pieces of brass, one of which was retained within this fortification, and the other was stationed more than four hundred yards distant, on an elevated and commanding point near the foot of the hill, where it could act upon the bridge below, and up the valley on the opposite side of the creek.

The Tories and British, under the command of Colonel Pfister, were posted more than half a mile to the south-east of Baum and on the opposite side of the creek. Here they threw up a wooden breastwork on a portion of

land somewhat elevated above the level of the creek, but much less so than the Hessian encampment, precipitous in their rear, but a little ascending in their front and right flank. The Indians were encamped in the woods on the hills to the rear of the Hessians.

Such was the posture of affairs on the morning of the 16th of August. Stark perceived the design of the Hessian commander to wait for reinforcements, and resolved to attack him immediately. The two armies were about two miles apart. The American general divided his forces into three parties. One on the right, under command of Colonel Nichols, was ordered to march in a circuitous route, sheltering himself behind the high hills, that he might be concealed from the view of the enemy till he should come upon the rear of the encampment. Colonel Herrick, who commanded the party on the left, had the same orders, and the distance to be marched over by each was so arranged that they should arrive as nearly as possible at the same time. Stark commanded the middle division in person, and it was planned that the attack should begin at the Tory battery by him when it should be known by the firing that it had commenced on the Hessians by the two divisions from the right and left.

This scheme was carried completely into execution. Herrick's division had to march from four to six miles and ford the river twice, and Nichols' nearly the same distance. They met as had been preconcerted, and commenced the attack together on the rear of the Hessian redoubt. Stark had arrived near the Tory battery some minutes before, but he halted out of the reach of the muskets, and a scattered fire only was carried on by advanced parties. But when the signal of attack was heard from the hill, he rushed with great impetuosity upon the Tories, and, after a short but severe conflict, he drove them from their breastwork and pursued them across the

creek to an open plain, at the foot of the hill on which Baum had encamped. Almost at the same moment the Hessians appeared running in all directions through the woods above, and hotly pursued by the Americans, who at the first onset had forced them from their fortification. The greatest number was killed during this flight in the woods. The greater portion of them at length found their way to the plain, where Stark was pursuing the Tories, and where the prisoners were chiefly taken.

The action, however, did not cease. Stragglers were escaping through the woods, and such Americans as were not wanted to guard the prisoners pursued them, killing some and taking others, till nearly sunset. At this time the advanced party in the pursuit, at the head of which was Colonel Herrick, had proceeded as far as Sancoick, when Breyman's reinforcements were descried rapidly advancing. Herrick and his men fell back till a sufficient number of those in the rear had collected together to make a stand. They then formed in front of Breyman's line on the margin of a wood, and began firing. The superior force of the enemy compelled them again to retreat, which was done in good order and with a constant firing. At this moment Colonel Warner came up with his detachment of Continental troops, just arrived from Manchester. The enemy's line was then drawn out from the creek on his right across the road to a wood on his left. Warner with his fresh troops attacked the left, and Stark, with those who had been fighting Baum and the Tories, and a few others of the militia who had come in near the close of the action, maintained the contest on the enemy's right. The American forces were continually increased by the coming in of those who had been scattered in pursuing the enemy. The action continued warmly till it was quite dark, when the enemy retreated, and the Americans remained on the ground. Breyman

had two brass field-pieces, which were both taken, as well as the two mentioned above. There was perhaps as much hard fighting in this engagement as in the other. Many of the enemy and some Americans were killed, but it was not known what proportion of the whole number. That the enemy retreated before the Americans is evident from the circumstance of both their cannon being taken.

The Indians fled at the beginning of the action, nor can I learn that any were seen during the whole day. They foresaw that the issue must be fatal, and they took care to desert their friends the moment they found them needing their aid. An Indian chief was shot in a skirmish, or, as it is said, by some person concealed behind a house, the day before the battle, and to revenge his death they burnt the house.

Governor Galusha tells me that the left wing of Breyman's line, which was engaged with Warner, beat a parley in the midst of the action; but the Americans, ignorant of military affairs, did not understand this signal and paid no regard to it, otherwise this wing would probably have surrendered.

Baum was mortally wounded in the first part of the engagement, near the fortification. He was carried to a house in the neighborhood, where he died the next morning, and I was shown his grave a few yards from the margin of the Walloomsac Creek. No external mark now indicates the spot. It is overgrown with high grass and weeds.

Colonel Pfister, who commanded the Tories, was also mortally wounded, and was buried with Baum. . . . To be killed fighting foreign battles in a foreign land, to be buried in the same grave with a Tory, was a hard fate. Pfister was a British colonel on half pay. He lived in Hoosac, a few miles from the place of his grave. He joined the army but a short time before the action. His

house was pointed out to me as I passed it on my way from Albany.

A better place could hardly be found for a depot of provisions for an army than Bennington. It is surrounded by mountains, and can only be approached from the west by two passes, the one attempted by Baum, and another about four miles to the south, through which the road leads from Hoosac to Bennington. It was at first doubtful which route would be taken, and therefore Stark kept back that he might be prepared for either. Had Baum taken the south pass, he would have followed up the Hoosac River from Sancoick instead of the Walloom-sac Creek. The passage chosen by Baum was the easiest of access, because Bennington can only be approached through the other by ascending a hill, which proceeds quite across the valley, and which would give very great advantage to an opposing enemy. The next nearest pass into the Bennington valley is fourteen miles above, where the Batton Kill runs through the mountain in Arlington, but this is so narrow and overhung with precipices that no army would attempt it that expected the least opposition. Baum's encampment, where the main engagement took place, is six miles from Bennington, and in the town of White Creek, at that time Cambridge. The Tory breastwork was in Hoosac, and the second battle was just within the line of that town.

No one can examine the particulars with the minuteness I have done without being struck with the great judgment, prudence, and military skill of Stark in planning and managing the whole enterprise. Nor should Baum pass without praise. He did all that could be done, — fortified himself in the best position, and fought bravely. Why he separated the Tories so far from him is not easy to say. He placed them in the most exposed situation, and where it was impossible they should not be

cut off in case of any serious attack. Their post formed a kind of outwork to his, but under such circumstances as cut off all communication and all assistance, except from the field-piece stationed to command the bridge. The Americans were somewhat annoyed by this, when they attacked the Tory breastwork, but not so as to check them in any degree. It is quite clear that Baum intended his Tory friends, rather than his own Hessians, should be sacrificed in maintaining a defense. In truth, these same friends had deceived him into his present snare, and it was but just that they should stand the test of their own declarations, and expose themselves in the front to an enemy whom they had represented as few in numbers and contemptible in spirit.

Mr. Hall and myself have made an accurate drawing¹ of Stark's battle, with the distances stated by Judge Henry, who has always lived in the vicinity of the scene of action. In the above description I have paid no regard to the numbers engaged on either side; these are to be ascertained from official documents. The points upon

¹ A sketch map of the battlefield at Bennington is preserved among the Sparks MSS. (No. xxviii.) in the library of Harvard University. It is inscribed "Drawn by Mr. Hiland Hall, Bennington, October 13, 1826. Very accurate. Ground examined by myself at the time." See Justin Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," vol. vi. p. 356, for a description of the map. One of the best accounts of the battle was written by ex-Governor Hiland Hall for the "Bennington Banner" in 1877, and was re-published in that journal August 21, 1891. The proceedings at the time of "The Dedication of the Bennington Battle Monument and Celebration of the Hundredth Anniversary of the Admission of Vermont as a State, at Bennington, August 19, 1891," were published in 1892 by authority of the Centennial Committee and under the editorship of Henry Leonard Stillson. The work contains an account of earlier celebrations of the Bennington battle, as well as of the great celebration in 1891. Especially noteworthy in the proceedings are the orations of Hon. Edward J. Phelps and of President Harrison, pp. 84-99.

which I have touched are principally those which have been misstated by historians.

RESEARCHES IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

October 14th, Saturday.—From Bennington to Manchester by private conveyance, twenty-two miles, through a romantic valley between two ranges of the Green Mountains. At Manchester, Colonel Warner was posted with a body of Continental troops, and marched from that place to the aid of Stark. It is a town pleasantly situated, and surrounded, like Bennington, by lofty hills. The best pass across the Green Mountains is at this point. . . . Left Manchester at seven in the evening and rode fourteen miles to the top of the mountain, in Landsgrove, where we lodged.

October 15th, Sunday.—By a slow movement to Charlestown in New Hampshire, twenty-eight miles, through Chester and Springfield. . . .

October 16th, Monday.—From Charlestown to Concord, through Ackworth, Washington, Hillsborough, and Hopkinton, fifty-three miles. . . .

October 17th, Tuesday.—Went to the office of the Secretary of State, and began my investigations. The secretary is Mr. Richard Bartlett, my fellow boarder and schoolmate two years at Exeter, for whom I have always had a sincere regard. He affords me every facility for my researches in the records of his office. I find the Revolutionary correspondence tolerably perfect, but as New Hampshire was a frontier State, and not the theatre of war, the letters are not so numerous as in many other States. Generals Stark and Poor, Colonel Scammel, and the delegates in Congress, and particularly General Sullivan, both while he was major-general in the army and a member of the Old Congress, wrote the letters of chief importance. Meshech Weare was president of the State

during the whole Revolution, and some of his letters are worth preserving, though he commonly wrote briefly. In this respect Governor Trumbull's habit was quite different. His letters were often long, and so with Governor Reed, of Pennsylvania, and Governor Livingston, of New Jersey. Weare does not appear to have been a man of marked energy, but a true patriot, constant and unyielding.

The secretary's office has not been kept in good order: the papers are loose, and doubtless many have been lost; but the Revolutionary correspondence seems to have been preserved nearly entire. Dined and took tea with Mr. Bartlett, his mother, and sisters; talked of Exeter and school-boy times till late in the evening.

October 18th, Wednesday. — All day intensely occupied among the papers. Finished the whole, and selected seventy-nine letters from different persons. In the office are fifty-eight letters from Washington, all to be copied. There is a file of papers containing an account of the court of inquiry on General Sullivan, with the statements and evidence sent by him to the legislature of New Hampshire. These are very important, as they explain fully the events in which Sullivan was engaged, particularly at Brandywine and Staten Island. In one of Sullivan's letters, he says he was not the commander in the engagement on Long Island. General Putnam took the command four days before. All history has hitherto represented Sullivan as the commander.

Mr. Bartlett has a manuscript account of the proceedings of the committee of Congress to the army in 1780. Colonel Nathaniel Peabody was one of this committee, and this copy was carefully taken for him. It contains letters from all the principal officers, and a minute account of the army for more than six months. This volume I have borrowed. Mr. Bartlett also has other

Revolutionary papers which belonged to General Peabody, and which he will loan me. Mr. Moore is engaged in printing a second volume of the "Collections of the Historical Society of New Hampshire." A few Revolutionary materials are printed. Mr. Moore has all the remaining papers of President Weare. They are chiefly of a date anterior to the Revolution.

Materials for colonial history in New Hampshire are meagre. The journals were kept in an imperfect state, and I cannot ascertain whether they were ever printed. No printed copy is to be found in the secretary's office, though it is thought some of the journals were printed. The minutes of the Committee of Safety and the first councils and assemblies under the new government are mere skeletons. There is but one volume of these in the secretary's office, nor is it known whether the full set is to be found. . . . As yet I can find no clue to this business, and it demands further research. Nor can I hear of any copy of the statutes at large during the Revolution.

Passed an hour in the evening with Mr. Bartlett, his mother, and sisters, whose civilities have been marked. This has been a great day here, — a cattle show, speech, dinner, and toasts. I had a formal invitation by a committee to attend. But I was pressed for time, and went not abroad the whole day. I have a single purpose at present, from which neither cattle, nor dinners, nor toasts shall divert me.

October 19th, Thursday. — In the stage at five in the morning, and arrived at Durham before twelve. Paid stage fare to Dover, five miles further than I designed to go. So much for carelessness and ignorance of geography; which latter, indeed, is but a feeble apology, as I have been here before. General Sullivan lived in Durham, and all his papers remained here in the hands of his daughter, Mrs. Steele, when he died, and after. For

some years her son, Dr. Richard Steele, has had possession of them. They have been very loosely preserved, and Dr. Steele has given many of them away to persons who have been curious to possess them, and also a good many to the Portsmouth Athenæum. A large mass, however, still remains, and he and I have spent eight hours to-day examining them and selecting the most important. This selection contains many letters of essential value, especially from Count D'Estaing and the French officers, and also from Lafayette; a few only from Washington, as his letters have already been culled out and are mostly at Portsmouth; some have been lost.

General Sullivan was so long in the army, and held so many conspicuous stations, that I consider his letters, next to those of Washington and Greene, to be the most fertile sources of history of any of this description. He wrote well, with vigor and thought; his mind was active and versatile. Among his papers are drafts of articles for newspapers, reports of committees, and a good deal on finance. It is quite certain, from the confused manner in which his papers have been kept, that many must have slipped out and been destroyed; yet the prospect is fair for gathering a rich harvest from this quarter. Dr. Steele offers all his exertions for procuring everything that can now be gathered.

October 20th, Friday. — Took breakfast with Dr. Steele, after which he drove me in his chaise to Portsmouth. Here I procured from the Athenæum four volumes of letters to General Sullivan, which had been deposited there by Mr. Steele. One of these volumes consists wholly of letters from Washington. Dr. Steele offers to procure all the other papers, which he has given to individuals, and then I shall have a very full collection of General Sullivan's papers; and they are among the most important of the Revolution. . . .

October 21st, Saturday. — Stage to Boston, where I arrived at two o'clock, P. M., and was glad again to step my foot within the domains of my own hired rooms. How small a space in the whole world is that which a man can call his home! Thus endeth my second historical tour, during which I have accomplished all, and even more than I expected. I have traveled about five hundred and fifty miles.

II.

CUMBERLAND, BRADDOCK'S FIELD, AND JAMES MADISON.

1830.

March 29th, Monday. — Having resolved to visit the Alleghany regions for the sole purpose of examining the localities of the early acts of Washington at the commencement of the French War, I left Baltimore in the Western stage this morning at four o'clock, and reached Hagerstown at eight in the evening, seventy-one miles. . . .

March 31st, Wednesday. — Arrived at Cumberland (136 miles from Baltimore) to breakfast. . . . In the time of Washington's expeditions, this place (Cumberland) was called Will's Creek, from the name of the stream which unites with the Potomac here. My object in stopping has been to examine the site of the old fort, which was several times occupied by Washington. I had brought a letter from Mr. McMahan, of Baltimore, to Mr. Van Buskirk, of this place. He is absent, and I put the letter into the hands of Mr. McMahan's father, who has resided in Cumberland forty-four years. He showed me the ground occupied by the old fort, on the point of land at the junction of the Potomac and Will's Creek. Mr. McMahan is clerk of the county of Alleghany, and in his office I found a plan of the town of Cumberland drawn from an accurate survey. From this plan I traced the course of the rivers, embracing the location of the old fort. . . .

The point of land between the streams on which the fort was built is elevated about thirty-five feet above the

level of the water. A steep bluff rises from the margin of the rivers, which protected the fort on those two sides. On the north side of the fort the ground is also steep; but the fort was constructed on that side with regular bastions, as it was also on the west. No traces now remain of the fort, except the remains of two or three broken angles on the north side, through which a road passes. At first, water was procured from the river through a secret covered passage; but afterwards a well was dug quite at the north side of the fort, which is now in use, and is sixty feet deep. The fort occupied a square of about three hundred feet, and the ground ascended from Will's Creek. This fort was a strong defense against an attack by Indians, or any other forces with musketry only, but could easily have been reduced with cannon, as there is a much higher hill a few hundred yards in the rear; and two or three still higher within the distance of a mile.

When Braddock was here, and previously, the western road passed through the mountain along the margin of Will's Creek. His army pursued this route through the gap in the mountain, then turned to the left, and went up a stream since called Braddock's Run, till they came to the present course of the National Road, not more than five miles from Cumberland. This pass in Will's Mountain has a most singular, bold, and precipitous appearance. I have visited it to-day. Some great convulsion in nature seems to have parted the mountain, and formed a passage for the stream. From the surface of the water to the top of the gap is more than one thousand feet, and on each side are enormous broken fragments of rocks, which appear to have been broken asunder by violence. The passage is nearly a mile in length. The river is now swollen with recent rains, but is not more than fifty yards wide. In summer it is a small stream, easily fordable.

I am told by Mr. Stoddart, who has for many years resided a few miles to the west of this place, and is well acquainted with the country, that Braddock's Road ran near the present National Road till it crossed the Laurel Ridge; and then it turned off to the right through the valley to the Youghiogheny, which it crossed near the present town of Connellsville; thence on the north side of the river to Turtle Creek, twelve miles from Pittsburgh, and to Braddock's battle-ground, one half mile beyond the creek. There was a small fortification or stockade at the Little Meadows, where the road crossed the stream of that name, twenty-one miles (it is said) from Cumberland. From Winchester to Cumberland was a road which crossed the Potomac a little below Oldtown. When Washington went on his first expedition to the West in 1753, he spoke of this as the "New Road" from Winchester. . . .

FORT NECESSITY.

April 2d, Friday. — Left Cumberland last night in the mail stage at seven o'clock, and rode all night, and arrived at Wiggins', two miles east of the foot of Laurel Hill, at twelve o'clock. From Cumberland to the Little Crossings, or Little Meadows, is twenty-two miles; thence to the Great Crossings of the Youghiogheny, eighteen miles; thence to Old Fort Necessity, ten miles. The fort is two miles east of Wiggins', and a person went with me to point out the spot. The place where the old fort, or stockade, was erected, is a few hundred yards south of the National Road, in a bottom or glade surrounded by hills. This bottom is entirely level, and about two hundred and fifty yards wide where the fort was placed, and extends up and down a small creek at irregular widths. Within this space there were no trees; but the ground was covered with a coarse kind of grass and short bushes. The

position was well chosen, being one hundred yards distant from the wooded ground on one side and one hundred and fifty on the other, thus depriving an attacking enemy of the advantage of being protected by trees. This was found of essential importance when the fort was attacked, for had it been in the midst of trees, which would have given shelter to the enemy, it must have yielded speedily to so superior a force.

The fort is at the junction of two very small creeks, one of which comes down the glade, and the other has but just escaped from the high land at the left as you ascend. The fort itself was an irregular square of about one hundred feet on each side. The intrenchments are still distinctly visible, and also a ditch, which partially encompassed the fort on the south and west. One of the angles is projected beyond the regular lines with the view to reach the water in the creek. On the west side were three entrances at equal distances, in the front of which were short breastworks. The attack was first made on this side by a direct assault; but the enemy was repulsed by the sharp firing from the fort. Other assaults were kept up through the day, and a continued firing from the woods, at a distance of from one hundred to two hundred yards. The guide told of a tradition that the French attacked the fort with vehemence at first, but that the Americans in the fort had each a rifle and a musket, and, having discharged the first, seized the second, by which the French were thrown into disorder, and compelled to retreat to the trees; and before they could rally, the rifles and muskets were again loaded. The fort is four miles from the foot of Laurel Hill.

I can learn nothing of the place where the skirmish occurred in which Jumonville was killed. It must have been within a few miles of the fort, on the east side of Laurel Hill. In the old road, about a mile west of the

fort, is pointed out a spot which is called Braddock's grave. No marks of a grave are now seen. It is known that after the battle Braddock was brought back mortally wounded to Fort Necessity, where he died, and was buried in the road, that his body might be concealed from the Indians. No mark was fixed to indicate the spot, and tradition only has preserved it. . . .

April 3d, Saturday. — Stage over the National Road, through Union, Brownsville, to Washington.

April 4th, Sunday. — Stage through Cannonsburgh to Pittsburgh. Passed the evening with Mr. Bakewell. Arrangements to visit Braddock's field in the morning.

April 5th, Monday. — Breakfast with Mr. Bakewell, who afterwards walked over the town with me. Seven years ago I was in Pittsburgh, since which time great improvements have been made. The new canal, its deep cut and locks are works of enterprize. The smoke of the coal-fires universally used gives Pittsburgh the appearance of an English manufacturing town. Coal is four cents a bushel brought to the door. It is obtained from the hills by an excavation in the side, where a layer of coal is always found at a certain elevation.

BRADDOCK'S BATTLEFIELD.

Mr. Bakewell called with me on Mr. James Ross, who is one of the oldest inhabitants of Pittsburgh, and who was eminent as a senator in Congress twenty-five years ago. He has made himself intimately acquainted with the history of this region. He said there were only twenty-seven Frenchmen and three hundred¹ Indians in

¹ Subsequent investigation seems to have convinced Mr. Sparks that reliance could not be placed upon the statements of Ross. A note in Mr. Sparks' handwriting declares the above figures erroneous, and a like note further on applies to other information received from Ross.

Braddock's battle, and he doubts whether the Frenchmen were engaged until near the close of the action, if at all. He says that the progress of Braddock's army had been watched by spies; and his force was well known by the commandant of the fort. It was so much superior to the French force that it was resolved to abandon the fort as the enemy approached, and proceed down the river. A young officer solicited permission to go out and harass Braddock's army on its march. The commandant refused at first, saying the project was chimerical, and no efficient resistance could be made. After much importunity, however, he permitted the officer to go, and take with him as many volunteers as chose to accompany him. The whole garrison volunteered; but the commandant would allow only twenty-five soldiers to go, and another officer to accompany the one who made the proposal. He would not hazard a larger number from the garrison. There were three hundred Indians in the fort, all of whom volunteered.

Mr. Bakewell gave me a letter to Mr. Oliver, who resides near the battle-ground. I rode up the river on horseback to the spot, about ten miles from Pittsburgh, and half a mile below the mouth of Turtle Creek. When I arrived at Mr. Oliver's, I found Mr. Gilleland there, who is well acquainted with the ground, and who went with me over it, and explained the localities of the battle.

Braddock's army marched from Fort Necessity across the Laurel Hill at Gist's plantation and bore away to the right, and crossed the Youghiogheny near a place now called McConnellsville, thence by a circuitous route to the mouth of the Youghiogheny, where he forded the Monongahela. Marching down the southern margin of the river till he had passed the mouth of Turtle Creek, he forded the river again, with a view to marching directly to the French fort at the junction of the Monongahela and Alle-

ghany rivers. This double fording of the river within a few miles was for the purpose of avoiding a rough road, and the passage of Turtle Creek, which was deep with precipitous banks. The army crossed the last ford on a beautiful bright morning. Washington has often said (as Mr. Ross informed me) that he never saw so handsome a display of soldiers as this army of Braddock's marching through the Monongahela. They had stopped overnight on the bank; the men had washed themselves and put on their neatest attire, and the rays of the sun gleamed upon their burnished arms as they descended into the ford. They had no doubt of taking the fort within a few hours. After landing on the opposite side, they marched forward in military order, till they began to ascend a slight elevation about half a mile from the ford; and when they had ascended one or two hundred yards, a discharge of musketry was opened upon them from the right. There was a declivity in that quarter, and trees which concealed the enemy. This firing from the right caused the army to incline a little to the left, but here again they were met by a discharge from a line of muskets still more extended. In this quarter there was a remarkable ravine, running quite from the plain below, at right angles with the base of the hill, for nearly two hundred yards, in such a manner as to reach across the front of the whole army. This ravine was from six to ten feet deep, and the sides were everywhere easily ascended. Here the Indians concealed themselves, and were in fact completely invisible to the army, being hid by the ravine itself and by the short bushes that grew on its margin. They could thus take deliberate aim with their rifles at the officers and soldiers who were drawn up before them in battle array, but who could rarely see an Indian. In this way the battle continued for more than two hours. The result is known.

There were two modes of routing the Indians from this ravine. The first and most effectual would have been to charge them with the bayonet. This would have driven them out immediately. The other was to take the cannon at the foot of the ravine on the flank, and discharge grape-shot in that direction. But nothing was attempted but to stand in the European mode and fire at random, while every rifle-ball of an Indian was sure of its man. Mr. Ross says that only seventeen Indians were killed and no Frenchmen. Nothing is more easy, on viewing the ground, than to understand how it was that Braddock lost so many men, and was defeated by a handful of Indians without a commander and without discipline. He had six cannon, which were taken, and which, Mr. Ross says, were supposed to have been sunk in the river near the fort in Pittsburgh. Mr. Gilleland, who is skilled in drawing, has promised to make for me a plan of the battleground. I have drawn an imperfect sketch in pencil.

The French fort first visited by Washington was on Le Bœuf, a branch of French Creek, nine miles from Lake Erie. Venango was at the junction of French Creek with the Alleghany River, where Franklin now stands. Logstown was on the Ohio, near the mouth of Beaver River....

April 6th, Thursday. — Left Pittsburgh in the morning of the 6th in a steamboat bound up the Monongahela River to Brownsville, about seventy miles by water. The river proved much lower than was expected, and by breaking one of the wheels at an early period, and frequently running aground on rocks and shoals, we were detained two days in reaching Brownsville, — a wearisome passage, but quite as good, on the whole, as over the bad roads in a stage-coach.

April 8th, Thursday. — Stage-coach came along full, and I was detained all day in Brownsville; dull and tedious. Met General Harrison by accident at dinner, who

was returning to the West in the stage. He has been our late Minister to Colombia, and he told me that he had just published a pamphlet on the subject in Washington.

April 9th, 10th, 11th. — Traveling in the mail stage from Brownsville to Washington. Arrived in the evening of the 11th by way of Fredericksburg, New Market, Hyattstown, Rockville, and Georgetown.

April 12th, Monday. — Received a letter from Mr. Madison inviting me to visit him at his residence, and examine a file of General Washington's letters in his possession. I shall go. . . .

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

April 15th, Thursday. — Had a long walk to-day with Mr. Adams (J. Q.), in which he conversed a great deal about Revolutionary history and other topics. He says that Governor Hutchinson and Lord Mansfield were the immediate authors of the American war, the former by the false views he gave the government at home of the state of feeling in America; and the latter by his law decisions in reference to the colonies. He laid it down as a matter of law that we were *rebels*, and then it was considered lawful to proceed against us as such, without regard to the merits of our cause, or the peculiar circumstances of the case. The king was more influenced by the counsel of Mansfield than that of any other person, and Mansfield's principles all tended to an unqualified despotism. So thinks Mr. Adams.

Two papers in Burke's posthumous works he considers among the ablest tracts on the political state of things at the beginning of the American war. He expressed the highest approbation of Grahame's "History of America" (the two volumes already printed); says it is incomparably the best that has been written, and the *only true* history of the early settlements of the colonies.

Mr. Adams talked much on miscellaneous topics. His father did not nominate Washington in Congress to be commander-in-chief, as has been sometimes said. He seconded the motion, which was made by Thomas Johnson, of Maryland. This was agreed on beforehand. The Massachusetts delegation were long for Ward, who then commanded the provincial forces at Boston. Mr. Adams became satisfied that it was important to select a commander from the South, with a view to engage the people of that quarter more earnestly in the war. He moreover considered Washington the best man, and was the first of the Massachusetts delegation to declare that he should support him. They at length all came over.

In point of style, and as displaying the resources and power of the English language, Mr. Adams considers Junius decidedly at the head of all writers since Milton; the next is Burke. He thinks the author of Junius has not been discovered. He inclines to "single speech Hamilton," and alluded to a passage in Cumberland's Memoir as affording a strong confirmation. Dr. Waterhouse has written an essay to prove that it was Lord Chatham. This is not possible; nor can Tooke be the man; nor Burke. He spoke particularly of the rhythm of Junius' style, which was evidently modeled after the rules of Cicero, as far as they could be applied in English. One trait in particular is retained. Cicero says that the most harmonious sentence will begin with three short feet followed by a long one, and end by three long feet and a short one. Junius often constructs his sentences in this way; that is, making long and short syllables answer to the poetical feet in Latin.

No Englishman will ever attempt to write a true history of his country from 1770 to 1783. It is the most disgraceful period in the annals of the nation. The less that is written on it the better for the honor and pride of

Englishmen. For this reason a history of our Revolution will never be received with any favor in England. Washington's writings will not sell there.

April 16th, Friday. . . . Mr. Hall, of New York, tells me that there is a book describing parts of the American war by a Sergeant-Major Lamb, who was in the British army. He describes the battles of Saratoga and Guilford Court House, and some other important events. The book is valuable as being well written, and containing the views of a subordinate officer of considerable talent and observation. Mr. Hall says also that he has in his possession six volumes of the letter-books of Robert Morris, which were lent to him by Mr. Morris' son, who resides in New York. *Mem.* To consult them on my return.

April 17th, Saturday. — Dine at Mr. Silsbee's. Evening at Mrs. Tayloe's. Mr. Martin tells me of great numbers of Washington's letters in possession of the widow of Tench Tilghman, who is still living on the eastern shore of Maryland.

April 18th, Sunday. — Mr. Lear called on me in the morning, and told me that he had a manuscript volume of Washington's letters to his father which he is willing I should examine. He added that his father kept a diary nearly the whole time of his residence with General Washington, in which he noted conversations and events. This will doubtless afford several particulars respecting the habits of General Washington for several years.

VISIT TO JAMES MADISON.

I set off at twelve o'clock in the steamboat down the Potomac on my way to Mr. Madison's. Colonel Storrow on board. Met Mrs. Storrow at the wharf in Potomac Creek. They both returned to Washington the same night. I proceeded to Fredericksburg in the stage-coach, and late in the night took the stage which runs westward.

Arrived at Orange Court House (five miles from Madison's) at twelve o'clock.

April 19th.—I found there Mr. Madison's servant with a horse for me to ride to Montpellier. Reached it before dinner. Conversation at first on general topics, but at length went back to Revolutionary times. I shall here set down, without regard to their order, several topics and anecdotes introduced by Mr. Madison during my stay at Montpellier.

FIRST BANK OF THE UNITED STATES.

It is well known that the opinion of Congress as well as of the community was greatly divided on the establishment of the Bank of the United States. It was sustained by Hamilton with all the power of his talents and aid of his party, and was opposed with vehemence by the other party. General Washington's mind seems to have been completely undecided as to the affixing or withholding his signature till almost the last moment. That he might be prepared for either result, he had requested Mr. Madison to prepare the form of a veto, to be in readiness for his signature in case he should at last decide against it. This form of a veto Mr. Madison actually prepared and gave to General Washington. The signature was deferred till a very late hour. Congress was in session, and a friend of the bank was proving to Mr. Madison in conversation that ten days (the time allowed the President for signing) had actually elapsed, and the bill itself had become a law by the letter of the Constitution. At that moment Mr. Lear arrived with a message from the President declaring his signature to the bank. Mr. Madison thinks, if the decision had been the other way, that some attempts would have been made to prove that the ten days had passed before the signature, and therefore the law was valid notwithstanding the veto of the President.

JOHN JAY.

In speaking of Mr. Jay's suspicions respecting the policy of the French court at the time of making peace, Mr. Madison observed that "he had two strong traits of character, — suspicion and religious bigotry."

MISSISSIPPI.

In the year 1822, Mr. Madison communicated what he deems an important communication to "Niles' Register"¹ respecting the part taken by Virginia in regard to the Mississippi and Western territory. *Mem.* The paper to be examined.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Washington was not fluent nor ready in conversation, and was inclined to be taciturn in general society. In the company of two or three intimate friends, however, he was talkative, and when a little excited was sometimes fluent and even eloquent. The story so often repeated of his never laughing, Mr. Madison says, is wholly untrue; no man seemed more to enjoy gay conversation, though he took little part in it himself. He was particularly pleased with the jokes, good humor, and hilarity of his companions. Mr. Madison says there was a tradition that, when he belonged to the vestry of a church in his neighborhood, and several little difficulties grew out of some division of the society, he sometimes spoke with great force, animation, and eloquence on the topics that came before them.

PRESIDENT'S LEVEE.

Mr. Madison was present at Washington's first levee, which is described by Mr. Jefferson, and he says the de-

¹ "Navigation of the Mississippi," "Niles' Register," January 26, 1822. — Ed.

scription is literally true. The main point in the affair was that when Washington came into the room, the folding-doors were suddenly thrown open and Humphreys preceded him, and, just as he entered, cried out in a loud and pompous voice: "The President of the United States." The effect was the more ludicrous as not more than five or six gentlemen had then assembled. Washington gave Humphreys a look which Mr. Madison said he could more easily remember than describe. Mr. Madison was also present at the ball described by Mr. Jefferson, when Washington and his lady attended, and he says the description is also correct.

THE WAR OF 1812.

Mr. Madison told the following singular anecdote about the declaration of the late war during his presidency. He said that a letter was received by Mr. Foster, the British minister, from Lord Castlereagh, which was designed to be shown to the President and the Secretary of State. The minister consequently submitted it to him and Mr. Monroe. In this letter it was affirmed, in the most positive terms, that the Orders in Council would not be rescinded. Our government had repeatedly declared the absolute necessity of rescinding these articles before any terms of entire conciliation could be made between the two countries. The letter could only be regarded, therefore, in a hostile light, and as intended to show an utter disregard of the complaints of the United States. This letter seemed to shut out all prospects of conciliation, and the President considered war as the next necessary step to vindicate the rights and honor of the nation. Hence he recommended it to Congress. Four or five weeks afterwards, the Orders in Council were actually rescinded. Had Castlereagh's letter, therefore, been of a different tone, war would not have been at that time declared, nor

is it probable that it would have followed, because there was every prospect that the affair of impressment and other grievances might have been reconciled after the repeal of the obnoxious Orders in Council.

HAMILTON AND WASHINGTON.

Mr. Madison says that Hamilton often spoke disparagingly of Washington's talents, particularly after the Revolution and at the first part of the presidency. Towards the close of Washington's life perhaps it was otherwise, as they then agreed more in sentiment.

PRESIDENT'S TITLE.

When the subject of the President's title was brought before Congress, Richard H. Lee, Madison, and Ellsworth were a committee on the part of the House to consider the matter. Lee was strenuously for a title, and made a learned argument to show that all governments, ancient and modern, gave titles to their head.

CLOSED DOORS.

It was necessary for the old Congress to sit with closed doors, because it was the executive as well as legislative body; names of persons and characters came perpetually before them; and much business was constantly on hand which would have been embarrassed if it had gone to the public before it was finished. It was likewise best for the convention for forming the Constitution to sit with closed doors, because opinions were so various and at first so crude that it was necessary they should be long debated before any uniform system of opinion could be formed. Meantime the minds of the members were changing, and much was to be gained by a yielding and accommodating spirit. Had the members committed themselves publicly at first, they would have afterwards

supposed consistency required them to maintain their ground, whereas by secret discussion no man felt himself obliged to retain his opinions any longer than he was satisfied of their propriety and truth, and was open to the force of argument. Mr. Madison thinks no Constitution would ever have been adopted by the convention if the debates had been public. No chaplain was chosen for the convention at any period of its session, although Dr. Franklin proposed one, as has been reported, after the convention had been some time sitting.

NEWBURGH AFFAIR.

Mr. Madison has copies of two important letters from Washington to Joseph Jones (then in Congress), the one dated Newburgh, March 12, 1783, the other March 18th. These letters are full on the Newburgh affair, and essential. I avoid copying them because I believe they are in General Washington's letter-books; if not, they must be obtained from Mr. Madison. The person mentioned in the first letter as "coming from Philadelphia," and having some influence on the minds of the soldiers, Mr. Madison believes to have been Colonel Walter Stewart.

EUROPEAN LOAN.

Soon after the establishment of the first bank, Congress voted a loan of \$2,000,000 to be made in Europe, and the money paid to France. It was afterwards discovered to be deposited in the bank. This was deemed a violation of the law, and as just ground of censure of the Secretary of the Treasury. Giles brought in resolutions complaining of this perverted use of the money; Madison supported them. He believes Washington sanctioned this disposition of the money, but without duly considering the subject, and relying on the Secretary of the Treasury. No corruption was suspected in any quarter. Hamilton

had two motives in effecting this transfer of the money from Europe to the bank, — first, a wish to give prosperity to his new bank; and, secondly, hostility to France, which made him willing that she should be kept out of her money as long as possible.

TAXATION.

The apportionment of taxation in the old States of three fifths for slaves was decided rather from accident than any accurate calculation. The subject caused much debate in Congress. The East and the South differed. The former was for a high ratio, the latter for a low, — one fourth, one half, two thirds were proposed and rejected. At length Mr. Madison proposed three fifths, which was accepted, and he still thinks it very near the true ratio.

COMMISSIONERS FOR PEACE.

The instructions of the commissioners for making peace, requiring concurrence with the French government, were drawn by Witherspoon, who urged them very strenuously, as well as the other members of the New Jersey delegation. New Jersey, Maryland, and the other States which had little interest in the Mississippi, the fisheries, and Canada, were strongly for peace, as they were apprehensive the war would be continued for the above objects. When these instructions were drawn, it was understood, moreover, that Austria and Russia were to be mediators, and it was feared Britain might have so great an influence with these monarchical governments as to counteract the best efforts of our unpracticed diplomatists. For this reason it was thought more safe to put the business under the control of the French Cabinet, who would better understand the diplomatic manœuvres of European courts, and be better able to secure our interests. It was also believed that France was desirous

of finishing the war, and that a peace under her auspices was more certain.

By the other side it was argued that France wished to continue the war, so that the United States might become more and more irritated against England and attached to France, and that if peace were left in her hands, it would be long delayed. Arthur Lee and Izard headed this party, but it was small, and these leaders in particular acted under the strong impulse of personal hostility to France, or rather to the French ministers. . . .

PINCKNEY'S DRAFT OF THE CONSTITUTION.

In the recent "History of the Convention for Framing the Constitution," published by order of the government in connection with the "Secret Journal," there is a draft of a Constitution said to have been presented by Charles Pinckney. It is remarkable for containing several important features in exact accordance with the Constitution as it was passed. This is the more strange, as some of these very points grew out of the long debates which followed the presentation of the draft.

Mr. Madison seems a good deal perplexed on the subject. He says Charles Pinckney presented a draft at the beginning of the session, that it went to a committee with other papers, and was no more heard of during the convention. It was not preserved among the papers on the files of the convention. When the above-mentioned history was published, Mr. J. Q. Adams was Secretary of State, and prepared the manuscript for the press. He wrote to Mr. Pinckney for a copy of his draft, and received from him that which was printed. How it happened that it should contain such particulars as it does, Mr. Madison cannot tell; but he is perfectly confident that they could not have been contained in the original draft as presented by Mr. Pinckney, because some of

them were the results of subsequent discussions. Mr. Madison supposes that Mr. Pinckney must at the time have added certain points as the convention proceeded, particularly such as he approved, and as he thought would make his draft more perfect, and that this altered draft had lain by him till he had forgotten what parts were changed or improved; and thus he copied the whole. But however this may be explained, says Mr. Madison, it certainly is not the draft originally presented to the convention by Mr. Pinckney. It is obvious that Mr. Madison feels some embarrassment on the subject, because in his papers on the convention he has probably ascribed several of these particulars to the Virginia delegates, from whom they originated; and when his papers shall be made public, there will be found a discrepancy between them and Pinckney's draft. After the draft was printed, he intended to write to Mr. Pinckney asking, and even requiring, an explanation; but Mr. Pinckney died, and the opportunity was lost. It is known that Mr. Madison took down sketches of the debates of the convention, and preserved copies of all the important proceedings. He told me that nothing of his would come out till after his death.

VOTING IN THE OLD CONGRESS.

The name of each member was called over by the secretary, and written down in the order of the States; that is, the names of all the members in any particular State were written together. A majority of these names was a vote *ay* or *no* for that State; if equally divided, the vote passed for nothing, and the State lost its vote. By the Articles of Confederation a State must be represented by two members to entitle it to a vote. When only one member was present, he always answered to his name, *ay* or *no*, which was an expression of his opinion; but, as in a divided State, the vote passed for nothing in regard to

the motion or resolution. It was then called a vote *half ay* or *half no*.

WASHINGTON'S RELIGIOUS OPINIONS.

Mr. Madison does not suppose that Washington had ever attended to the arguments for Christianity, and for the different systems of religion, or in fact that he had formed definite opinions on the subject. But he took these things as he found them existing, and was constant in his observances of worship according to the received forms of the Episcopal Church, in which he was brought up.

JOHN ADAMS.

Mr. Madison observed that Botta should have put into the mouth of John Adams the speech for independence, instead of that of Richard H. Lee. The latter seems to have been selected because he brought forward the subject in Congress; but in this he had no merit, for he only acted as the organ of communicating the instructions of his State; whereas John Adams was a bold and decided champion of independence from the beginning. The talents of R. H. Lee were respectable, but not of the highest order.

HAMILTON'S FUNDING SYSTEM.

The mind of Washington was strongly exercised by Hamilton's funding system. He had given strong pledges to the army that justice would be done them; and when the plan was proposed for paying the whole amount of the bills to the present holders, and thus deprive of their just claims the soldiers, who had been obliged to take the same bills at par when they were no more than 2s. 6d. on the pound, and had thus sacrificed 17s. 6d. on the pound, he could not easily be reconciled to it.

The friends of the funding system were opposed to all restrictive regulations of commerce, because it was neces-

sary that the bills should be paid by a fund raised from the commercial revenue, as the people would not bear direct taxation. Anything must be submitted to, also, rather than provoke a war, because this would create expense, and the fund would fail. The anti-funding party wanted commercial regulations. Mr. Madison's propositions went to discriminate between nations in treaty and out of treaty, and to reciprocate the navigation laws of all nations not in treaty with the United States. The objection urged was that England never would consent to it, that it would bring on a war, cause expense, and derange the funding system.

CONGRESS AND THE SOLDIERS.

Mr. Madison was in Congress when the hall was surrounded, during the sitting of the members, by armed soldiers demanding their pay. They were commanded by sergeants. No fear of violence was apprehended, unless it should arise from intoxication, as the soldiers were drinking. They pointed their muskets at the windows by way of threat. No business was done, though Congress kept together till the usual time of adjournment. They then adjourned *sine die*, and authorized the president to summon them together, if he saw fit, at Princeton. When the members left the hall, the soldiers at first fell into close ranks to prevent their departure; but their officers told them to let the members pass, and they obeyed.

The president called them together at Princeton. The town was small, and became thronged by such a sudden accession of visitors. Mr. Madison and one of his colleagues occupied a very small room, and both were compelled to sleep in one bed, which filled the room so completely that one was obliged to lie in bed while the other was dressing. So says Mr. Madison. This was bringing the members of Congress into close quarters.

April 23d, Friday. — Left Mr. Madison's towards evening, and rode to Orange Court House, where I am to take the stage to-morrow morning for Washington. I have passed five delightful days at Mr. Madison's. The situation of his residence is charming. The blossoms and verdure of the trees are just springing into perfection; and the scenery, embracing a distant view of the Blue Ridge, is commanding and beautiful. But I have had little time for these objects. My conversations with Mr. Madison have run upon Revolutionary reminiscences, and his intercourse with Washington. I have been busy also in copying and abridging curious papers, with which he has furnished me, relating to the history of the old Congress and other events. The intellect and memory of Mr. Madison appear to retain all their pristine vigor. He is peculiarly interesting in conversation, cheerful, gay, and full of anecdote; never a prosing talker, but sprightly, varied, fertile in his topics, and felicitous in his descriptions and illustrations. He seems busy in arranging his papers. While he was in the old Congress, he rarely kept copies of his letters, though he wrote many. He has recently succeeded in procuring nearly all the originals from the descendants of the persons to whom he wrote them. I imagine he has preserved all the materials for a history of the convention for framing the Constitution, and probably of his later political life.

Mrs. Madison is an elegant and accomplished lady, attractive in her manners, and interesting in her conversation; and, on the whole, it is rare that one finds in any place so many of the essential means of social happiness as at Montpellier. . . .

J. Q. ADAMS ON PINCKNEY'S DRAFT.

May 4th, Tuesday. — I mentioned to Mr. Adams (J. Q.) what Mr. Madison had said to me respecting

Charles Pinckney's draft of a Constitution. Mr. Adams said that he prepared the manuscript of the history of the convention published by order of Congress; that the materials in the Department of State were very defective; that Pinckney's draft was not there; that he wrote to him for a copy, and received from him the one that is printed, together with a letter, in which he claimed to himself great merit for the part he took in framing the Constitution. Mr. Adams said he spoke once to Mr. Rufus King on the subject of the draft, who replied that Mr. Pinckney presented a draft, or a sketch of some sort, at the beginning of the convention, which went with other papers to a committee, and was never afterwards heard of. This accords with what Mr. Madison told me.

Mr. Hodgson showed me his Arabic and Turkish MSS. which he purchased in Algiers. They amount to three hundred volumes, and cost about \$1,300. Many of them are beautiful specimens of chirography, and he says there are several curious and rare works. . . .

NEW YORK.

May 13th, Thursday. — Employed all the morning in reading Robert Morris's letter-books, beginning with his financial career in March, 1781. There are four large volumes, to the end of the year 1782. They contain a full history of his financial operations. Dined with Mr. James A. Hamilton in company with Mr. Schuyler, the son of General Schuyler of the Revolution.

May 14th, Friday. — Called on Mr. Gallatin in the morning with Mr. Lawrence. Found him reading a book just published by John Neal, containing a translation of some of Dumont's French version of Bentham's writings, together with a strange introduction containing remarks on Bentham and many other persons. He spoke with much disparagement of the motives of Neal in making

such a book. Our conversation then branched off upon topics relating to our Revolutionary history, to which Mr. Gallatin has given much attention. . . .

May 15th, Saturday. — Mr. Thomas Morris put into my hands nine volumes of manuscripts, of which seven are Robert Morris' letter-books, embracing his entire correspondence on the subject of finance while he was superintendent of finance; and the other two volumes are a minute diary of all events which occurred in the way of his business during that period. The whole are curious and important. Mr. Morris allows me to take them home, and retain them as long as I choose.

Mr. Schuyler has also intrusted to me a box of papers which belonged to General Schuyler during the Revolution, relating particularly to the early part of the war. Left New York in the steamboat for Providence at four o'clock P. M., having with me three boxes of manuscripts. . . .

May 16th, Sunday. — Arrived in Boston at six o'clock P. M., having been twenty-six hours in the passage from New York.

May 24th, Monday. — Mr. James A. Hamilton, of New York, called on me for the purpose of examining in concert all the papers which are in his possession and mine respecting Washington's Farewell Address. He brought with him the papers that were left among his father's papers at the time of his death, and which were retained for some years by Mr. King, and on account of which a good deal of noise has been made by reason of Mr. King's disinclination to give them up. We found that between us we had eighteen separate papers, embracing letters, notes, and drafts of parts of the address. Of these I had ten pieces, and Mr. Hamilton eight. The letters in my possession were those sent by Hamilton to Washington, and those in his possession, from Washing-

ton to Hamilton. I have Washington's first draft of the address, which he sent to Hamilton, and which Hamilton returned to him, accompanied with another draft, in which Washington's draft is remodeled with such alterations and additions as to make it essentially a new draft. There is also a curious memorandum, entitled "Abstract of Points to Form an Address," in Hamilton's handwriting, which contains the elements of the Farewell Address as it came before the world. These "points" are drawn partly from Washington's first draft; but they seem to be mostly original. There is also a "second draft" by Hamilton, containing additions to the first. Hamilton's draft passed back and forward several times, and changes were made at the suggestion of Washington. At last Hamilton made a fair copy, and sent it to Washington. This copy is not in the possession of either of us, and is probably lost. It was doubtless the one which Washington copied, with several omissions and changes, for the printer. I have seen the copy which was sent to the printer (Mr. Claypoole, now living), which is in Washington's handwriting, and is much erased and interlined. My intention is, when I come to the Farewell Address in Washington's works, to give a full account of these papers and their contents.

June 1st, Tuesday. — Mr. Harrison Hall, of Philadelphia, called, and in conversation told me that Dennie's effects were left in charge of Mr. Richard Peters, of Philadelphia. When Dennie¹ edited the "Port Folio," Mr. J. Q. Adams put into his hand two volumes of manu-

¹ For an interesting account of Dennie and of the "Port Folio" which he edited, see "The Philadelphia Magazines and their Contributors, 1741-1850," by Albert H. Smyth (Philadelphia: Robert M. Lindsay, 1892). This study of Philadelphia magazines was suggested to Mr. Smyth by the writer's inquiry into the history of the "North American Review" in connection with the present work; see vol. i. pp. 218-371. — ED.

script letters which had belonged to M. Dumas in Holland, and which had been given to Mr. Adams by M. Dumas' daughter. They contained copies of the letters of Franklin and many other persons to M. Dumas during the war. Mr. Adams told me they were important, but that Dennie never returned them, and he presumes they are lost.

N. B. — Write to Mr. Peters on the subject.¹

June 14th. — Dined at Mr. Prescott's in company with Mr. Walsh, of Philadelphia, Mr. A. H. Everett, and others. Mr. Walsh talked a good deal about a project which he has of writing a history of the American government from the commencement of the Constitution to the present time, particularly, as he says, with the view to illustrate, defend, and vindicate the views of the Federal party. . . . Mr. Walsh maintained one position which I think highly objectionable in a writer of history. He said he thought it proper not to bring out the defects of the great actors in our historical drama, but only to set forth such of their virtues and good acts as are worthy of the admiration and imitation of posterity. This principle I hold to be pernicious. The character and turn of events more frequently take their coloring from the foibles and waywardness of the actors than from their merits or elevated qualities. For instance, the factions in the old Congress, and the ill consequences to the nation which grew out of them, are to be ascribed in a very great degree to the jealousy, ambition, and mischievous activity of Arthur Lee, and yet he was a patriot and a true friend to his country. The causes of evils must rest on somebody, and justice requires that they should fall on the right head. History which keeps men's defects out of sight tells but half the tale, and that half imperfectly. De-

¹ Have since inquired of Mr. Meredith, of Philadelphia, who was one of Dennie's executors, and learn that no such papers have been seen. — J. S.

fect of character, in him who guides events, is the spring of blunders and disorders, which make a large portion of human acts. Truth — the whole truth — is the bright gem of history.

June 20th. — Finished examining General Gates' papers, which have been lent to me by the New York Historical Society. I have made large extracts from them, particularly with reference to the affair of Saratoga and Conway's cabal against Washington.

July 10th. — Mr. Schuyler, of New York, has put into my hands a large box of papers which belonged to his father, General Schuyler, and which contain materials for a full history of the military operations in the northern department for three or four years. The letters of Montgomery and Arnold from Canada are curious and valuable; as also those of St. Clair, Sullivan, Wooster, Thomas, and other officers who commanded in the North. The whole mass of these papers contains many important particulars. I have made full extracts from them, and entire copies of many of the letters.

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