CONSTITUTION,

BY-LAWS,

CHARTER, CIRCULAR

AND

MEMBERS

OF THE

Maryland Historical Society.

BALTIMORE:
PRINTED BY JOHN MURPHY,
146 MARKET STREET.
1844.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Article I.

THIS society shall be styled the "MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY." Its object shall be to collect, preserve and diffuse, information relating to the Civil, Natural and Literary History of the State of Maryland, and American History and Biography generally.

Article II.

This society shall consist of Active, Corresponding, and Honorary Members.

ACTIVE MEMBERS shall consist of citizens of the State residing in Baltimore, or within fifteen miles thereof.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS shall consist of citizens of the State residing elsewhere therein.

HONORARY MEMBERS shall consist of persons distinguished for their literary or scientific attainments,—particularly in the department of History—throughout the world.

Article III.

The officers of this society shall consist of a President, Vice President, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian, who shall be elected by ballot at the annual meeting of the society, from the class defined in Art. II, as Active members. Should a vacancy occur in any of these offices, by death, resignation, removal or otherwise, it may be filled up by ballot of the members present at the monthly meetings provided for in the next article.

Article IV.

The annual meeting of the society shall be held on the first Thursday of February, and meetings shall be held for the ordinary transactions and purposes of the society on the first Thursday of every month.

At the annual meetings, the officers of the society shall be elected by ballot; and, at the monthly meetings new members shall be proposed and voted for.

In order to become an active or corresponding member of this society, the name of the party applying or proposed therefor, must be given in writing, to the Recording Secretary at the meeting previous to the one on which he is to be balloted for, and three negative votes shall exclude the candidate from membership.

All active and corresponding members shall pay on admission, the sum of five dollars, and a subsequent annual contribution of five dollars.

Article V.

The citizens of each County in the State of Maryland, who are Corresponding members of this society, are authorised and empowered to form within each of their respective Counties, a Chapter of this society, the President of which Chapter, elected by the county members, shall be *ex-officio* a Vice President of the Maryland Historical Society.

It shall be the duty of these Chapters to meet at least once a month, at such times and places within their respective counties as they may see proper to appoint.

At these meetings, essays, local historical accounts, memoirs on the natural history of the county, or documents of interest to the State generally, may be presented, or prepared; all of which shall be forwarded to the Corresponding Secretary of the Historical Society, by the President of the Chapter, together with all other collections relative to the civil, natural, or literary history of the State, in order that they may be preserved in the archives and cabinets of the Institution.

Article VI.

This Constitution may be amended from time to time, as the society shall deem proper; but a motion for an amendment shall not be received unless a notice thereof shall have been given and entered on the journals of the Society at the last preceding meeting.

BY-LAWS

OF THE

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

I.

The President, or in his absence, the highest officer present, shall preside at all meetings of this society. Seven members of the society shall constitute a quorum, at the monthly meeting; and, at the annual meeting, those of the members who are present, shall constitute a quorum.

The duty of the President or presiding officer shall be, to preserve order, regulate the order of proceedings and give the casting vote when required.

II.

The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct all the correspondence of the society;—he shall preserve the originals of all communications addressed to the Society, and keep a fair copy of all his letters in books.

It shall moreover be his duty to read to the Society the correspondence which he has sustained since the previous meeting.

He shall likewise present all the documents, essays, collections or contributions, of whatever nature, that he has received since the last meeting from the President of the several Chapters of this Society, or from other sources.

III.

The Recording Secretary shall keep the minutes of all meetings of this Society, and, at the opening of each of them, shall read those of the preceding; he shall have the custody of the constitution, by-laws and records; shall give due notice of the time and place of all the Society's meetings; and he shall keep, in books, a neat and accurate record of all the orders and proceedings of the Society.

IV.

The Treasurer shall receive, and keep deposited in Bank, to the credit of the Society, all donations and bequests of money, and all other sums belonging to the Society. He shall pay all such sums as may be due by the Society, by checks, countersigned by the President, or some member authorized in writing by the President to act in his absence. He shall keep a faithful account of all moneys received and paid by him, and, once in every year, render a particular statement of the same to the Society, which shall appoint a committee of three members to audit and report on his accounts to the annual meeting.

V.

The Librarian shall preserve, arrange and keep in good order, all books, MSS., documents, pamphlets, papers and contributions of every kind, to the library or cabinet of the Society. He shall keep a catalogue of the same, and take especial care that no books, MSS., documents, papers, or any property of the Society, pertaining to the library and cabinet, confided to his keeping, be, under any pretext, or by the permission or authority of any officer, removed or taken from the Society's rooms. He shall be furnished with a book in which to record all donations and bequests of whatever nature, relating to his department, with the name of the donor and the time when bestowed. He shall carefully number the books, MSS., and collections, and mark them with the title of this Society and the name of the donor or depositor.

VI.

A committee of three, on the library, shall be appointed by ballot, at the annual meeting, to serve until the election of their successors, and shall have the supervisory care of all publications by the Society, under the provisions of the 1st Art. of the Constitution. They shall, with the Librarian, provide suitable shelves, cases and fixtures, by which to arrange and display the books, manuscripts, and collections of the Society.

VII.

The Society shall select by ballot, at the sixth monthly meeting antecedent to the annual meeting, one of its Active or Corresponding members, who shall be requested by the President to deliver a Historical Discourse at said annual meeting. And at the same time the Society shall appoint such other exercises to accompany the delivery of the annual discourse as shall be appropriate to the occasion.

VIII.

No books, MSS., or property of the Society shall be, at any time, lent to any person, to be removed from the Society's rooms.

IX.

Any failure on the part of a member, after due notice for six months by the Treasurer, to pay his annual dues, shall be considered a forfeiture of membership, and no person who has thus lost his membership shall be re-admitted without the strict payment of all arrears.

X.

All vacancies in committees by death, resignation, or otherwise, shall be filled by the other members of the committee.

XI.

In the event of the dissolution of the Maryland Historical Society, at any period, the books, collections, documents, and all objects of interest presented to or deposited with the Society, shall be returned to the original owners or depositors, or to their representatives. And if neither owners, depositors, nor representatives are to be found, then the said books, documents, or objects shall be presented to some scientific or literary institution.

An Act

TO INCORPORATE THE

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

WHEREAS sundry citizens of Maryland have associated for the purpose of collecting, preserving and diffusing information, relating to the civil, natural and literary history of this State, and to American history and biography generally,—and have applied to the General Assembly to incorporate said association:

Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland, That Brantz Mayer, John P. Kennedy, John H. B. Latrobe, Robert Gilmor, John V. L. McMahon, Charles F. Mayer, Frederick William Brune, Jr., Sebastian F. Streeter, John L. Carey, George W. Dobbin, John Spear Smith, Bernard U. Campbell, William G. Lyford, Stephen Collins, Fielding Lucas, John I. Donaldson, Robert Cary Long, William A. Talbot, S. Teackle Wallis, Charles S. W. Gwinn, Joshua I. Cohen, John S. Sumner, members of said association, and their present and future associates, and their successors, be and they are hereby constituted and created a body politic and corporate, by the name of "THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,"

and by that name shall have perpetual succession, with all the faculties and liabilities of a corporation, and may for, and to promote, the declared objects aforesaid, of said association, acquire and hold, and at pleasure, alienate, chattels and real property and real estate, and may acquire the same by devise or bequest or otherwise: *Provided*, That the value of such acquisitions at any one time held, shall not exceed fifty thousand dollars, and may have and use, and, at discretion, change, a common seal, may ordain bye-laws, rules and regulations, such as said corporate body may deem proper, not inconsistent with this Act, or the Law or Constitution of this State or of the United States; and, in like manner, may establish a constitution for said corporate body.

SEC. 2. *And be it enacted*, That the said corporate body, may have such officers or managers and otherwise (who shall exercise the powers conferred on this corporation) as may be instituted and designated by the bye-laws or constitution aforesaid, and to be elected at such times and for such period, and in such manner, and with such qualifications, duties and powers as the said bye-laws or constitution of the Society may prescribe.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That the said corporation shall be deemed to have the power at any time hereafter, to procure and collect a general and miscellaneous library to be controlled and availed

of according to the rules and provisions in the constitution or bye-laws of the corporation.

STATE OF MARYLAND, TO WIT:

Be it remembered, and we hereby certify, that the aforegoing is a true copy of the Act entitled "An Act to incorporate The Maryland Historical Society," which passed the General Assembly of Maryland, December Session, one thousand eight hundred and forty-three.

Given under our hands at the city of Annapolis, this 8th day of March, 1844.

GEORGE G. BREWER,
Clerk, House of Delegates, Md.

JOS. H. NICHOLSON,
Clerk, Senate of Maryland.

EXTRACT FROM THE

Society's Circular Letter.

As you may desire to know the objects and collections which will be of especial interest and particularly acceptable to the Society for its cabinets, library and archives, we have deemed it advisable to annex the following list.

I. Manuscripts, original letters, pamphlets, and books relative to any epochs of the history of Maryland, of other States, or of the Union.

II. Laws, journals, copies of records and proceedings of Congresses, Legislatures, General Assemblies, Conventions, Committees of safety, Councils and secret committees;—treaties and negotiations with Indian tribes, or with any State or nation.

III. Orations, sermons, essays, discourses, poems, tracts written or delivered on any public occasion, or in reference to any remarkable event or character,—especially biographical memoirs and anecdotes of distinguished persons in this State, or who have been connected with its settlement or history.

IV. Autographs and coins;—especially those belonging to the early colonial history of our country.

V. Proceedings of Ecclesiastical conventions or councils of all denominations;—narratives of missionaries or of missionary enterprise, histories of colonization, slavery and abolition.

VI. Narratives of Indian wars, battles and exploits; of the adventures and sufferings of captives, voyagers, and travellers; legends of the Indians or of early settlers and pioneers.

VII. Indian antiquities, idols, arms, utensils;—accounts of ancient cities, mounds, monuments, fortifications, or encampments; and any facts or reasoning that may illustrate the doubtful question of the origin of the North American tribes.

VIII. Genealogies of families, especially of the early settlers, brought down to the present time;—relics of early settlers of the State.

IX. Specimens in every department of natural history—especially of Maryland.

X. Transactions of societies for historical, literary, scientific or political purposes, and catalogues of libraries.

XI. Topographical descriptions of towns, cities, counties, or states; with maps, accounts of colleges, academies, and public schools—their origin and progress.

XII. Tables of diseases, births, deaths, &c.—Meteorological tables.

XIII. Accounts of export and import, progress of

agriculture, commerce, and manufactures :—Statistics of all kinds.

XIV. Memoirs and essays,—historical or scientific,—of the towns and cities of Maryland.

XV. Magazines, reviews, pamphlets, tracts, newspapers ;—especially the early papers published in Maryland.

All communications or donations to the Society for its library, cabinet, or archives, are to be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary. A convenient room in this city has been provided and suitably furnished ;— and the names of donors will be noted both on the articles presented and in the Journals of the Society.

Brantz Mayer,

S. Teackle Wallis,

Frederick W. Brune, Jr.

Committee of Hist. Soc.

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JOURNAL

OF

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

JOURNAL

OF

Charles Carroll of Carrollton,

DURING HIS

VISIT TO CANADA IN 1776,

AS ONE OF THE COMMISSIONERS FROM CONGRESS;

With a Memoir and Notes

BY BRANTZ MAYER,

Cor. Sec. Md. Hist. Soc.

PUBLISHED BY THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BALTIMORE:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY J. MURPHY, 178 BALTIMORE STREET.

MDCCCXLV.

ENTERED, according to the Act of Congress, in the year eighteen hundred and forty-five, by BRANTZ MAYER, for the MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, in the Clerk's office of the District Court of Maryland.

JOHN MURPHY, PRINTER,
178 Market street, Baltimore.

ERRATUM.—On page 49, seventh line from top, for "*two-sixths*" read *two shillings and sixpence*.

INTRODUCTORY MEMOIR

UPON THE

EXPEDITION TO CANADA

IN

1775, 1776.

Chapter I.

THAT long line of lakes and rivers which flow, southeastwardly, across our continent, and empty themselves into the Atlantic through the gulf of Saint Lawrence, would seem to form a natural barrier between two nations, marking their geographical limits, if it did not also bound distinctive races. And such, in fact, was really the case with a part of this extensive chain, until the peace of Paris in 1763, when Canada, after the victory of Wolfe, passed from the dominion of France to that of the British crown.

In March, 1766, the stamp act was repealed; but the English ministry, foiled in its first attempt on the liberties of the American colonies, seemed determined to tease and worry them into rebellion. Taxation by duties was laid in 1767, and Maryland at once took ground against the imposition. Associations for "non importation" were speedily formed; but, after existing for a while, they were abandoned, and local

2

discontents arose in our state that exasperated the people's feelings against Ministerial oppressions, until they were ripe for the revolt that ultimately broke out.*

Amongst the earliest demonstrations of a disposition on the part of the colonists to resort to violence, was the attack upon the newly ceded province of Canada.

The expedition that was sent to the north was deemed, by some persons, of questionable policy, and not a few of our people thought it entirely subversive of the principles upon which we grounded our resistance. It might naturally, they alleged, be regarded as a *war of conquest*, and, as such, was entirely at variance with the spirit of our discontent.

Such, however, was not a just view of the case. The boundary of the lakes to which we have alluded, formed, in reality, no boundary to British rule, for the sway of the Anglo-Saxon race was now fully established over the whole of the northern part of the continent. It was obviously proper, therefore, to detract, if possible, from the power of our assailants to harm us on the great watery highway of the lakes and rivers, or to present such an united force of colonial and provincial inhabitants as might counterbalance, in a great measure, the pertinacious loyalists who were disposed to discountenance our appeals for justice. For it will be remembered, that before the declaration of our national independence, the warfare was neither against the throne nor the laws of England, but against a reckless and oppressive ministry.†

* See McMahon's History of Maryland, vol. i, p. 380.

† See Col. Reed's letter to Washington, and Washington's reply.—*Washington's Writings*, vol. iii, p. 347.

In taking advantage, therefore, of this general desire to enlist the whole of the British subjects in America in the preservation of their privileges, efforts were justly and fairly made to obtain possession of the keys of the lakes and of the St. Lawrence at Quebec and Montreal.

As Sir Guy Carleton had manifested a strong disposition to sustain the ministry against the people, it was hoped that his efforts would thus be neutralized, and an unbroken front of firm and resisting freemen presented to the cabinet and parliament.

Canada was a province whose citizens had not yet coalesced with the English. In the debate on the Canada bill, in 1774, the widest latitude of opinion was expressed as to the proper government and laws for the conquered province, and the most lamentable ignorance was displayed as to the character and temper of the people.*

Under the French the spirit of the government had been military. Conquest was the chief object, and the desire of the authorities was to command the lakes, to control the territories on the Ohio, and thus, descending the Mississippi to Louisiana, to embrace the great internal resources of this continent by two gigantic arms, one of which should rest on the St. Lawrence whilst the other controlled the Gulf of Mexico. Canada, therefore, was the citadel and nursery of their troops. Large detachments were sent every year to the Ohio and to other interior parts of North America, and, by these annual campaigns, the province was drained of its blood and energy. The people had no time for settlement and its peaceful

* See Cavendish's Debates on the Canada bill in 1774.

results. Marriages were prevented, and numbers perished in the toilsome services to which they were devoted among the savages of the remote wilderness. But, after the conquest by Great Britain, the aspect of affairs was changed. The government became one of peace, and the inhabitants—not greatly augmented in numbers by emigration—were permitted to cultivate their lands, whilst the judges took care not to interfere essentially with their laws and customs.* Besides this, the policy of England towards Canada was wise in another respect. In October, 1763, a royal proclamation was made, by which the province of Quebec was limited and bounded; and on the 13th of June, 1774, parliament passed the "Quebec act," by which those limits were enlarged, and, his majesty's subjects professing the religion of the church of Rome, were guarantied the free exercise of their worship, whilst their priests were protected in the full discharge of all their functions.

Thus Canada, though a *quasi* foreign country, was a contented one, and it behooved our statesmen to take heed lest her people, still alive to their ancient military glory, might annoy or distract our frontier. The warfare, therefore, that we waged within her borders, was one, in fact, of political propagandism, in which the people, unfortunately for themselves as the sequel proved, took but little interest.

We will not dwell, now, on the successes of our troops in Canada up to the spring of 1776. So many works have been written on the history of that period and on the biography of the eminent men who led our

See "Debates," &c., pp. 104, 105.

armies, that it would be useless, in this sketch, to review the earlier part of our campaign.

But after the successes of Arnold and Allen at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, the former of these officers pushed on towards Quebec through the wilderness. By the capture of a small fleet at Sorel, under General Prescott, the Americans had gained command of the St. Lawrence above Quebec, and, as all the British posts in Canada were under our control, except the capital, that now became the object of eager enterprise.*

On the 31st of December, 1775, Montgomery stormed that stronghold, and fell in the attack. Our troops were unsuccessful in effecting a lodgment; but Arnold, on whom the command devolved, sat down resolutely before the capital in the depth of winter, and with the small remnant of his troops besieged a Ministerial force of nearly double his number.

Reinforcements were sent to our colonial general, who had been immediately promoted for his gallantry, and troops that carried their own provisions during a perilous march through the forests on snow shoes, reached him from Vermont, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts.

With this fragmentary, undisciplined, ill-fed, and miserable array, he kept his ground until spring. Meanwhile, Wooster had quietly rested during the long and arduous winter, in the secure and undisputed Montreal. "A state of repose," says Mr. Sparks "which his countrymen were not prepared to expect from a man who had gained the reputation of a bold and active officer in the last war."†

* See Sparks' Life of Arnold. † See Sparks' Life of Arnold, p. 55.

However, on the 1st of April, 1776, he left his winter quarters for Quebec, and, as he outranked Arnold, took command immediately on his arrival. Arnold, who was no doubt discontented at not being permitted to continue in authority at a season when he might have struck a daring and effectual blow, forthwith departed for Montreal, and left this weak and injudicious officer to conduct the siege.*

Canada was thus, in fact, in the possession of our colonial troops, yet the tenure was rather nominal than real. It was a conflict between *the military* on both sides, whilst *the people* of the province—the subject matter of all available controversy—had as yet manifested no ardent desire to join us.

Such was the state of things early in the memorable year of '76. But the feeble grasp with which we held that remote province was not long to be continued. On the first of April, Col. Hazen, who had taken command at Montreal, on the departure of General Wooster, and before the arrival of Arnold, thus wrote to General Schuyler:

"You are not unacquainted with the friendly disposition of the Canadians when General Montgomery first penetrated into the country. The ready assistance they gave on all occasions, by men, carriages, or provisions, was most remarkable. Even when he was before Quebec, many parishes offered their services in the reduction of that fortress, which were at that time thought unnecessary. But his most unfortunate fate, added to other incidents, has caused such a change in their disposition, that we no longer look

*See Mr. Carroll's Journal, of the 25th of May, and note, for the Commissioners' opinion of Wooster's conduct in Canada.

upon them as friends, but, on the contrary, as waiting an opportunity to join our enemies. That no observations of my own may remain obscure, I beg leave to observe that I think the clergy, or guardians of the souls and conductors of the bodies of these enthusiasts, have been neglected, perhaps, in some instances, ill used. Be that as it will, they are unanimous, though privately, against our cause, and I have too much reason to fear that many of them, with other people of some consequence, have carried on a correspondence the whole winter with General Carleton in Quebec, and are now plotting our destruction. The peasantry in general have been ill used. They have, in some instances, been dragooned with the point of the bayonet to supply wood for the garrison at a lower rate than the current price. For carriages and many other articles furnished, illegible certificates have been given without signature; the one-half, of consequence, rejected by the quartermaster-general. It is true, payment has been promised from time to time; yet they look upon such promises as vague, their labor and property lost, and the congress or united colonies bankrupt. And, in a more material point, they have not seen sufficient force in the country to protect them. These matters furnish very strong arguments to be made use of by our enemies. With respect to the better sort of people, both French and English, seven-eighths are tories, who would wish to see our throats cut, and perhaps would readily assist in doing it.

"You may remember, sir, in a conversation with you at Albany, I urged the necessity of sending immediately to Canada able generals, a respectable army, a committee of congress, a suitable supply of

hard cash, and a printer. Indeed, I had before represented those measures in person to congress, at least, to the committee of congress, and we have since been flattered, from time to time, that we should have one or all of these essentials."*

The commissioners, alluded to by Colonel Hazen, had already been appointed by congress; and, on the day subsequent to the date of his letter, had departed from the city of New York on their way to Montreal.

On the 15th of February, '76, it was "Resolved that a committee of three—two of whom to be members of congress—be appointed to repair to Canada, there to pursue such instructions as shall be given them by that body."†

Dr. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, SAMUEL CHASE, and CHAS. CARROLL of Carrollton, were chosen for this purpose (the two first named being members), and, by a special resolution, the last mentioned gentleman was desired "to prevail on Mr. JOHN CARROLL to accompany the committee to Canada to assist them in such matters as they shall think useful."

This gentleman, who afterwards became the first Roman Catholic Archbishop of the United States, had already received holy orders in Europe. He was a Jesuit of distinguished theological attainments, and was celebrated for his amiable manners and polished address. Both of the Carrolls were educated in Europe, and had formed connections of the most intimate kind with the people of the old world. The Rev. John Carroll had been private tutor in the family

* See Washington's Writings, vol. iii, p. 361, note.

† See Journals of Congress, vol. ii, p. 62, edition of 1800.

of Lord Stourton, with whom he made the tour of Europe after the dissolution of the Jesuits, and might, therefore, have been supposed to lean to the side of loyalty; but all the members of his family had early manifested their partiality for the colonies. After pursuing his studies in the Temple, and returning to Maryland, Mr. Charles Carroll of Carrollton had distinguished himself by his controversy with DANIEL DULANY, the great legal luminary of Maryland, on the proclamation and vestry questions, * and had intimated his resolution to sustain his native land against the oppressions of the mother country. The one was an humble but learned priest; the other an independent lawyer of ample fortune and promising talents; but both staked, at once, their lives and honor on the issues of the day, and were thus prepared to take conspicuous parts in the approaching revolution.

Whilst congress was anxious to aid the cool judgment of Franklin by the intrepidity of Chase and the courtly address of Carroll, it went still further, and requested this polished churchman to unite himself with the expedition, "and assist the commissioners in such things as they might think useful." The object of this, although not entered on the journals of congress or expressed in any formal preamble to the resolutions, is perfectly evident. In the debates on the Canada bill, in 1774, we are informed that there were one hundred and fifty thousand Catholics, and only three hundred and sixty Protestants within the government of the province of Quebec,† and it was

* See McMahon's History of Maryland, vol. i, p. 388, and Green's Gazette, 1773.

† See Debates, &c., p. 103.

therefore believed that one of the surest means of prompt success with such a mass of Romanists, was to show them, by influential men of their own creed, that their brethren, over the borders, were up in arms and ready to do battle in defence of religious and political liberty. Three of these representatives came from a province originally founded by tolerant Catholics, who had received a tolerant charter even from a bigoted king.*

We have seen that the Rev. Mr. Carroll was an unquestioned patriot, agreeing with the liberalists in all their views; yet it may be asserted that he was not justified in joining an expedition that might kindle the flame of religious war on the Catholic frontier. Such, undoubtedly, was also Mr. Carroll's opinion; and he felt, as deeply as any man in the colonies, that religion should never become an auxiliary of strife, and that it was his duty, as her minister, to allay, if possible, the angry spirit of the times, and to prevail on the disaffected subjects of Britain to adhere to their allegiance.

In order, therefore, to estimate fully the delicacy of Mr. Carroll's position, we must recollect that at the

* We hold the opinion that no act could have been legally passed by our colonial legislature in Maryland, in conformity with the charter of Charles, that was not TOLERANT in its character to all religionists. Our opinion is founded on a clause in the twenty-second section of that instrument, which declares that the charter shall be expounded always in the most favorable and beneficial manner for the benefit of Lord Baltimore, his heirs and assigns,—"Proviso semper quod nulla fiat interpretatio per quam sacro-sancta Dei et vera *Christiana religio* aut Ligeantia nobis hæredibus et sucessoribus nostris debita immutatione prejudicio vel dispendio in aliquo patiantur eo quod expressa mentis," &c.

Broad Christianity alone is here referred to, and that was not to suffer by "change, prejudice, or diminution."

period when congress required his services, the prospect of reconciliation with the king was not entirely occluded. Appeals, protests, and remonstrances had been tried in vain. All the ordinary efforts of *persuasion* had failed to produce redress. In such a state of things it would seem but reasonable that a patriotic priest, who regarded his duty to his country as next to that he owed his God, and who was zealous for the religious as well as the political freedom of his brethren, should seize upon so favorable an occasion to render a service of lasting value to the large and conquered mass of Canadian Catholics. He was, perhaps, about to obtain a boon for himself; he desired that others should participate in its benefits. And he naturally felt anxious that, when civil and religious liberty were for ever secured to the colonies, the subjects north of the lakes should, at the same time, obtain a permanent concession of fair and equal laws.

Mr. Carroll was, therefore, very properly desirous to identify Canada with our struggle or to procure her neutrality; as, from her imposing size, her commanding geographical position, her foreign population, and her recent disruption from France—her resolved attitude of defiance or indifference would, in all probability, strike terror into the minds of the headstrong Ministry; and thus, by opposing the formidable animosity of an united continent, we should gain our ends and nip the war in its ripening bud.* Mr. Carroll's views, therefore, were eminently pacific, and their wisdom has since been fully proved. The col-

* See U. S. Catholic Magazine, vol. iv, p. 251, and Brent's Biography of Archbishop Carroll, p. 69.

onies obtained their independence, whilst Canada remains a discontented and refractory province of the British empire.*

It is a singular thing that Dr. Franklin, who now, at the advanced age of seventy, was sent on this wild and fatiguing journey to wrest Canada from England or neutralize it, had been one of the first, seventeen years before, to urge its conquest upon the mother country. When he was in London in 1759, although he had no interviews with the minister, his conversation on American affairs was always respectfully heeded by men in power, and "it has been said on good authority," declares Mr. Sparks, "that the expedition against Canada, and its consequences in the victory of Wolfe at Quebec and the conquest of that country, may be chiefly ascribed to Franklin. He disapproved the policy, by which the ministry had hitherto been guided, of carrying on the war against the French in the heart of Germany, where, if successful, it would end in no real gain to the British nation, and no essential loss to the enemy. In all

* One of the writer's earliest recollections is of the funeral of this excellent prelate, which was celebrated with great pomp at Baltimore in 1815, and attended by distinguished citizens and mourning poor of all Christian denominations. The loss of Archbishop Carroll was not a loss alone to the church over which he presided, and which he may be said to have founded in the United States. Men of all creeds loved him, for his life had been one of tolerance, charity, and affection. His career, as priest and prelate, had been conceived in that spirit of Christian moderation which, whilst it upheld with firmness the essential dignity and efficacy of his own creed, still regarded the professors of other forms as entitled to a liberal and unbigoted consideration. This good bishop, who was long mourned, and will be long remembered by Marylanders, died in this city, at the age of eighty, on the 3d of December, 1815.

companies, and on all occasions, he urged the reduction of Canada as an object of the utmost importance. It would inflict a blow upon the French power in America, from which it could never recover, and which would have a lasting influence in advancing the prosperity of the British colonies. These sentiments he conveyed to the minister's friends, with such remarks on the practicability of the enterprise, and the manner of conducting it, as his intimate knowledge of the state of things in America enabled him to communicate. They made the impression he desired, and the result verified his prediction."*

The same ripe judgment that saw the importance of Canada for England in order to give her control over the lakes and the west, saw it for the colonies also; and thus Franklin was most discreetly selected for this responsible mission.

Chapter II.

On the 2d of April, 1776, Franklin, Chase, and the Carrolls, properly accoutred for so fatiguing a journey of over four hundred miles, departed from the city of New York in a sloop for Albany.

These gentlemen had, of course, been duly commissioned by congress "to promote or to form a union between the colonies and the people of Canada;" and on the 20th of March they received their ample instructions.

*Franklin's Writings, vol. i, pp. 248, 257.

They were told to represent to the Canadians that the arms of the united colonies had been carried into that province for the purpose of frustrating the designs of the British court against our common liberties; that we expected not only to defeat the hostile machinations of Governor Carleton against us, but that we should put it in the power of our Canadian brethren to pursue such measures for securing their own freedom and happiness as a generous love of liberty and sound policy should dictate to them.

They were desired to inform them that, in the judgment of congress, their interest and that of the colonies were inseparably united. That it was impossible we could be reduced to a servile submission to Great Britain without their sharing in our fate; and, on the other hand, if we obtained, as we doubted not we should, a full establishment of our rights, it depended wholly on *their* choice, whether they would participate with us in those blessings, or still remain subject to every act of tyranny which British ministers should please to exercise over them.

They were told to urge all such arguments as their prudence suggested to enforce our opinion concerning the mutual interests of the two countries, and to convince them of the impossibility of the war being concluded to the disadvantage of the colonies, if we wisely and vigorously coöperated with each other. To convince them of the uprightness of our intentions towards them, they were to declare that it was the inclination of congress that the people of Canada should set up such a form of government as would be most likely, in their judgment, to promote their happiness. And they were, in the strongest terms, to

assure them that it was our earnest desire to adopt them into our union as a sister colony, and to secure the same system of mild and equal laws for them and for ourselves, with only such local differences as might be agreeable to each colony respectively.

They were to assure the Canadians that we had no apprehension *that the French would take any part with Great Britain; but that it was their interest, and, we had reason to believe, their inclination, to cultivate a friendly intercourse with these colonies.*

From this and such other reasons as might appear most proper, they were charged to urge the necessity the people were under of immediately taking some decisive step to put themselves within the protection of the united colonies. For expediting such a measure, they were to explain our method of collecting the sense of the people and conducting our affairs regularly by committees of observation and inspection in the several districts, and by conventions and committees of safety in the several colonies. These modes were to be recommended to them. The nature and principles of government among freemen were to be fully explained, developing, in contrast to these, the base, cruel, and insidious designs involved in the late act of parliament for making a more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec.* Motives of glory and interest were to be proposed as stimulants to the Canadians to unite in a contest by which they must be deeply affected, *and they were to be taught to aspire to a portion of that power by which they were ruled, and not to remain the mere spoils and prey of their conquerors.*

* The "Quebec act," passed June, 1774.

They were directed, further, to declare that *we held sacred the rights of conscience; and should promise to the whole people, solemnly, in the name of congress, the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion; and to the clergy the full, perfect, and peaceable possession and enjoyment of all their estates:—that the government of every thing relative to their creed and clergy should be left, entirely, in the hands of the good people of that province, and such legislature as they should constitute; provided, however, that all other denominations of Christians should be equally entitled to hold offices, and enjoy civil privileges and the free exercise of their religion, as well as be totally exempt from the payment of any tithes or taxes for the support of religion.*

They were desired to press for a convention of the people, a speedy organization of government, and union with the colonies. The terms of the union should be similar to those of the other colonies; and, if our terms were acceded to, they were to promise our defence of the Canadians against all enemies.

A free press was to be established, and the commissioners were to settle all disputes betwixt the Canadians and continental troops. They were to reform all abuses, to enforce peace and good order, and were empowered to sit and vote in councils of war; to erect or demolish fortifications, and to suspend military officers from the exercise of their commissions until the pleasure of congress should be known.

In additional instructions, they were empowered and directed to encourage the trade of Canada with the Indians, and to assure the Canadians that their

foreign commerce should be put on the same footing as that of the united colonies.*

Armed with their commission and these instructions, our travellers departed, as we have seen, on the 2d of April, from the city of New York; but it was not until the 29th—nearly a month afterwards—that they reached their destination at Montreal. The details of this expedition will be found in the accompanying diary of Mr. Corroll of Carrollton, and the reader can not fail to be delighted with the patient and interesting narrative of the journalist.

It seems from this document, and the correspondence of Franklin, that the Doctor remained in Montreal until the 11th of May,—a few days only after the abandonment of Quebec by our troops,—and was joined, on the following morning, by the Rev. Mr. John Carroll at St. John's. Dr. Franklin's health had suffered greatly by the journey, and he soon perceived that no efforts of his could avail in Canada. On the contrary, he saw that public opinion was setting strongly against the colonies, that the army was in wretched condition, that the mouth of the St. Lawrence was lost, and that powerful reinforcements would probably soon arrive from abroad. He therefore left Canada to younger and more hopeful men, and departed with his clerical friend, who had been equally unsuccessful.

The object of this mission was doubtless two-fold: first, to induce the Catholics to join us, or remain neutral; and, secondly, to make such military demonstrations as would secure us the province *in spite*

* See these instructions at large in the Amer. Archives, vol. v, p. 411.

of its people. To the first of these objects the Rev. Mr. Carroll immediately addressed himself, and it seems that all his diplomacy proved ineffectual within ten days after his arrival at Montreal.

"While the commissioners were applying themselves," says Mr. Campbell in his excellent memoir now publishing,* "with their characteristic ardor, to the fulfilment of their trust, the Rev. Mr. Carroll, whose exertions were of a different character, was diligently employed in visiting the clergy, and conferring with individuals among them. He explained to them the nature of the differences between England and the united colonies, showing that the resistance of the latter was caused by invasions of their charters, and violations of well known and long recognised principles of the British constitution. To this the clergy replied that, since the acquisition of Canada by the British government, its inhabitants had no aggressions to complain of; that, on the contrary, government had faithfully complied with all the stipulations of the treaty, and had in fact sanctioned and protected the ancient laws and customs of Canada, even so far as to allow the French judicial organization and forms of law with a delicacy that demanded their respect and gratitude. The Rev. Mr.

* See Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll, by B. U. Campbell.—*U. S. Catholic Magazine*, vol. iii, p. 244, &c.

Mr. Campbell states, in a letter to me, that "the part taken by the Rev. Mr. Carroll in Canada was communicated to him by Dr. Fenwick, bishop of Boston, a personal friend of Archbishop Carroll, who, in a visit to Canada, met an aged Canadian priest who had seen Dr. Carroll there, and gave Dr. Fenwick an account of what passed between Dr. Carroll and the Canadian clergy, with his disapprobation of the course of Dr. Carroll in endeavoring to enlist the Catholic clergy on the side of the united colonies."

Carroll then represented to them that congress had expressly stipulated that if the Canadians would unite with the states in the assertion of their constitutional rights, their religion, its institutions, and the property of the religious orders and communities should be protected and guarantied; and that Catholics, instead of being merely tolerated, as by England, should have equal rights with the professors of all other religions. To these assurances the Canadians replied that, on the score of religious liberty, the British government had left them nothing to complain of, or to desire; that they were then in possession of all the ecclesiastical property which they had held at the time of the cession of Canada, that their numerous and important missions were flourishing, and their religious societies felt entire confidence in the protection of the government, whose officers carried their courtesy and respect so far as to pay military honors to the public religious exercises, a conspicuous evidence of which was, that the government actually furnished a military escort to accompany the grand processions on the festival of Corpus Christi. And, therefore, that upon the well established principle that allegiance is due to protection, the clergy could not teach that neutrality was consistent with the allegiance due to such ample protection as Great Britain had shown the Catholics of Canada.

"The judicious and liberal policy of the British government to the Catholics had succeeded in inspiring them with sentiments of loyalty, which the conduct of the people and the public bodies of some of the united colonies had served to strengthen and confirm. It was remembered, and stated to the Rev. Mr.

Carroll, that, in the colonies whose liberality he was now avouching, the Catholic religion had not been tolerated hitherto. Priests were excluded under severe penalties, and Catholic missionaries among the Indians rudely and cruelly treated. His explanation that these harsh measures were the result, in a great part, of the laws of the royal government, did not satisfy the Canadians of the favorable dispositions of those who, though prompt and valiant in the defence of their political rights, had never manifested a correspondent sensibility in support of the sacred rights of conscience when Catholics were concerned. The friends of the royal government had assiduously pointed out inconsistencies between the address of the continental congress to the people of Great Britain and that addressed to the people of Canada.

"By the 'Quebec act,' passed by parliament, it was provided that his majesty's subjects professing the religion of the church of Rome, of and in the said province of Quebec, may have, hold, and enjoy the free exercise of the religion of the church of Rome, &c., and that the clergy of the said church may hold, receive, and enjoy their accustomed dues and rights, with respect to such persons only as shall profess the said religion. They were also excused from taking the oath required by the statute of I Elizabeth, or any other oath substituted by other acts in the place thereof, &c.

"Unfortunately the address of congress to the people of Great Britain, adopted the 21st of October, 1774, had used the following language in reference to the 'Quebec act.'

"'Nor can we suppress our astonishment that a

British parliament should ever consent to establish in that country a religion that has deluged your island in blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and rebellion through every part of the world.' And 'that we think the legislature of Great Britain is not authorized by the constitution to establish a religion fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets,' &c.

"After sentiments which did their religion so much injustice, the Canadian clergy were not disposed to receive with much favor the following declarations of the same congress in their 'Address to the inhabitants of the province of Quebec.' 'We are too well acquainted with the liberality of sentiment distinguishing your nation, to imagine that difference of religion will prejudice you against a hearty amity with us. You know that the transcendent nature of freedom elevates those who unite in her cause above all such low-minded infirmities. The Swiss cantons furnish a memorable proof of this truth. Their union is composed of Roman Catholic and Protestant states, living in the utmost concord and peace with one another, and thereby enabled, ever since they bravely vindicated their freedom, to defy and defeat every tyrant that has invaded them.' " *

* "Nothing can exhibit more clearly the bad effects, upon the Canadians, of the address to the British people, than the following contemporaneous letter, comprised among the revolutionary documents recently published by order of congress.

" Extract of a letter from Canada, dated Montreal, March 24, 1775.

" 'The address from the continental congress attracted the notice of some of the principal Canadians; it was soon translated into very tolerable French. The decent manner in which the religious matters were touched, the encomiums on the French nation, flattered a people fond of compliments. They begged the translator, as he had succeeded so well,

The Rev. Mr. Carroll, having thus failed in his part of the mission, joined Dr. Franklin and returned to the south. Meanwhile, however, Messrs. Chase and Carroll of Carrollton had been busy with the military part of their embassy. On the day after their arrival at Montreal they attended a council of war,* in which it was resolved to fortify Jaques Cartier,—the Falls of Richelieu, an important post between Quebec and Montreal,—and to build six gondolas at Chamblay, of a proper size to carry heavy cannon, and to be under the direction of Arnold. But disasters thickened around the insurgents. The smallpox had broken out among the troops, and was making deep inroads upon their scanty numbers. The Canadians showed no symptoms of sympathy with the colonists, and, to crown the whole, the worst news was soon received from the besiegers at Quebec.

On the 1st of May General Thomas had taken command at the capital, and found by the returns that, out of nineteen hundred men, there were not more than a thousand, including officers, who were fit for duty; all the rest were invalids, chiefly afflicted with smallpox. There were several posts to be de-

to try his hand on that addressed to Great Britain. He had equal success in this, and read his performance to a numerous audience. But when he came to that part which treats of the new modelling of the province, draws a picture of the Catholic religion, and Canadian manners, they could not contain their resentment, nor express it but in broken curses. 'O the perfidious double-faced congress! Let us bless and obey our benevolent prince, whose humanity is consistent, and extends to all religions; let us abhor all who would seduce us from our loyalty, by acts that would dishonor a Jesuit, and whose addresses, like their resolves, are destructive of their own objects.' "—*American Archives*, vol. ii, p. 231."

* See American Archives, vol. v, p. 1166.

fended by this trifling force, and at such distances from each other that not more than three hundred men could be rallied to the relief of any one of them, should it be assailed by the whole force of the enemy. Besides this, there were but one hundred and fifty pounds of powder, and only six days' provisions in the camp, whilst their French neighbors were so disaffected towards the colonists that supplies were procured with the greatest difficulty.

On the fifth, a council of war was held, and it was resolved to remove the invalids, artillery, batteaux, and stores higher up the river, so as to prevent our being cut off by water from the interior posts in the event of the arrival of reinforcements to the enemy. But, on the evening of the same day, intelligence was received in the American camp that fifteen ships were forty leagues below Quebec, hastening up the river; and early next morning five of them hove in sight.

General Thomas* immediately gave orders to embark the artillery and sick in the batteaux, whilst the enemy began to land their troops. About noon a body of the British, a thousand strong, formed into two divisions in columns of six deep, and supported with a train of six pieces of cannon, attacked our sentinels and main guard. Our officers made a stand for a moment, on the plains, with about two hundred and fifty men and *one* field piece only, when the order for retreat was given, and our encampment was precipitately deserted. In the confusion all our cannon and ammunition fell into the enemy's hands, and it is believed that about two hundred of our invalids were

* He died of smallpox soon after the retreat to Sorel.

made prisoners. Following the course of the river, our broken army fled towards Montreal, and, halting for a while at Deschambault, finally retreated along the St. Lawrence, until they made a stand at Sorel.* And thus Quebec was lost for ever to the colonists.

Meantime the commissioners had kept up a faithful correspondence with congress, and they continued it until their departure from Canada. Their manuscript letters, preserved in the department at Washington, are dated on the 1st, 8th, 10th, 16th, and 27th of May.† The last of these, perhaps, is the most interesting of the series, and, as it gives the results of their examinations, we shall let it speak for itself, especially as the "written report" made to congress by Messrs. Chase and Carroll, on the 12th of June, 1776, could not be found in Washington even after the most diligent search.

"*Montreal*, 27*th May*, 1776.

"THE COMMISSIONERS IN CANADA

"TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS:

* * * * * * * * * *

"In our last we informed you of the deplorable state of the army; matters have not mended since. We went to the mouth of *Sorel* last week, where we found all things in confusion; there is little or no discipline among your troops, nor can any be kept up while the practice of enlisting for a twelvemonth continues; the general officers are all of this opinion.

*See the letters of General Thomas to the Commissioners, May 7th, 1776; and of General Arnold to General Schuyler, May 10, 1776.—*American Archives*, vol. vi, pp. 451, 452, *about to be published.*

† See American Archives, vols. v and vi.

Your army is badly paid; and so exhausted is your credit that even a cart can not be procured without ready money or force. We will give you an instance of the lowness of your credit. Three barrels of gunpowder were ordered from *Chamblay* to *Montreal;* this powder was brought from *Chamblay* to a ferry, about three miles off, where it would have remained had we not luckily passed by, and, seeing the distress of the officer, undertaken to pay ready and hard money for the hire of a cart to convey it to *Longueil.* The army is in a distressed condition, and is in want of the most necessary articles—meat, bread, tents, shoes, stockings, shirts, &c. The greatest part of those who fled from *Quebec* left all their baggage behind them, or it was plundered by those whose times were out, and have since left *Canada.* We are informed by Colonel *Allen that the men who, from pretended indisposition, had been excused from doing duty, were the foremost in the flight, and carried off such burdens on their backs as hearty and stout men would labor under.*

"With difficulty three hundred tents, and about two hundred camp-kettles, were procured here, and sent to the *Sorel* for the use of the army, and were delivered, as we were informed, to one Major *Fuller*, who acted in the room of Mr. *Campbell*, deputy quartermaster-general, who had joined the army at the *Sorel* but a day or two before our arrival, where, among other instances of mismanagement, we give the following: Colonel *Nicholson's* regiment, consisting only of one hundred men, received thirty tents and thirty-one camp-kettles; Colonel *Porter's* regiment, not exceeding that number, received fifty-six tents and thirty-three kettles.

"Your army in *Canada* do not exceed four thousand; above four hundred are sick with different disorders; *three-fourths of the army have not had the smallpox.* The greater part of *Greaton's*, *Bond's*, and *Burrell's* regiments have been lately inoculated. *There are about eight tons of gunpowder in the colony.* To evince the great distress we are reduced to for want of bread, we must inform you that we were obliged to buy thirty loaves of bread of our baker to feed Colonel *De Haas'* detachment, which entered this town *Friday* night, on their way to join General *Arnold* at *La Chine*, and who could not be supplied by the commissary. Such is our extreme want of flour that we were yesterday obliged to seize by force fifteen barrels to supply this garrison with bread. Previous to this seizure a general order was issued to the town-major to wait on the merchants, or others having provisions or merchandise for sale, requesting a delivery of what our troops are in immediate want of, and requiring him to give a receipt, expressing the quantity delivered; for the payment of which the faith of the united colonies is pledged by your commissioners. Nothing but the most urgent necessity can justify such harsh measures; but men with arms in their hands will not starve when provisions can be obtained by force. To prevent a general plunder, which might end in the massacre of your troops, and of many of the inhabitants, we have been constrained to advise the general to take this step. We can not conceal our concern that six thousand men should be ordered to *Canada*, without taking care to have magazines formed for their subsistence, cash to pay them, or to pay the inhabitants for their labor, in

transporting the baggage, stores, and provisions of the army. We can not find words strong enough to describe our miserable situation; you will have a faint idea of it if you figure to yourself an army broken and disheartened, half of it under inoculation, or under other diseases; soldiers without pay, without discipline, and altogether reduced to live from hand to mouth, depending on the scanty and precarious supplies of a few half-starved cattle, and trifling quantities of flour, which have hitherto been picked up in different parts of the country.

"Your soldiers grumble for their pay;—if they receive it they will not be benefited, as it will not procure them the necessaries they stand in need of. Your military chest contains but eleven thousand paper dollars. You are indebted to your troops treble that sum, and to the inhabitants above fifteen thousand dollars.*

* * * * * * * * *

"SAMUEL CHASE,
CHARLES CARROLL *of Carrollton.*"

It is impossible to fancy a picture of more abject wretchedness than is given in this graphic letter of the commissioners, and it well prepares us for the consequences that ensued. Having done all in their power to maintain our authority in Canada, Messrs. Chase and Carroll took their departure from Montreal on the 29th of May, to be present at a council of war of the general and field officers, at Chamblay. On the 30th it was resolved by this council to maintain possession of the strip of country "between the

* American Archives, vol. vi, pp. 589, 590.

St. Lawrence and Sorel, *if possible*, and, in the meantime, to dispose matters *so as to make an orderly retreat out of Canada*."*

On the 31st the commissioners passed from Chamblay to St. John's, where every thing was in confusion; and on the morning of the 1st of June they found General Sullivan, who had arrived with fourteen hundred men during the night. Next day they took leave of the general, and sailed from St. John's on their journey homewards.

Thus ended the labors of the commissioners. They returned to Philadelphia, reported to congress, and congress voted to send new troops, and to supply them properly.† But, in the meantime, the fate of our efforts in Canada was sealed. The last stand was made by General Sullivan: "Yet," says Mr. Sparks, "it was more resolute in purpose than successful in execution; the whole army was compelled precipitately to evacuate Canada, and retire over the lake to Crown Point.

"Montreal was held to the last moment. Arnold then drew off his detachment, with no small risk of being intercepted by Sir Guy Carleton, and proceeded to St. John's, making, as General Sullivan wrote, 'a very prudent and judicious retreat, with an enemy close at his heels.' He had, two days before, been at St. John's, directed an encampment to be enclosed, and ordered the frame of a vessel then on the stocks to be taken to pieces, the timbers numbered, and the whole to be sent to Crown Point. General Sullivan soon arrived with the rear of his retreating army, and

* See Carroll's Journal of those dates.

†See Journals of Congress for June, 1776, vol. ii, p. 206, ed. of 1800.

preparations were made for an immediate embarkation. To this work Arnold applied himself with his usual activity and vigilance, remaining behind until he had seen every boat leave the shore but his own. He then mounted his horse, attended by Wilkinson, his aid-de-camp, and rode back two miles, when they discovered the enemy's advanced division in full march under General Burgoyne. They gazed at, or, in military phrase, reconnoitred it for a short time, and then hastened back to St. John's. A boat being in readiness to receive them, the horses were stripped and shot, the men were ordered on board, and Arnold, refusing all assistance, pushed off the boat with his own hands; 'thus,' says Wilkinson, 'indulging the vanity of being the last man who embarked from the shores of the enemy.' " *

The commencement of this attack upon Canada was attended with brilliant success. The early efforts of Allen and Arnold at Ticonderoga and Crown Point are remarkable for daring courage. The career of Montgomery from the Isle Aux Noix to Quebec, and his storming of that stronghold, rank conspicuously among military exploits. The march of Arnold through the wilderness is characterized by dangers and hardships that would have appalled a less resolute soldier. And the siege of Quebec with the shadow of an army throughout a Canadian winter; the diplomacy of congress by its commissioners; and last, though not least, the honorable retreat of Sullivan and Arnold, hotly pursued as they were by Burgoyne to Sorel, Chamblay, and Isle Aux Noix,—all these deserve to be remembered, by the student of this

* Sparks' Life of Arnold, p. 62.

episode on our revolutionary struggles, as reflecting honor on the gallant men who retreated from those extremities of the British possessions to protect the vitals of the land in the approaching war of independence.

In concluding this introductory sketch, the editor, to whom the Maryland Historical Society has confided so pleasing a task, deems it useless to add a single line by way of biography. The life of CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON has been so frequently written, that the people are familiar with it.

The Diary which is now published was presented by Mr. Carroll to his grand-daughter, Mrs. MacTavish, in 1823, and was deposited by her last year among the archives of our society.

It is believed that this journal will be deeply interesting to those who delight to recur to the olden times, and to mark the improvement made in our country within seventy years. The distance that Mr. Carroll passed over in a month, may now be accomplished with ease in a couple of days, whilst the wilderness he traversed has come to "bloom like a rose."* It is by no means the least agreeable asso-

* In comparing the past with the present, it may not be uninteresting to record the fact that, in the year 1845, persons may travel from—

New York to Albany, 150 miles, by first class steamer, for - - - -	$ 50
Albany to White Hall, by steamer and packet boat, 77 miles, - -	1 13
White Hall to St. John's by steamer, 150 miles, - - - - - - - - - - -	25
St. John's to La Prairie, by railway, 15 miles, - - - - - - - - - - - -	50
La Prairie to Montreal, by steamer, 9 miles, - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	50
Time two days. In all, 401 miles, cost - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	$2 88

ciation with this valuable relic, that its author was one of the fifty-five who, a month afterwards, signed that memorable document whose pledges produced this magical change on the face of our country, and on the happiness of its people.

BALTIMORE, 1st July, 1845

JOURNAL

OF

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON,

DURING HIS

VISIT TO CANADA, IN 1776,

as one of the Commissioners from Congress.

2d April, 1776. Left New York at 5 o'clock, P. M.; sailed up North river, or Hudson's, that afternoon, about thirteen miles. About one o'clock in the night were awaked by the firing of cannon; heard three great guns distinctly from the Asia; soon saw a great fire, which we presumed to be a house on Bedloe's island, set on fire by a detachment of our troops. Intelligence had been received that the enemy were throwing up intrenchments on that island, and it had been determined by our generals to drive them off. Dr. Franklin went upon deck, and saw waving flashes of light appearing suddenly and disappearing, which he conjectured to be the fire of musquetry, although he could not hear the report.

3*d*. A bad, rainy day; wind north-east; quite ahead. A. M., eleven o'clock, opposite to Colonel Phillips's (a tory); pretty situation near the river; garden sloping down to it; house has a pretty appearance: a church

at a little distance on the south side, surrounded by cedar trees. The banks of the river, on the western side, exceedingly steep and rocky; pine trees growing amidst the rocks. On the eastern, or New York side, the banks are not near so steep, they decline pretty gradually to the water's edge. The river is straight hitherto. About five o'clock wind breezed up from the south; got under way, and ran with a pretty easy gale as far as the highlands, forty miles from New York. The river here is greatly contracted, and the lands on each side very lofty. When we got into this strait the wind increased, and blew in violent flaws; in doubling one of these steep craggy points we were in danger of running on the rocks; endeavored to double the cape called St. Anthony's nose, but all our efforts proved ineffectual; obliged to return some way back in the straits to seek shelter; in doing this, our mainsail was split to pieces by a sudden and most violent blast of wind off the mountains. Came to anchor: blew a perfect storm all night and all day the fourth. Remained all day (the fourth) in Thunder Hill bay, about half a mile below Cape St. Anthony's nose, and a quarter of a mile from Thunder Hill. Our crew were employed all this day in repairing the mainsail. The country round about this bay has a wild and romantic appearance; the hills are almost perpendicularly steep, and covered with rocks, and trees of a small size. The hill called St. Anthony's nose is said to be full of sulphur. I make no doubt this place has experienced some violent convulsion from subterraneous fire: the steepness of the hills, their correspondence, the narrowness of the river, and its depth, all confirm me in this opinion.

5*th*. Wind at north-east, mainsail not yet repaired. Sailed about twelve o'clock from Thunder Hill bay; just before we doubled Cape St. Anthony's nose, Mr. Chase and I landed to examine a beautiful fall of water. Mr. Chase, very apprehensive of the leg of mutton being boiled too much, impatient to get on board; wind breezing up, we had near a mile to row to overtake the vessel. As soon as we doubled Cape St. Anthony's nose a beautiful prospect opened on us. The river, from this place to Constitution fort, built on Marbler's rock, forms a fine canal, surrounded with high hills of various shapes; one, in particular, resembles a sugar loaf, and is so called. About three miles from Cape St. Anthony's nose is another beautiful cascade, called "the Buttermilk." This is formed by a rivulet which flows from a lake on the top of a neighboring mountain; this lake, we were told, abounds with trout and perch. Arrived about five o'clock at Constitution fort; Mr. Chase went with me on shore to visit the fort; it is built on a rock called Marbler's rock: the river at this place makes a sudden bend to the west; the battery (for it does not deserve the name of a fort, being quite open on the north-east side) has two flanks, one fronting the south, and the other the west;—on the south flank were planted thirteen six, and one nine pounder; on the west flank, seven nine pounders and one six pounder, but there were no cannoniers in the fort, and only one hundred and two men fit to do duty;—they intend to erect another battery on an eminence called Gravel hill, which will command vessels coming up the river as soon as they double Cape St. Anthony's nose. A little above this cape a battery is projected

to annoy the enemy's vessels, to be called Fort Montgomery; they intend another battery lower down the river, and a little below Cape St. Anthony's nose. In the highlands are many convenient spots to construct batteries on; but, in order to make them answer the intended purpose, weighty metal should be placed on these batteries, and skilful gunners should be engaged to serve the artillery. About nine o'clock at night, the tide making, we weighed anchor, and came to again about two o'clock in the morning, the sixth instant. The river is remarkably deep all the way through the highlands, and the tide rapid. When we came to an anchor off Constitution fort we found the depth of water above thirty fathoms. These highlands present a number of romantic views, the steep hills overshadow the water, and in some places the rocks, should they be rolled down, would fall into the river several feet from the banks on which they stood. This river seems intended by nature to open a communication between Canada and the province of New York by water, and, by some great convulsion, a passage has been opened to the waters of Hudson's river through the highlands. These are certainly a spur of the Endless mountains.

6th. Weighed anchor about seven o'clock in the morning: had a fine breeze; the country more cultivated above the highlands; passed several mills, all of them overshot; saw two frigates on the stocks at Pokeepsay, building for the service of the United Colonies; saw a great many lime-kilns in our run this morning, on both sides of the river, the banks of which begin to slope more gradually to the water's edge. We wrote to General Heath, from off Consti-

tution fort, and sent the letter to the commanding officer of the fort, with orders to forward it by express immediately to the general at New York. The purport of the letter was to inform the general of the very defenceless condition of the fort, that measures might be immediately taken to put it in a better posture of defence. If Howe was a man of enterprise, and knew of the weak state of the fort, he might take it in its present situation with sixty men, and without cannon. He might land his party a little below the fort on the east side, march over a marsh, and attack it on the back part. It was proposed to erect a battery of some cannon to sweep this marsh; but this, and also the battery above mentioned, on Gravel hill, have been strangely neglected, and nothing as yet has been done towards constructing either of these batteries, more than levelling the top of Gravel hill.

Six o'clock, P. M., came to anchor four miles from Albany; had a most glorious run this day, and a most pleasant sail; including our run in the night, we ran this day ninety-six miles—Constitution fort being one hundred miles from Albany, and sixty from New York. We passed several country houses pleasantly situated on the banks, or, rather, eminences commanding the banks of the river; the grounds we could discover from the vessel did not appear to be highly improved. We had a distant view of the Katskill mountains. These are said to be some of the highest in North America; they had a pleasing appearance; the weather being somewhat hazy, they appeared like bluish clouds at a great distance; when we were nearest to them, they were distant about ten miles. Vast tracts of land on each side of

Hudson's river are held by the proprietaries, or, as they are here styled, the *Patrones* of manors. One of the Ransalaers has a grant of twenty miles on each side of the river. Mr. Robert R. Livingston informed me that he held three hundred thousand acres. I am told there are but ten original patentees between Albany and the highlands. The descendants of the first proprietaries of these immense tracts still keep them in possession; necessity has not as yet forced any of them to sell any part.

7th. Weighed anchor this morning about six o'clock. Wind fair: having passed over the overslaw, had a distinct view of Albany, distant about two miles:— landed at Albany at half-past seven o'clock; received, at landing, by General Schuyler,* who, understanding we were coming up, came from his house, about a mile out of town, to receive us and invite us to dine with him; he behaved with great civility; lives in pretty style; has two daughters (Betsy and Peggy),

* General Philip Schuyler, who was one of our distinguished revolutionary soldiers, was born in 1733, at Albany. He entered the army at the breaking out of the French war in 1755, and accompanied Sir W. Johnson to Fort Edward and Lake George. After the peace of 1763, he undertook several civil employments. On the 25th of June, 1775, (whilst a delegate to the continental congress,) he was appointed third major general of the American army; and was forthwith charged by Washington with the command of our forces in the province of N. York. Here and in Canada he served the country with great ability, until the order was given to abandon that province. After this he displayed his patriotism and usefulness in various public employments of a military character; and in April, 1779, congress, after his repeated solicitations, accepted the resignation of his command in the army. The benefit of his enlightened judgment and civil services was not denied to his country during the remainder of his life. His last few years were passed in dignified retirement; and, after suffering the most poignant anguish from the distressing fate of his beloved son-in-law, General Hamilton, he died at the age of seventy-one, on the 18th of November, 1804.

lively, agreeable, black eyed girls. Albany is situated partly on a level, and partly on the slope of a hill, or rising ground, on the west side of the river. Vessels drawing eight and nine feet water may come to Albany, and five miles even beyond it, at this season of the year, when the waters are out. The fort is in a ruinous condition, and not a single gun mounted on it. There are more houses in this town than in Annapolis, and I believe it to be much more populous. The citizens chiefly speak Dutch, being mostly the descendants of Dutchmen; but the English language and manners are getting ground apace.

9th. Left Albany early this morning, and travelled in a wagon in company with Mrs. Schuyler, her two daughters, and Generals Schuyler and Thomas. At six miles from Albany I quitted the wagon and got on horse-back to accompany the generals to view the falls on the Mohawk's river, called the Cohooes. The perpendicular fall is seventy-four feet, and the breadth of the river at this place, as measured by General Schuyler, is one thousand feet. The fall is considerably above one hundred feet, taken from the first ripple or still water above the perpendicular fall. The river was swollen with the melting of the snows and rains, and rolled over the frightful precipice an impetuous torrent. The foam, the irregularities in the fall broken by projecting rocks, and the deafening noise, presented a sublime but terrifying spectacle. At fifty yards from the place the water dropped from the trees, as it does after a plentiful shower, they being as wet with the ascending vapor as they commonly are after a smart rain of some continuance. The bottoms adjoining the river Hudson are fine lands,

and appeared to be well cultivated; most of them that we passed through were in wheat, which, though commonly overflowed in the spring, we were informed by our driver, suffered no hurt, but were rather improved by the inundation. We arrived in the evening, a little before sunset, at Saratoga, the seat of General Schuyler, distant from Albany thirty-two miles. We spent the whole day in the journey, occasioned by the badness of the roads, and the delay the wagons met with in crossing two ferries. The roads at this season of the year are generally bad, but now worse than ever, owing to the great number of wagons employed in carrying the baggage of the regiments marching into Canada, and supplies to the army in that country. General Schuyler informed me that an uninterrupted water-carriage between New York and Quebec might be perfected at fifty thousand pounds stirling expense, by means of locks, and a small canal cut from a branch that runs into Wood creek, and the head of a branch which falls into Hudson's river; the distance is not more than three miles. The river Richelieu, or Sorel, is navigable for batteaux from the lake Champlain into the St. Lawrence. The rapids, below St. John's, are not so considerable as to obstruct the navigation of such vessels.

The lands about Saratoga are very good, particularly the bottom lands. Hudson's river runs within a quarter of a mile of the house, and you have a pleasing view of it for two or three miles above and below. A stream called Fishkill, which rises out of Lake Saratoga, about six miles from the general's house, runs close by it, and turns several mills; one,

a grist mill, two saw-mills, (one of them carrying fourteen saws,) and a hemp and flax mill. This mill is a new construction, and answers equally well in breaking hemp or flax. I requested the general to get a model made for me by the person who built it. Descriptions of machines are seldom accurately made, and when done with exactness are seldom understood. I was informed by the general that it is customary for the great proprietaries of lands to lease them out for three lives, sometimes on fee-farm-rents, reserving, by way of rent, a fourth, or, more commonly, a tenth of all the produce; but the proprietaries content themselves with a tenth of the wheat. On every transmutation of property from one tenant to another, a quarter part of what the land sells for is sometimes paid to the original proprietary or lord of the manor. The general observed to me that this was much the most advantageous way of leasing lands;—that in the course of a few years, from the frequent transmutations of tenants, the alienation fines would exceed the purchase of the fee-simple, though sold at a high valuation. General Schuyler is a man of a good understanding improved by reflection and study; he is of a very active turn, and fond of husbandry, and when the present distractions are composed, if his infirm state of health will permit him, will make Saratoga a most beautiful and most valuable estate. He saws up great quantities of plank at his mills, which, before this war, was disposed of in the neighborhood, but the greater part of it sent to Albany.

11th. Generals Thomas and Schuyler set off this morning for Lake George; the former to be in readiness to cross the lake on the first breaking up of the

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ice, the latter to forward the embarkation and transportation of military stores and supplies.

12th. It snowed all this morning until eleven o'clock; the snow above six inches deep on the ground: it was not off the neighboring hills when we left Saratoga.*

16th. This morning we set off from Saratoga; I parted with regret from the amiable family of General Schuyler; the ease and affability with which we were treated, and the lively behaviour of the young ladies, made Saratoga a most pleasing *séjour*, the remembrance of which will long remain with me. We rode from Saratoga to McNeill's ferry, [distance two miles and a half,] crossed Hudson's river at this place, and rode on to one mile above Fort Miller, which is distant from McNeill's two miles. A Mr. Dover has a country-seat near Fort Miller; you see his house from the road. There is a very considerable fall in the river at Fort Miller. Just above it our baggage was put into another boat; it had been brought in a wagon from Saratoga to McNeill's, carried over the ferry in a wagon, and then put on board a boat, in which it was conveyed to the foot of Fort Miller falls; then carried over land a quarter of a mile and put into a second boat. At a mile from Fort Miller we got into a boat and went up the Hudson river to Fort Edward. Although this fort is but seven miles

* Dr. Franklin addressed a friendly letter to Josiah Quincy, dated 15th of April, 1776, in which he says, "I am here on my way to Canada, detained by the present state of the lakes, in which the unthawed ice obstructs the navigation. I begin to apprehend that I have undertaken a fatigue that, at my time of life, may prove too much for me, *so I sit down to write to a few friends, by way of farewell.*"—See Sparks's Life of Franklin, vol. viii, p. 180.—*American Archives*, vol. v, p. 947.

distant from the place where we took boat, we were above four hours rowing up. The current is exceedingly rapid, and the rapidity was increased by a freshet. In many places the current was so strong that the batteau men were obliged to set up with poles, and drag the boat by the painter. Although these fellows were active and expert at this business, it was with the greatest difficulty they could stem the current in particular places. The congress keeps in pay three companies of batteau men on Hudson's river, consisting each of thirty-three men with a captain;—the pay of the men is £4.10 per month. The lands bordering on Hudson's river, as you approach Fort Edward, become more sandy, and the principal wood that grows on them is pine. There are several saw mills both above and below Fort Miller. The planks sawed at the mills above Fort Miller are made up into small rafts and left without guides to the current of the river; each one is marked, so that the raft-men that remain just below Fort Miller falls, watching for them coming down, may easily know their own rafts. When they come over the falls they go out in canoes and boats and tow their rafts ashore, and then take them to pieces and make them again into larger rafts. The smaller rafts are called *cribs*. The ruins only of Fort Edward remain; there is a good large inn, where we found quartered Colonel Sinclair's regiment. Mr. Allen, son of old Mr. Allen, is lieutenant-colonel; he received us very politely and accommodated us with beds. The officers of this regiment are in general fine sized men, and seemed to be on a friendly footing;—the soldiers also are stout fellows.

17th. Having breakfasted with Colonel Allen, we set off from Fort Edward on our way to Fort George. We had not got a mile from the fort when a messenger from General Schuyler met us. He was sent with a letter by the general to inform us that Lake George was not open, and to desire us to remain at an inn kept by one Wing, at seven miles distance from Fort Edward and as many from Fort George. The country between Wing's tavern and Fort Edward is very sandy and somewhat hilly. The principal wood is pine. At Fort Edward the river Hudson makes a sudden turn to the westward; it soon again resumes its former north course, for, at a small distance, we found it on our left and parallel with the road which we travelled, and which, from Fort Edward to Fort George, lies nearly north and south. At three miles, or thereabouts, from Fort Edward, is a remarkable fall in the river. We could see it from the road, but not so as to form any judgment of its height. We were informed that it was upwards of thirty feet, and is called the Kingsbury falls. We could distinctly see the spray arising like a vapor or fog from the violence of the fall. The banks of the river, above and below these falls for a mile or two, are remarkably steep and high, and appear to be formed, or faced, with a kind of stone very much resembling slate. The banks of the Mohawk's river at the Cohooes are faced with the same sort of stone;—it is said to be an indication of sea-coal. Mr. Wing's tavern is in the township of Queensbury, and Charlotte county; Hudson's river is not above a quarter of a mile from his house. There is a most beautiful fall in the river at this place. From still water, to the foot of the

fall, I imagine the fall can not be less than sixty feet, but the fall is not perpendicular; it may be about a hundred and twenty or a hundred and fifty feet long, and in this length, it is broken into three distinct falls, one of which may be twenty-five feet nearly perpendicular. I saw Mr. Wing's patent,—the reserved quit-rent is two-sixths sterling per hundred acres; but he informs me it has never been yet collected.

18*th*. We set off from Wing's tavern about twelve o'clock this day, and reached Fort George* about two o'clock; the distance is eight miles and a half;—you can not discover the lake until you come to the heights surrounding it,—the descent from which to the lake is nearly a mile long;—from these heights you have a beautiful view of the lake for fifteen miles down it. Its greatest breadth during these fifteen miles does not exceed a mile and a quarter, to judge by the eye, which, however, is a very fallacious way of estimating distances. Several rocky islands appear in the lake, covered with a species of cedar called here *hemlock*. Fort George is in as ruinous a condition as Fort Edward, it is a small bastion, faced with stone, and built on an eminence commanding the head of

*See General Schuyler's letter to Washington, dated Fort George, April 27, 1776, *Am. Archives*, vol. v, p. 1097; and the letter immediately following, from Arnold to Schuyler, dated at Montreal on the 20th April. These letters give gloomy views of Canadian affairs. The reader will not be amazed, after reading Arnold's account of our army and its resources, that it finally retreated from the province.

According to Arnold's returns of the troops before Quebec on the 30th March, 786 were on the sick list out of 2505, most of whom were grievously ill of the small-pox.—"Fifteen hundred of these men," he says, "are at liberty on the 15th of April, and probably not more than half of them will be retained in the service."

the lake.—There are some barracks in it, in which the troops were quartered, or rather *one* barrack, which occupied almost the whole space between the walls. At a little distance from this fort, and to the westward of it, is the spot where the Baron Dieskau was defeated by Sir William Johnson.* About a quarter of a mile further to the westward the small remains of Fort William Henry are to be

* See Chalmers's History of the Revolt of the American Colonies, vol. ii, p. 277, and Smith's History of New York, vol. ii, p. 220.

The Baron Dieskau had collected about 3000 men at Crown Point, and led a detachment of 200 regulars, 600 Canadians, and as many Indians, up the South bay, intending to pass on and lay waste the settlements down to Albany; but, near Fort Edward, he turned back, with hopes of cutting off that part of the army which was then fourteen miles higher up the lake. He was first met by a party of about 1000 men, a few miles from our camp. He drove them before him, as well as a detachment sent to support them; but, by a very great error, instead of storming the log breastwork, he halted and scattered his irregulars at one hundred and fifty yards, keeping up a fire of *musquetry*, until the camp recovered from its surprise and began to play upon them with *artillery*.

Wounded, and deserted by all but his handful of regulars, he endeavored to reach his boats at South bay; but was pursued, wounded again, and taken. A detachment of 200 men from Fort Edward, arriving at this instant, pursued the flying army, and completed the repulse before the dusk of evening. Sir William Johnson received a wound in the thigh early in the action, and the defence was conducted by General Lyman.

Dieskau had been a favorite soldier of Saxe, and by his recommendation had been entrusted by the French government with command in Canada. He was long retained a prisoner in England, and, I believe, died there from the effects of the wounds received in this fatal action. His account of the battle and his correspondence with his government may be seen in the collection of MSS. lately made by Mr. Brodhead for the state of New York, and deposited at Albany in the Secretary of State's office.—See vol. xi of the *Paris Documents*, pp. 117, 123, 125.

In February, 1756, parliament granted at the request of the colonies, whose troops had defeated Dieskau, £115,000, not so much as a reimbursement as a bounty; more as an encouragement for future exploits, than as a reward for the past.

seen across a little rivulet which forms a swamp, and is the morass mentioned by Sir William Johnson in his account of the action with Dieskau. Fort William Henry was taken last war by Montcalm, and destroyed;—the garrison, consisting of four hundred men, and sixteen hundred others that were intrenched without the fort, capitulated;—a considerable part of these men were murdered by the Indians, on their march to Fort Edward, after they had delivered up their arms, according to the terms of capitulation. The bay in which Montcalm landed is seen from Fort George; he left a guard of five hundred men only to protect his boats and artillery, and marched round over the heights to come to the southward of Fort William Henry. When on these heights, he discovered the intrenched body without the fort, and seeing the great indiscretion he had been guilty of in leaving so small a force to guard his baggage and boats, he rashly marched back to secure them. Had our troops attacked Montcalm's five hundred men, they would probably have defeated them, taken his cannon and boats, and forced him to surrender with his whole army. There was nothing to impede the attack but want of enterprise and conduct in the commanding officer.* The neighborhood of Fort George abounds

* See Smith's History of New York, vol. ii, pp. 245-6, and Chalmers's History of the Revolt of the American Colonies, vol. ii, pp. 287-8.

"Montcalm, who succeeded Dieskau in command, crossed Lake Champlain with eleven thousand men, and a numerous artillery, and invested Fort William Henry in the beginning of August, 1757. This fort had been erected subsequently to the Crown Point expedition. Webb, who lay in its vicinity at Fort Edward, with four thousand regulars and provincials, did every thing for its relief that could be expected from an intelligent officer. But he found it impossible to collect the numerous militias of the neighboring provinces, since they never had been em-

with limestone, and so indeed does all the country surrounding the lake, and all the islands in it. Their rocky coast and bottom contribute, no doubt, to the clearness of the lake water. Never did I see water more transparent, and to its transparency, no doubt, must be ascribed the excellency of the fish in this lake, which much exceed the fish in Lake Champlain. Lake George abounds with perch, trout, rock, and eels.

19*th*. We embarked at Fort George this evening, about one o'clock, in company with General Schuyler, and landed in Montcalm's bay about four miles from Fort George. After drinking tea on shore, and arranging matters in our boats, we again embarked, and went about three or four miles further, then landed, (the sun being set,) and kindled fires on shore. The longest of the boats, made for the transportation of the troops over lakes George and Champlain, are thirty-six feet in length and eight feet wide; they draw about a foot water when loaded, and carry between thirty and forty men, and are rowed by the soldiers. They have a mast fixed in them, to which a square sail, or a blanket is fastened, but these sails are of no use unless with the wind abaft, or nearly so. After we left Montcalm bay we were delayed considerably in getting through the ice; but, with the help of tent-poles, we opened ourselves a passage through it into free water. The boats fitted up to carry us across had awnings over them, under which we made up

bodied under any system, and the authority of the governors had long been sacrificed to the passions of the multitude.

"Monro defended Fort William Henry with a gallantry that gained him the applause of his conqueror, who could not, however, protect a brave garrison from the plunder of the savages. Montcalm, after this, retired into Canada, and so ended the third campaign of that war."

our beds, and my fellow travellers slept very comfortably; but this was not my case, for I was indisposed the whole night, with a violent sickness at my stomach and vomiting, occasioned by an indigestion. We left the place where we passed the night very early on the 20th.

20*th.* We had gone some miles before I rose; soon after I got out of bed we found ourselves entangled in the ice. We attempted, but in vain, to break through it in one place, but were obliged to desist and force our passage through another, which we effected without much difficulty. At eight o'clock we landed to breakfast. After breakfast the general looked to his small boat; being desirous to reach the landing at the north end of Lake George, we set off together; but the general's boat and the other boat, with part of the luggage, soon got before us a considerable way. After separating, we luckily fell in with the boat bringing the Montreal and Canada mail, by which we were informed that the west shore of the lake, at a place called Sabatay point, was much encumbered with ice, but that there was a free passage on the east side; accordingly, we kept along the east shore, and found it free from ice, by which means we got before the general and the other boat; for the general, who was foremost, had been delayed above an hour in breaking through the ice, and, in one place, was obliged to haul his boat over a piece or neck of land thirty feet broad. Dr. Franklin found in the Canada mail, which he opened, a letter for General Schuyler. When we had weathered Sabaty point, we stood over for the western shore of the lake, and a mile or two below the point we were overtaken by

the general, from whom we learned the cause of his delay. Mr. Chase and myself went on board the general's boat, and reached the landing place at the south end of Lake George near two hours before the other boats. Lake George lies nearly north and south, or rather, as I think, somewhat to the eastward of a due north course. Its shores are remarkably steep, high, and rocky (particularly the east shore), and are covered with pine and cedar, or what is here termed hemlock; the country is wild, and appears utterly incapable of cultivation; it is a fine deer country, and likely to remain so, for I think it never will be inhabited. I speak of the shores, and I am told the inland country resembles these. The lake, in its greatest width, does not exceed, I think, two miles; the widest part is nearest the north end, immediately before you enter the last narrows, which are not, in their greatest width, above half a mile. There are two places where the lake is considerably contracted, one about the middle of it, the other, as I have said, at the north end; this last gradually contracts itself in breadth to the size of an inconsiderable river, and suddenly, in depth, to that of a very shallow one. The landing place of Lake George is a few yards to the southward of the first fall or ripple in this river, through which the waters of Lake George drain into Lake Champlain. We passed through this ripple, and though our boat did not draw above seven or eight inches, her bottom raked the rocks; the water ran through this passage about as swift as it does through your tail race. From the landing place to Ticonderoga is three miles and a half. The boats, in coming through Lake George,

pass through the passage just described, and unload at a quarter of a mile below the usual landing place. Their contents are then put into wagons, and carried over to Ticonderoga. General Schuyler has erected a machine for raising the boats when emptied, and then letting them gently down on a carriage constructed for the purpose, on which they are drawn over land to Ticonderoga, on Lake Champlain, to carry the troops over the last mentioned lake, and down the Sorel into the river St. Lawrence. These carriages consist of four wheels, united by a long sapling, at the extremities of which the wheels are placed; over the axletrees is fixed a piece of wood, on which each end of the boat is supported and made fast by a rope secured round a bolt at the undermost part, and in the centre of the axletree. This bolt is made of iron, and passes through the aforesaid pieces of wood and the axletree. These carriages are drawn by six oxen, and this morning (21st instant) I saw three or four boats carried over upon them. Lake George, from the south end of it to the landing place at the north extremity, is thirty-six miles long. Its average width does not, I think, exceed a mile, and this breadth is interspersed and broken by innumerable little rocky islands formed of limestone; the shores of which are commonly so steep that you may step from the rocks into ten or twelve feet water. The season was not sufficiently advanced to admit of catching fish, a circumstance we had reason to regret, as they are so highly praised by the connoisseurs in good eating, and as one of our company is so excellent a judge in this science. There are no considerable rivers that empty themselves into Lake

George. We saw some brooks or rivulets, which, I presume, after the melting of the snows, are almost dry. The lake must be fed, principally, with springs, the melting of snows, and the torrents that must pour into it, from its high and steep shores, after rains. As there is no considerable river that flows into it, so is the vent of its waters into Lake Champlain very inconsiderable. In summer you may step, dry-footed, from rock to rock, in the place which I have called the first ripple, and which I said we passed, coming out of Lake George. The water suddenly shallows from a great depth to nine or ten feet or less. This change is immediately discoverable by the great change in the color of the water. The lake water is of a dark bluish cast, and the water of the river of a whitish color, owing not only to the difference of the depth, but the difference of the bottoms and shores, which, adjoining the river, are of white clay.

21*st.* I took a walk this evening to the saw-mill which is built on the principal fall of the river flowing from Lake George into Lake Champlain. At the foot of this fall, which is about thirteen feet high, the river is navigable for batteaux into Lake Champlain. From the saw-mill to the place where the batteaux are put on carriages to be carried over land, the distance is one mile and a half. I saw them unload a boat from the carriage, and launch it, at the same time, into the river; this was performed by thirty-five or forty men. To-day they carried over this portage fifty batteaux. I saw the forty-eighth put on the carriage. A little to the northwestward of the saw-mill, on the west side of the river, I visited the spot where Lord Howe was killed. At a small

expense a continued navigation for batteaux might be made between the lakes George and Champlain, by means of a few locks. General Schuyler informed me that locks, sufficient and adequate to the above purpose, might be constructed for fifteen hundred pounds sterling. There are but four or five falls in this river, the greatest of which is not above fourteen or fifteen feet. But the general informs me a much more advantageous water carriage may be opened through Wood creek, which falls into Lake Champlain at Skeenesborough, twenty-eight miles south of Ticonderoga. The general proposes to have this creek accurately surveyed, the heights ascertained, and estimate made of the expense of erecting locks on Wood creek, and the most convenient branch which heads near it and falls into Hudson's river. If this water communication between Lake Champlain and the province of New York should be perfected, there is little danger of the enemy's gaining the mastery of Lake Champlain, or of their ever having it in their power to invade these colonies from Canada with any prospect of success, besides the security which will be obtained for the colonies in time of war by making this navigation. Trade, during peace, will be greatly benefited by it, as there will then be a continued water communication between New York and Canada, without the inconvenience and expense attending the portages over land.

22d. I this morning took a ride with General Schuyler across the portage, or from the landing place at the bottom of Lake George, to Ticonderoga. The landing place is properly on the river which runs out of Lake George into Lake Champlain, and

may be a mile and a half from the place where the former may be said to terminate, i. e., where the lake is contracted into a river, as a current and shallow water. This river, computing its length from the aforesaid spot to the foot of the falls at the saw mills, and its windings, which are inconsiderable, is not more than four or five miles long. From the foot of the saw-mill falls there is still water into Lake Champlain. It is at the foot of these falls that the batteaux, brought over land, are launched into the water, and the artillery and the apparatus belonging to it are embarked in them; the stores, such as provisions, ball, powder, &c., are embarked from Ticonderoga. At sixty or seventy yards below the saw-mill there is a bridge built over the river:—this bridge was built by the king during the last war;—the road from the landing place to Ticonderoga passes over it, and you then have the river on the right; when you have passed the bridge you immediately ascend a pretty high hill, and keep ascending till you reach the famous lines made by the French in the last war, which Abercrombie was so infatuated as to attack with musquetry only;—his cannon was lying at the bridge, about a mile or something better from these lines. The event of the day is too well known to be mentioned; we lost [killed and wounded] near one thousand six hundred men; had the cannon been brought up, the French would not have waited to be attacked;—it was morally impossible to succeed against these lines with small arms only, particularly in the manner they were attacked;—our army passing before them, and receiving a fire from the whole extent;—whereas, had it marched lower

down, or to the north-west of these lines, it would have flanked them :—they were constructed of large trunks of trees, felled on each other, with earth thrown up against them. On the side next the French troops, they had, besides felling trees, lopped and sharpened their branches, and turned them towards the enemy; the trunks of the trees remain to this day piled up as described, but are fast going to decay. As soon as you enter these lines you have a full view of Lake Champlain and Ticonderoga fort, distant about a quarter of a mile. The land from thence gradually declines to the spot on which the fort is built.* Lake Champlain empties itself opposite the fort, and runs south twenty-eight miles to Skeenesborough. Crown Point is fifteen miles down the lake from Ticonderoga. The lake is no where broad in sight of the last mentioned place, but the prospect

* The works at Ticonderoga were trifling: logs had been piled up on the land side in a line for a breastwork, with trees before it to embarrass assailants. In August, 1758, Abercrombie, who was not informed that there was, at one end, an open access to the French encampment, ordered an attack with *musquetry* alone, upon that part of the line which was completed and fortified with cannon. It was at that point that the British sustained a loss of nearly two thousand men in killed and wounded.

The French general, who was just within the lines, perceived the folly of the British in advancing through the obstructions of an *abattis* of trees, and forbade a musket to be fired until he gave the word. As soon as the English troops were so completely within his toils that their embarrassments utterly impeded flight, he issued the word of command, and the assailants were slaughtered like cattle.

It was related by Colonel Schuyler, who was then a prisoner in Canada, that Montcalm's whole force at Crown Point did not exceed three thousand men, nor his killed, wounded, and captured, two hundred and thirty. From a dread of the British superiority, he had actually resolved, before Abercrombie retreated, to abandon Crown Point.—See *Smith's History of New York*, vol. ii, p. 265.

from it is very pleasing; its shores are not as steep as those of Lake George. They rise gradually from the water, and are covered more thickly with woods, which grow in good soils, or at least in soils much better than can be seen on Lake George. There is but one settlement on the latter, at Sabatay point; I understood there were about sixty acres of good land at that point. Ticonderoga fort is in a ruinous condition; it was once a tolerable fortification. The ramparts are faced with stone. I saw a few pieces of cannon mounted on one bastion, more for show, I apprehend, than service. In the present state of affairs this fort is of no other use than as an *entrepôt* or magazine for stores, as from this place all supplies for our amy in Canada are shipped to go down Lake Champlain. I saw four vessels, viz: three schooners and one sloop; these are to be armed, to keep the mastery of the lake in case we should lose St. John's and be driven out of Canada;—in the meantime they will be employed in carrying supplies to our troops in that country. Of these three schooners two were taken from the enemy on the surrender of St. John's, one of them is called the Royal Savage, and is pierced for twelve guns; she had, when taken, twelve brass pieces—I think four and six pounders; these were sent to Boston. She is really a fine vessel, and built on purpose for fighting; however, some repairs are wanted; a new mainmast must be put in, her old one being shattered with one of our cannon balls.* When these vessels are completely rigged,

* This vessel had been taken the year before.—After Ticonderoga and Crown Point were secured by Colonel Allen, a party of his troops came suddenly upon Major Skeene, at Skeenesborough, and, making him

armed, and manned, we may defy the enemy on Lake Champlain for this summer and fall at least, even should we unfortunately be driven out of Canada. When our small army last summer, or rather fall, [in number about one thousand seven hundred,] came to *Isle aux Noix*, this vessel was almost ready to put to sea, she wanted only as much to be done to her as could easily have been finished in three days, had the enemy exerted themselves. Had she ventured out our expedition to Canada must have failed, and probably our whole army must have surrendered, for she was greatly an overmatch for all the naval

prisoner, also seized a schooner and several batteaux, with which they hastened to Ticonderoga.—Allen and Arnold then formed a plan to make a rapid descent upon St. John's, take a king's sloop that lay there, and attempt a descent upon the garrison. The schooner and batteaux were therefore speedily manned and armed, and, as Arnold had been a seaman in his youth, the schooner was assigned to his command, while the batteaux were committed to the charge of Allen. They left Ticonderoga at nearly the same time; but, as the wind was fresh, the schooner outsailed the batteaux. At eight o'clock in the evening of the 17th May, 1775, Arnold was within thirty miles of St. John's; and, as the weather was calm, he fitted out two batteaux with thirty-five men, leaving the schooner behind, and proceeded to his destination, where he arrived at six o'clock next morning. He immediately made his attack, seized a sergeant with twelve men, and the king's sloop of about seventy tons, with two brass sixes, and seven men. Neither side sustained any loss; and embarking, after a delay of two hours, he took with him his captives, the sloop, and four batteaux, having destroyed five others.

Fifteen miles from St. John's he met Allen pressing forward with his party. They saluted in honor of the victory, and the colonel pushed on with one hundred men towards *La Prairie*, to keep, if possible, the ground that had been taken by Arnold. But, notwithstanding his resolution and courage, he was soon obliged to retreat before reinforcements that came from Chamblay and elsewhere, and he returned to Ticonderago, with a loss of only three men, who had been taken prisoners.—See *Sparks's American Biography*, vol. i, p. 279, et seq.

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strength we then had on the lake. Had Preston, who commanded at St. John's, ventured out with his garrison, consisting of six hundred men, and attacked our people at their first landing, he would, in all probability, have defeated them, as they were a mere undisciplined rabble, made up chiefly of the offings and outcasts of New York.

23*d*. We continued this day at the landing place, our boats not being yet ready and fitted to carry us through Lake Champlain. General Schuyler and the troops were busily engaged in carting over land, to the saw-mill, the batteaux, cannon, artillery stores, provisions, &c., there to be embarked on the navigable waters of Lake Champlain, and transported over that lake to St. John's.

24*th*. We this day left the landing place at Lake George and took boat at the saw-mill. From the saw-mill to Ticonderoga, the distance, by water, is about a mile; the water is shallow, but sufficiently deep for batteau navigation. A little below the bridge before mentioned, the French, during the last war, drove pickets into the river, to prevent our boats getting round from the saw-mill to Ticonderoga with the artillery; some of the pickets still remain, for both our boats struck on them. Ticonderoga fort * is beautifully situated, but, as I said before, it is in a ruinous condition;—neither is the place, in my opinion, judiciously chosen for the construction of a fort; a fort constructed at the saw-mill would much better

* For an interesting account of the capture of this place by Ethan Allen, on the morning of the 10th of May, 1775, "*In the name*," as he said, "*of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress;*" see *Sparks's American Biography, first series*, vol. i, p. 274, et seq.

secure the passage or pass into the province of New York by way of Lake George. Having waited at Ticonderoga an hour or two, to take in provisions for the crews of both boats, consisting entirely of soldiers, we embarked at eleven o'clock, and reached Crown Point a little after three, with the help of our oars only. Crown Point is distant from Ticonderoga only fifteen miles. The lake, all the way, from one part to another, is narrow, scarce exceeding a mile on an average. Crown Point is situated on a neck or isthmus of land, on the west side of the lake; it is in ruins; it was once a considerable fortress, and the English must have expended a large sum in constructing the fort and erecting the barracks, which are also in ruins. A great part of the ditch is cut out of the solid limestone rock. This ditch was made by blowing the rocks, as the holes bored for the gunpowder are plainly to be seen in the fragments. By some accident the fort took fire, the flames communicated to the powder magazine, containing at that time ninety-six barrels. The shock was so great as to throw down the barracks—at least the upper stories. The explosion was distinctly heard ten miles off, and the earth shook at that distance as if there had been an earthquake. This intelligence I received from one Faris, who lives ten miles down the lake, and at whose house we lay this night. The wood work of the barracks is entirely consumed by fire, but the stone work of the first stories might be easily repaired, and one of these barracks might be converted into a fine manufactory. The erecting of these barracks and the fort must have cost the government not less, I dare say, than

one hundred thousand pounds sterling.* The lake is narrow opposite the fort, and makes a bend, by which the vessels passing on the lake were much exposed to the artillery of the fort; and this advantageous situation first induced the French, and then the English, to erect a fort here. The French fort was inconsiderable, and close to the water; the English fort is a much more extensive fortification, and farther from the lake, but so as to command it.

25th. We set off from Faris's at five o'clock in the morning. If Faris's information may be relied on, his land and the neighboring lands are exceedingly fine;—he told us he had reaped thirty bushels of wheat from the acre; the soil appears to be good; but, to judge of it from its appearance, I should not think it so fertile. Three miles north of Faris's the lake begins to contract itself, and this contraction continues for six miles, and is called the narrows. At Faris's the lake is about two miles wide. We breakfasted in a small cove at a little distance to the southward of the Split rock. The Split rock is nine miles from Faris's house. At the Split rock the lake grows immediately wider as you go down it; its width, in this place, can not be much short of seven miles. When we had got four or five miles from the rock, the wind headed us, and blew a fresh gale, which occasioned a considera-

* As soon as Ethan Allen had got possession of Ticonderoga and secured his prisoners, he despatched Seth Warner with a detachment of men to seize Crown Point. The distance was only fifteen miles, but a strong head wind drove back the boats, and the whole party returned the same evening. A day or two afterwards, however, the attempt was successfully renewed. The garrison—consisting of eleven men and a sergeant—was captured, and sixty-one good cannon, and fifty-three unfit for service, were taken.—See *Sparks's American Biography*, vol. i, p. 277.

ble swell on the lake, the wind being north-east, and having a reach of twenty miles. We were constrained to put in at one McCaully's, where we dined on cold provisions. The wind abating about four o'clock, we put off again, and rowed seven miles down the lake to a point of land a mile or two to the southward of four islands called the Four Brothers; these islands lie nearly in the middle of the lake, which is very wide in this place, and continues so as far as you can see down it. Mr. Chase and I slept this night on shore under a tent made of bushes.

*26th.** We set off this morning at four o'clock from the last mentioned point, which I called "Commissioners' point." Wind fair; a pretty breeze. At five o'clock reached Schuyler's island; it contains eight hundred acres, and belongs to Montreson, distant seven miles from the Four Brothers. Schuyler's island lies near the western shore. The lake continues wide;—at ten o'clock got to Cumberland head, fourteen miles from Schuyler's island. Cumberland head is the south point of Cumberland bay. The bay forms a deep recess on the western side of the lake; its length, from Schuyler's island, at the point of land opposite to it, to Cumberland head-land, is fourteen miles, and its depth not less than nine or ten miles. The wind luckily favored us until we reached Cumberland head; it then ceased;—it grew cloudy, and soon began to rain, and the wind shifted to the north-east. We breakfasted at Cumberland head on tea and good biscuit, our usual breakfast, having provided ourselves

* On the 26th of April, 1776, the President of Congress addressed letters to the commissioners, and to General Schuyler, upon the subject of the late disturbances in Canada.—See *Am. Arch.*, vol. v, pp. 1085, 1086. For the *resolutions* spoken of, see *same volume*, p. 1686.

with the necessary furniture for such a breakfast. As soon as it cleared up we rowed across a bay, about four miles wide, to *Point aux Roches*, so called from the rocks of which it is formed. Indeed it is one entire stone wall, fifteen feet high, but gradually inclining to the north-east. At that extremity it is little above the water. Having made a short stay at this place to refresh our men, we rowed round the point, hugged the western shore, and got into a cove which forms a very safe harbor. But the ground being low and swampy, and no cedar or hemlock trees, of the branches of which our men formed their tents at night, we thought proper to cross over to *Isle la Motte*, bearing from us about north-east, and distant three miles. This island is nine miles long and one broad. The south-west side of it is high land, and the water is deep close in shore, which is rocky and steep. We lay under this shore all night in a critical situation, for had the wind blown hard in the night, from the west, our boats would probably have been stove against the rocks. We passed the night on board the boats, under the awning which had been fitted up for us. This awning could effectually secure us from the wind and rain, and there was space enough under it to make up four beds. The beds we were provident enough to take with us from Philadelphia. We found them not only convenient and comfortable, but necessary; for, without this precaution, persons travelling from the colonies into Canada at this season of the year, or indeed at any other, will find themselves obliged either to sit up all night, or to lie on the bare ground or planks. Several of the islands in Lake Champlain have different claimants,

as patents have been granted by the French government and the government of New York. According to the present division, most of them, indeed all, except *Isle aux Noix*, are in the colony of New York.

27th. A fine morning. We left our nation's station at four o'clock, and rowed ten miles to ***Point au Fer***, so called from some iron mines at no great distance from it; the land here, and all the adjacent country, is very flat and low. Colonel Christie has built a house at this point, which is intended for a tavern; the place is judiciously chosen. A small current begins here, and the raftsmen are not obliged to row; after they bring their rafts to ***Point au Fer***, the current will carry them in a day to St. John's, which is distant from this point thirty measured miles. Windmill point is three miles below ***Point au Fer;*** and, a mile or two below the former, runs the line which divides the province of Quebec from New York. At Windmill point the lake begins to contract itself to the size of a river, but of a large and deep one. Opposite to this point the width can not be much short of two miles: six miles below Windmill point you meet with a small island called *Isle aux Têtes:* from a number of heads that were stuck upon poles by the Indians after a great battle that was fought between them on this island, or near it. At this island the current is not only perceptible, but strong. We went close by the island, and in shallow water, which gave us a better opportunity of observing the swiftness of the current. A mile or two below this island, we breakfasted at a tavern kept by one Stodd. At *Isle aux Têtes*, the river *Richelieu*, or St. John's, or Sorel (for it goes by all these names), may be properly said

to begin. It is in this place above a mile wide, deep, and the current considerable;—its banks are almost level with the water,—indeed, the water appears to be rather above the banks; the country is one continued swamp, overflowed by the river at this season;—as you approach St. John's the current grows stronger. *Isle aux Noix* is half way between St. John's and *Point au Fer*, and consequently fifteen miles from each; we passed close by it: it is very level and low, covered at the north end with hazel bushes; but the land is higher than the banks of the river.*

*In a letter from Colonel Ethan Allen to congress, on the 2d June, 1776, he speaks of his expedition as one undertaken at the special encouragement and request of a number of gentlemen in the colony of Connecticut. After alluding to his successes, he declares that the key of Canada is yet ours, and strongly recommends that two or three thousand men should be pushed into that province, so as to weaken General Gage, and insure us the country. He even believed that if he could be thus furnished, he would find it no insuperable difficulty to take Quebec.

If, however, it was thought premature to push an army into Canada, he proposed to make a stand at the Isle aux Noix, which had been fortified by the intrenchments of the French during the last war, and had greatly fatigued our large army to take it.

Allen's advice was deemed bold and incautious when given, but events afterwards proved that it was characterized by wisdom and forethought. If a competent force had been thrown into Canada before the British had time to rally their scattered forces, the campaign would have rewarded us with success instead of the sad failure that attended the wavering and tardy policy pursued by congress in maturing the expedition.

Congress, or the country had, however, at this moment, not yet resolved how far they would enlist the Canadians in the enterprise, and could not but have regarded the attack on their French neighbors as very much like a distinct war from that undertaken against the British. The first effort of the colonies was to secure their own immediate possessions; the next, to prevent injury to them from such possessions as Great Britain might retain. The reader will observe that Mr. Carroll fully agreed with Colonel Allen as to the great importance of this military position at the Isle aux Noix.—See *Sparks's Am. Biog.*, vol. i, p. 283 *et seq.*, *et* p. 287.

We saw the intrenchments thrown up by the French during the last war, and the remains of the pickets driven into the river, quite across to the island, to prevent the English boats from getting down to St. John's. These fortifications induced General Amherst to penetrate into Canada by Oswego lake and the St. Lawrence, rather than run the hazard of being stopped at *Isle aux Noix.* Indeed I believe he would have found it a difficult matter to force his way through this pass, which appears to me of great consequence in the present contest, should the forces of the united colonies be obliged to evacuate Canada; for if we occupy and fortify this island, drive pickets into the river, and build row galleys, and place them behind the pickets, or between the little islets formed by the several smaller islands, almost contiguous to *Isle aux Noix*, the enemy will not be able to penetrate into the colonies from Canada by the way of Lake Champlain. It is certain that Amherst, rather than expose himself to the disgrace of being foiled at this post, chose to make a roundabout march of several hundred leagues, and encounter the rapids of the St. Lawrence, by which he lost some of his boats and several hundred men.* Having passed the *Isle*

* General Amherst left Schenectady in June, 1760, to join an army of four thousand regulars and six thousand provincials, who were to descend into the heart of the French colony by the St. Lawrence. Meanwhile General Murray was to approach, with two thousand regulars, from Quebec, whilst five thousand provincials, under Colonel Haviland, were to penetrate by Lake Champlain. Sir William Johnson also held out a promise of assistance by a large body of Indian allies, of whom not more than six hundred accompanied the western army for a short distance, and then returned to their villages and hunting grounds.

The three grand divisions, however, met in the neighborhood of Montreal, and drove the enemy's forces into the island, when, being

aux Noix, the wind sprang up in our favor;—assisted by the wind and current, we reached St. John's at three o'clock. Before I speak of this fortress, it may not be improper to make some remarks on the navigation of Lake Champlain, the adjacent country, and its appearance. The navigation appears to be very secure, as there are many inlets, coves, and harbors, in which such vessels as will be used on the lake may at all times find shelter; the water is deep, at least wherever we touched, close in with the land. There are several islands in the lake, the most considerable of which we saw; the principal is *Grand isle*,—it deserves the appellation, being, as we were informed, twenty-seven miles long, and three or four miles wide. *Isle la Motte* is the next largest, and *Isle de Belle Cour* ranks after that. *Isle la Motte* we touched at; the others we could plainly distinguish. We saw several of the islands on the eastern shore of the lake, some of which appear as large as Poplar's island; but, having no person on board our boats acquainted with the lake, we could not learn their names. The lake, on an average, may be six miles broad; in some places it is above fifteen miles wide, particularly about Cumberland bay and Schuyler's island; but in others it is not three miles, and in the narrows not above a mile and a half, to judge by the eye. As you go down the lake, the mountains which hem it

surrounded and unable to resist, Monsieur Vaudrieul, the governor, surrendered all Canada to the British on the 8th of September. It was whilst Amherst was proceeding north, on this expedition, that he was forced to avoid the French at Isle aux Noix, and thus lost some valuable troops in the perilous navigation of the St. Lawrence. This result confirms Allen's view of the military importance of that island in all attacks on Canada.

in on the east and west extend themselves wider, and leave a greater extent of fine level land between them and the lake on each shore. Some of these mountains are remarkably high. In many places, on or near their tops, the snow still remains. They form several picturesque views, and contribute much, in my opinion, to the beauty of the lake. The snow not dissolving, in their latitude, at the end of April, is a proof of their height:—the distance at which some of these mountains are visible is a still stronger proof. Several of them may be distinctly seen from Montreal, which can not be at a less distance from the most remote than seventy or eighty miles, and, I am inclined to think, considerably further. If America should succeed, and establish liberty throughout this part of the continent, I have not the least doubt that the lands bordering on Lake Champlain will be very valuable in a short time, and that a great trade will be carried on over Lake Champlain, between Canada and New York. An easy water communication may be opened, at no great expense, (if General Schuyler be not mistaken,) between the cities of New York, Montreal, and Quebec, and several other places in Canada. *Richelieu*, or *Sorel river*, from *Isle aux Têtes* to St. John's, would be esteemed a large river even in Maryland. The navigation of it between those places is good, for the current is not so strong as not to be stemmed with oars, or a wind. At St. John's the current is very rapid, and continues so, sometimes more, sometimes less, to Chamblay,—distant twelve miles from St. John's. Opposite St. John's, I think the river is half a mile wide.

The fortifications of St. John's were not injured by the siege;—they consist of earth ramparts, enclosed by a ditch filled with water; palisadoes, closely joined together, are fastened at the base of the ramparts, and confined by the weight of them projecting half way over the ditch, to prevent an escalade. There are, properly speaking, two forts, built around some houses, which were converted into magazines and barracks;—the communication between the two is secured by a strong enclosure of large stakes driven deep into the ground, and as close as they can stand together. A ditch runs along this fence. The houses within the forts suffered much from our batteries, which surrounded the forts, but the cannon was not heavy enough to make any impression on the works. Want of ammunition and provisions, and the inclemency of the season, obliged the garrison to surrender; for the soldiers were constrained to hide themselves in the cellars, which are bomb-proof, or lie behind the mounds of earth thrown up within the forts, exposed to the severity of the cold and rains, or run the risk of having their brains beaten out in the houses by our shot, or by the fragments of the walls and timbers, and bursting of the bombs. As you go down the river from *Point au Fer* to St. John's, you have a distant and beautiful prospect of the mountains on either side of the lake. After passing *Isle aux Noix*, you have a fine view of the mountain of Chamblay, on the top of which is a lake stored with excellent trout and perch. Having despatched a messenger to Montreal for carriages for ourselves and baggage, we crossed the river to go to a tavern on the east side of the river, about a mile from the fort.

The house belongs to Colonel Hazen, and has greatly suffered by the neighborhood of the troops. There is scarcely a whole pane of glass in the house, the window-shutters and doors are destroyed, and the hinges stolen; in short, it appears a perfect wreck. This tavern is kept by a French woman, married to one Donaho, now a prisoner in Pennsylvania.

28*th*. We remained at Colonel Hazen's house. Several batteaux with troops arrived this day and yesterday evening from Ticonderoga, and most of them fell down the river this day to Chamblay. The land appears to be very fertile, and well adapted to pasture; the grass began to grow fast, although the frost was not then out of the ground, the surface only being thawed.*

29*th*. Left Colonel Hazen's house; crossed over to St. John's, where we found our *calèches* ready to receive us. After an hour's stay spent in getting our baggage into the carts, and securing the remainder,—which, for want of carts, we were obliged to leave behind us,—we set off from St. John's for *La Prairie*, distant eighteen miles. I never travelled through worse roads, or in worse carriages. The country is one continued plain from St. John's to *La Prairie*, and two-thirds of the way uncultivated, though deserving the highest cultivation. About five or six miles from *La Prairie* you meet with houses and ploughed lands, interspersed with meadows, which

*Immediately on the arrival of the commissioners at Montreal, Mr. John Carroll addressed a letter to his mother, dated 1st May, giving an interesting account of their journey to Canada. The reader will find it in the American Archives, vol. v, p. 1168.

extend as far as you can see;—all this tract of land is capable of being turned into fine meadow, and when the country becomes more populous, and enjoys a good government, I doubt not it will be all drained and made into excellent meadow or pasturage. Without draining, it will be impossible to cultivate it in any way. You have no view of the St. Lawrence, or of Montreal, until you come within three or four miles of *La Prairie.* At *La Prairie* the view of the town and the river, and the island of Montreal, together with the houses on the eastern side of the St. Lawrence, form a beautiful prospect. As far as the view extends down the river, you discern houses on either side of it, which are not divided from each other by more than four acres, and commonly by not more than two. From *La Prairie* you go slanting down the river to Montreal; this passage is computed six miles, though the river, in a direct line across from the eastern shore to the town, is not more than three miles. Ships of three hundred tons can come up to Montreal; but they can not get up above the town, or even abreast of it. The river where we crossed is filled with rocks and shoals, which occasion a very rapid current in several places. We were received by General Arnold, on our landing, in the most polite and friendly manner; conducted to headquarters, where a genteel company of ladies and gentlemen had assembled to welcome our arrival. As we went from the landing place to the general's house, the cannon of the citadel fired in compliment to us as the commissioners of congress. We supped at that general's, and after supper were conducted, by the general and other gentlemen, to our lodgings,—

the house of Mr. Thomas Walker,—the best built, and perhaps the best furnished in this town.*

May 11*th*. Dr. Franklin left Montreal to-day to go to St. John's, and from thence to congress. The doctor's declining state of health, and the bad prospect of our affairs in Canada, made him take this resolution.†

12*th*. We set off from Montreal to go to *La Prairie*. Mr. John Carroll went to join Dr. Franklin at St. John's, from whence they sailed the 13th.‡

* See Arnold's letter to Schuyler, Montreal, April 30, 1776.—*Archives*, vol. v, p. 1155. And see also, Commissioners' letter to Congress, dated Montreal, 1 May, 1776, with the memorandum of the council of war as to fortifying Jaques Cartier and the falls of Richelieu, and the building of six gondolas.—*American Archives*, vol. v, p. 1166.

† Dr. Franklin's health (as he had predicted at the outset) was impaired by the hardships of this journey. After being a fortnight at Montreal, he set out homewards with Mr. John Carroll, who afterwards became the first Roman Catholic Archbishop of the United States. With some difficulty they reached Albany, whence they came to New York in a private carriage furnished by General Schuyler.

In a letter, dated at New York on the 27th of May, he thanks General Schuyler and his wife for their attention to his comforts; and is glad that he did not pursue his original intention of taking the general's sulky and driving over the stones and gullies, in which he should probably have overset and broken his bones.

In a letter of the same date, "to the Commissioners in Canada," he informs his friends of his arrival, and rather petulantly says that they "left Mrs. Walker with her husband at Albany, from whence we came down by land. We passed him on Lake Champlain; but he, returning, overtook us at Saratoga, *when they both took such liberties in taunting at our conduct in Canada, that it came almost to a quarrel.* We continued our care of her, however, and landed her safe in Albany, with her three wagon loads of baggage, *brought thither without putting her to any expense*, and parted civilly though coldly. *I think they both have an excellent talent at making themselves enemies, and I believe, live where they will, they will never be long without them.*" The Walkers are probably the family alluded to in the journal on the 29th of May.—*Works of Franklin*, vol. i, p. 404, and vol. viii, pp. 182, 183, Sparks's edition.

‡ Franklin did not forget the kind attentions of the Rev. John Carroll during this journey; nor did he fail to appreciate the virtues and intel-

13*th*. I went to St. John's to examine into the state of that garrison, and of the batteaux. There I met with General Thompson and Colonel Sinclair, with part of Thompson's brigade. That evening I went with them down the Sorel to Chamblay. Major Wood and myself remained in the boat when we got to St. Therèse, where the rapids begin and continue, with some interruptions, to Chamblay. Flat bottomed boats may go down these rapids in the spring of the year, when the water is high;—even a large *gondola* passed down them this spring; but it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to bring a *gondola* up against the stream. I much question whether the batteaux could be brought up; certain it is that the labor of towing them up, or setting them up the current with setting poles, would be greater, and take much more time, than carting them over the carrying place from Chamblay to within three miles of St. Therèse. All our batteaux which shoot the rapids and go down the Sorel to Chamblay and that are brought up again to St. John's, are carted over the carrying place on frames constructed for the purpose. It was proposed by some to bring a *gondola*, built at Chamblay, over land three miles into the Sorel, three miles below St. Therèse; others were of opinion it could be more easily towed up over the rapids. *Cham-*

lectual cultivation of that excellent clergyman. The following extract from the doctor's private journal at Passy in 1784, shows that he thought of him constantly, and pressed his claims for the highest dignity of the church in our confederacy.

"*July* 1*st*, (1784.)—The pope's nuncio called, and acquainted me that the pope had, on my recommendation, appointed Mr. John Carroll superior of the Catholic clergy in America, with many powers of bishop; and that, probably, he would be made a bishop, *in partibus*, before the end of the year.—See *Works of Franklin*, vol. i, p. 581, Sparks's edition.

blay fort is a large square stone building, with square towers at each angle, a place intended only as a protection against the savages. I saw the holes made by a six pounder, when it was taken by Major Brown. Major Stafford might have held out against the force which besieged him at least for some days, in which time he would probably have been relieved by Carleton. But, by Carleton's subsequent behaviour, when he made an attempt to go to the relief of St. John's, I much question whether he would have taken more effectual measures to rescue Stafford. The taking of Chamblay occasioned the taking of St. John's; against the latter we should not have succeeded without the six tons of gunpowder taken in the former.

14*th*. I returned to Montreal by *La Prairie;* the country between Chamblay and *La Prairie* is extremely fine and level, abounding with most excellent meadow-ground as you approach the St. Lawrence, with rich arable land round about Chamblay. The country lying between the St. Lawrence and the Sorel is the best part of Canada, and produces the most and best wheat. In the year 1771 four hundred and seventy-one thousand bushels of wheat were exported out of Canada, of which two-thirds, it is computed, were made in the Sorel district.*

21*st*. This day Mr. Chase set off with me for the mouth of the Sorel; we embarked from Montreal in one of our batteaux, and went in it as far as the point of land on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, oppo-

* The commissioners wrote to congress from Montreal on the 8th of May.—See *American Archives,* vol. v, p. 1237. On May 10th from same place.—See *American Archives,* vol. vi, p. 450, (*yet unpublished.*) And again on the 16th May.—*Id.* p. 482.

site to the northern extremity of the Island of Montreal; here, the wind being against us, we took post and travelled on the north side of the St. Lawrence as low down as *La Nore*, where we got into a canoe, and were paddled down and across the St. Lawrence to our camp at the mouth of the Sorel;—it was a perfect calm, the distance is computed at nine miles. The country on each side the St. Lawrence is level, rich, and thickly seated; indeed, so thickly seated, that the houses form almost one continued row. In going from *La Nore* to the mouth of the Sorel, we passed by Brown's battery (as it is called), although it never had a cannon mounted on it. To this battery without cannon, and to a single gondola, ten or twelve vessels, under the command of Colonel Prescott, surrendered. Major Brown, when the vessels came near to his battery, sent an officer on board requesting Prescott to send another on shore to view his works. It is difficult to determine which was greatest, the impudence of Brown in demanding a surrender, or the cowardice of the officer who, going back to Prescott, represented the difficulty of passing the battery so great and hazardous, that Prescott and all his officers chose to capitulate. Brown requested the officer who went on shore to wait a little until he saw the two thirty-two pounders, which were within half a mile, coming from Chamblay;—says he, "If you should chance to escape this battery, which is my small battery, I have a grand battery at the mouth of the Sorel, which will infallibly sink all your vessels." His grand battery was as badly provided with cannon as his little battery, for not a single gun was mounted on either. This Prescott treated our prisoners with

great insolence and brutality. His behaviour justifies the old observation, that cowards are generally cruel. We found the discipline of our camp very remiss, and every thing in confusion;—General Thomas had but lately resigned the command to Thompson, by whose activity things were soon put on a better footing.

22*d*. We left our camp and travelled by land along the eastern bank of the Sorel. At five or six miles from the mouth of the Sorel the country grows rich, and continues so all the way to Chamblay. Near the mouth of the river it is very sandy. This part of the country is very populous, the villages are large and neat, and joined together by a continued range of single houses, chiefly farmers' houses. These are the rich men in Canada: the *seignieurs* are in general poor. They were constrained by the ordinances of the king of France to lease their lands for ever, reserving two dollars for every ninety acres, and some other trifling perquisites, as tolls for grinding wheat; the tenants being obliged to have their wheat ground at their *seignieurs'* mills. It is conjectured that the farmers in Canada can not be possessed of less than a million sterling, in specie;—they hoard up their money to portion their children;—they neither let it out at interest, nor expend it in the purchase of lands. Before we left the camp we ordered a detachment up to Montreal, under the command of Colonel De Haas, consisting of near four hundred men, to reinforce General Arnold, and, in conjunction, to drive off a party of the eighth regiment, who, with three hundred and fifty savages, and some Canadians, had taken our post at the Cedars, through

the cowardice of Major Butterfield,* and had advanced, on the 25th instant, within fifteen miles of Montreal.

23d. We got early this morning to Chamblay, where we found all things in much confusion, extreme disorder, and negligence, our credit sunk, and no money to retrieve it with. We were obliged to pay three silver dollars for the carriage of three barrels of gunpowder from Little Chamblay river to Longueil, the officer who commanded the guard not having a single shilling.

24th. Colonel De Haas's detachment got into Montreal this evening; the day before, we, also, arrived there, having crossed the St. Lawrence in a canoe from Longueil.

25th. In the evening of this day Colonel De Haas's detachment marched out of Montreal to join General Arnold at La Chine; they were detained from want of many necessaries, which we were obliged to procure for them, General Wooster being without money, or pretending to be so.† The enemy, hearing

*Arnold had left Quebec on account of his suffering from a severe wound, but more probably in consequence of his jealousy and discontent with General Wooster. At Montreal he was again in command, and, for the results of his course after the disaster at the Cedars, the reader is referred to his life, in Sparks's American Biography, vol. iii, p. 56, et seq.

At the Cedars, nearly four hundred men surrendered, by a disgraceful capitulation, and a hundred more were barbarously murdered by savages.

†In a letter from the commissioners to congress, dated at Montreal on the 27th May, '76, they deal with General Wooster in unmeasured terms. "General Thomas," they say, "is now at Chamblay under the small-pox. Being taken with that disorder, he left the camp at Sorel, and wrote to General Wooster to come and take command. When the interest of our country and the safety of your army are at stake, we think it very improper to conceal our sentiments, either with

from our enemies in Montreal, of this reinforcement, had retreated precipitately to Fort St. Anne's, at the southern extremity of the Island of Montreal, and from thence had crossed over to *Quinze Chiens*, on the north side of the St. Lawrence.

29th. We left Montreal this day at three o'clock,* to go to Chamblay, to be present at a council of war of the generals and field-officers, for concerting the operations of the campaign.

30th. The council of war was held this day, and determined to maintain possession of the country between the St. Lawrence and Sorel, if possible;—in the meantime to dispose matters so as to make an orderly retreat out of Canada.

31st. Set off from Chamblay for St. John's;—all things there in confusion:—slept at Mrs. Donaho's.

regard to persons or things. General Wooster is, in our opinion, unfit—totally unfit—to command your army and conduct the war. We have, hitherto, prevailed on him to remain in Montreal. His stay in this colony is unnecessary, and even prejudicial to our affairs. We would therefore humbly advise his recall."—*MS. letter in the State department at Washington.* It will be published by Mr. Force in the sixth volume of the American Archives, (the proof-sheets of which I have seen,) at p. 589.

Wooster requested an inquiry into his conduct as commander of the forces in Canada. The matter was referred by congress to a committee, which, upon full investigation, declared that nothing censurable appeared against him.—See *Journals of Congress, August* 17*th*, 1776. He resigned his commission in the continental army, and was appointed first major-general of the Connecticut militia.—See *Sparks's Life and Writings of Washington,* vol. iii, p. 412, *in note.*

Wooster was killed in 1777, in a spirited action between the Connecticut troops and the English force under Governor Tryon, near Danbury.

* See letter from the Commissioners to Congress, dated 27 May, 1776, in the sixth volume of American Archives, p. 590. This is their last letter from Canada, and is very valuable, as containing a pretty full report of the state of affairs in that province, and the condition of the army. It has been freely extracted from in the introductory memoir.

June 1*st.* Crossed over this morning to St. John's, where General Sullivan, with fourteen hundred men, had arrived in the night of the 31st past; saw them all under arms. It began to rain at nine o'clock, and continued raining very hard until late in the evening;—slept at Donaho's.

2*d.* Crossed over again to the camp; took leave of General Sullivan, and sailed from St. John's at six this morning, with a fair wind;—got to *Point au Fer* at one o'clock;—got to Cumberland head about seven o'clock, P. M.; set off from thence about nine, and rowed all night. We divided our boat's crew into two watches.

3*d.* Breakfasted at Willsborough; rowed on and received despatches by Major Hickes; got to Crown Point half-past six o'clock, P. M. Set off at eight, rowed all night, and arrived at one o'clock in the night at Ticonderoga, where we found General Schuyler.

4*th.* Set off this morning at five with General Schuyler, for Skeenesborough, and got there by two o'clock. The lake, as you approach Skeenesborough, grows narrower and shallower; indeed, within five or six miles of Skeenesborough, it has all the appearance of a river. We hauled our batteau over the carrying place at Skeenesborough into Wood creek. This carrying place is not above three hundred feet across; a lock may be made for two hundred pounds at Skeenesborough, by which means a continued navigation would be effected for batteaux from one Chesshire's into Lake Champlain. Major Skeene has built a saw-mill, grist mill, and a forge at the entrance of Wood creek into Lake Champlain. Set off from Skeenesborough at four o'clock, rowed up

Wood creek ten miles, to one Boyle's, here we lay all night on board our boat.

5th. Set off at three in the morning, and continued rowing up the creek to one Chesshire's. This man lives near Fort Ann, built by Governor Nicholson in 1709. The distance from Skeenesborough to Chesshire's, is twenty-two miles,—by land, fourteen only; from this it appears that Wood creek has many windings, in fact, I never saw a more serpentine river. The navigation is somewhat obstructed by trees drifted and piled across the creek; however, we met with little difficulty but in one place, where we were obliged to quit our boat, and carry it through a narrow gut, which was soon performed by our crew. Two hundred men would clear this creek and remove every obstruction in six days' time. This measure has been recommended by the commissioners to congress, and congress has complied with the recommendation, and orders will soon be given to General Schuyler to clear it, and render the navigation easy.

I set off with General Schuyler, on foot, from Chesshire's, at one o'clock; walked seven miles, and then met horses coming from Jones's to us. Jones's house is distant nine miles from Chesshire's. We dined at Jones's, and rode, after dinner, to Fort Edward;—the distance is computed four miles;—Mr. Chase joined us this evening. He took the lower road and was obliged to walk part of the way.

6th. Parted with General Schuyler this morning; he returned to Fort George on Lake George. We rode to Saratoga, where we got by seven o'clock, but did not find the amiable family at home. We were

constrained to remain here all this day, waiting the arrival of our servants and baggage.

7th. Our servants and baggage being come up, we left Saratoga this morning at nine; took boat and went down Hudson's river, through all the rapids, to Albany. The distance is computed thirty-six miles. We arrived at Albany half an hour past five. At six o'clock we set off for New York in a sloop: which we luckily found ready to sail; got that evening and night twenty-four miles from Albany.

8th. Found ourselves, this morning, twenty-four miles from Albany;—at seven in the morning wind breezed up, had a fine gale, and got below the highlands;—a very great run.

9th. Arrived at New York at one o'clock, P. M.;—Waited on General Washington at Motier's;—saw Generals Gates and Putnam, and my old acquaintance and friend, Mr. Moylan. About six o'clock in the evening got into General Washington's barge, in company with Lord Stirling,* and was rowed round by Staten Island and the Kilns, within two miles of Elizabeth town, where we got by ten at night.

10th. Set off from Elizabeth town half-past five. Got to Bristol at eight o'clock, P. M.:—at nine, embarked in our boats, and were rowed down the Delaware to Philadelphia, where we arrived at two o'clock in the night.

* Lord Stirling was a brigadier-general in the American army, and stationed at New York, where he had command for a short time, after the departure of General Lee.—See *Washington's Writings*, vol. iii, p. 318; and *Franklin's Writings*, vol. viii, p. 180, *note*, (*Sparks's edition.*) On the 27th of March, 1776, Franklin had apprised him by letter of the proposed journey to Canada, and desired him to procure lodgings for the party in New York, as well as to engage a sloop to take them up the river to Albany.

DISCOURSE

ON

The Life and Character of

GEORGE CALVERT,

THE FIRST LORD BALTIMORE:

MADE BY

JOHN P. KENNEDY,

BEFORE

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

DECEMBER 9, 1845,

BEING THE SECOND ANNUAL ADDRESS TO THAT ASSOCIATION.

BALTIMORE:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY J. MURPHY, 178 BALTIMORE STREET.

MDCCCXLV.

ENTERED according to the Act of Congress, in the year eighteen hundred and forty-five,
By JOHN MURPHY,
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of Maryland.

DISCOURSE.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

Looking to the objects contemplated by this Society and its ability to attain them, and to the earnestness with which it has undertaken its office, I would venture to foretell that Maryland will find frequent occasion to applaud its labors, and to acknowledge much good service done in a good cause.

Its establishment is a timely and most appropriate tribute rendered by the City of Baltimore to the State. The munificence of our City will never find a more honorable object for its outlay, its intelligence a more dignified subject for its application, the patriotism of our City a more dutiful employment than that which is presented to its regard in the purpose and proceeding of this association. Baltimore indeed owed it to that community of which she is the social centre, to the intellectual accomplishment which dwells within her own halls, and owed, too, I think, to the name she bears—a name which has not yet been illustrated as fully as its historic value deserves—to set herself diligently to the task of exploring and preserving, as far as means exist, the past and present materials which belong to the long neglected history of Maryland.

We have now addressed ourselves to this task: taken the lead in it, as it was proper Baltimore should. For two years past this Society has very intelligently,

and not without some good fruits, pursued the intent of its organization. We mean to persevere; and we now invoke our townsmen to stand by us, to give us countenance and aid, substantial contribution, to help us to rear a monument which shall tell to our own people, to our sister cities in the Union, and to all the world, that in the cause of letters and the elegant arts—the truest witnesses of high civilization and refinement,—we fully understand and perform the obligation which our position has cast upon us. I think I do the citizens of Baltimore no more than justice when I express my conviction that, for the promoting of a purpose so commended to their approbation, appealing so directly to their proper pride in the adornment of this their own homestead, and, above all, so grateful to that sense of duty which finds its gratification in exalting the glory of our country, by making known the virtues of its ancestry—I think I do them no more than justice in believing that their co-operation, support and encouragement will be administered to the objects of this Society with that lavish hand and honorable good will which become the men of an enlightened City, whose estimate of liberal art and science keeps pace with its well-deserved prosperity.

Our State has most worthy and urgent motive to call upon her children that they do not suffer her story to perish. A good story it is, and an honest. Much of it is, to this day, untold: unfortunately, may never be told; the material is beyond our reach. Much is still within our reach, though fast dissolving into dust. This society has come into existence just in time to rescue some of the fragments of our youthful annals from irrecoverable oblivion; too late to save

the whole. Would that some earlier generation had conceived the happy thought of addressing itself to the same task, when full stores of the treasures of our young Antiquity might have been garnered into a magazine safe enough to deliver them unmutilated into our hands! Once secure upon the threshold of this age, so noted for its zeal of inquiry, its love of illustration, and for its multitudinous press, we might have promised these annals of the past a safe transmission to all posterity. Whatsoever relics may now come to us, we may hope to speed them towards that farthest futurity to which the ambition of history aspires: no jot diminished in what they bring to our hands,—enlarged rather, and made more veritable by careful collation and exposition.

This charge, then, these older, maturer days prefer against that unskilled, neglectful Former Time, which had not the wit to see, nor the heart to value the riches of our Maryland birth-day, and of its simple-minded days of infancy: this charge we make against that Former Time, that it suffered precious chronicles to moulder in damp and forgotten crypts, and not less precious legends to die with the brains that nursed them.

Let this arraignment of our thoughtless and scant Antiquity go to the heart of this present time, by way of exhortation to incite it to the labor still of redeeming what is not yet utterly gone.

The history of our American settlement has an interest of a different character from that of all other history. It is not the interest of narrative nor of personal fortune, in any great degree, nor of important or striking combinations of events. It is chiefly, almost exclusively, that which belongs to the study of the development of moral power, the contemplation of great results springing from obscure and apparently feeble causes. It shows us men deliberately planning the foundations of free government; men self-dependent, endowed with the energy of homely good sense, and educated to their task, if not by a wise experience in the arts of good government, at least by a painful knowledge of the evils which flow from the neglect of them; men springing from the lap of a high civilization, and called to their labor at a period when the mind of the nation to which they belonged was stirred by an extraordinary impulse to forward this achievement, and which was able to communicate the loftiest spirit to those who undertook it.

The annals of this settlement are generally clear and authentic. They are, in greater part, preserved in official State papers, or in memoirs scarcely less to be respected. The deeds of the actors are often written in full detail. There is little room for legendary exaggeration. The men who engaged to lead these enterprises were as brave, as wise, as capable as any builders of empire in any past time. More capable, more wise, we may say, than the founders of older dynasties,—being enlightened men of an enlightened age, taught in all that Christianity could teach,—and not less brave and hardy than the hardiest and bravest of antiquity.

Still their history supplies no great attraction by its incidents. It falls too much into the character of meagre individual memoir, has too little of that pomp of scenery, decoration, prestige, and grouping which charm in the history of the old nations of the world. The fortunes of a handful of adventurers tempting, for the first time, the vast desert of waters, and flying upon the wings of stormy winds to the unknown haven of an inhospitable coast, and finally planting a home in the wilderness, where no foot-print was seen that was not hostile, may furnish pictures for the painter's study, and warm the poet's fancy,—but they will be found to want the breadth, variety, and significance necessary to render them the most engaging theme for the historian. I confess I weary somewhat over these details of Indian strategy and cunning; these sad shifts to supply the wants of a ship's company seeking for food; these mutinies and miserable dissensions bred by meaner spirits incapable of enduring the griefs of their solitude; these stealthy ambuscades; these murders and treasons which make up so much of the staple of early colonial story. He must be gifted with a happy skill who, with such materials only, can weave a tale which shall make men fond of coming back to its perusal.

Nevertheless, there is a peculiar philosophical interest in the observation of this course of empire; an interest abiding more in the theme than in the particulars of its illustration. Amongst many speculations, we read in it the solution of a problem of high import:—What are the tendencies, longings, instincts of the human family, when committed to the destiny of a new world, and challenged to the task of constructing government:—especially what are these

instincts in some certain races of that family? Marvellously has that problem been solved over this wide Western Continent;—is now continually solving. Marvellously do we still go on demonstrating that problem, and are yet very far from the end of it. Survey that wide field, bounded north and south by Labrador and Terra del Fuego; and of all the millions that there inhabit, how surely shall you recognise them by their several social polities, not less express and notable than their individual temperament, complexion, and outward form! We hear much of late of the Anglo-Saxon—Norman-Saxon, or Dano-Saxon, rather should we call him—marching to fulfil a destiny. He was the last man who entered this broad field: he is now, in less than three centuries, master of all. By his sufferance, only, does the descendant of the Goth, the Frank, or native man of America cultivate a nook of land. Imperious lord of the continent, he waits but upon his own pleasure to circumvent or conquer all.

Time had rolled through fifty recorded centuries numbered in human annals, and along that track History had duly set up monuments to mark the progression of the sons of men from the Genesis to the Flood,—from the Flood to the Dispersion,—from the Dispersion to the Birth of the Saviour,—and thence right onward, through many a lesser epoch, to the Discovery of the New World.

This last era, far from being the least note-worthy in the series, was, in fact, the opening of one of the most momentous chapters in the book of Human Destiny. It was the revealing of a second creation, full of young lustihood, to an overwrought and strife-tormented old one. It contained surface and sup-

ply for tribes more numerous than all that dwelt upon the Eastern Hemisphere. It gave to man a fresh nursing mother, into whose lap he might fling his exhausted children with full security that there they should find the aliment to rear them to a mighty manhood. It offered him another starting point in the career of civilization; laid open to him new and genial labors; awakened new impulses in his heart; filled his mind with new conceptions of duty, policy, self-advancement.

We are somewhat struck in the history of this great event, that it did not at once agitate the public mind with such emotions. Looking to the inherent grandeur of the Discovery, and its obvious relation to the condition of mankind, we have reason to be surprised at the tardiness of men to avail themselves of it. One would suppose that amongst the multitudes cribbed within the confines of Europe, chafed with the harness of ever-flagrant war, and sadly experienced in its desolation and its hopeless poverty, thousands would have been found at once to supply a steady stream of population to these trans-atlantic solitudes, —most happy to accept the invitation of Providence to exchange hunger and strife for peace and plenty.

Nearly a century, however, passed away before colonization and settlement began to make an effective movement. The most significant influences over the fate of mankind are not the most visible to agitate the surface of human affairs. As great strength is often marked by repose, so great events often work out their effects unnoted in a silent lapse of time. It has been said, "Though our clock strikes when there is a change from hour to hour, no hammer in the Horologe of Time peals through the universe to pro-

claim that there is a change from Era to Era." In comparative silence did this great era unfold itself—slowly through a hundred years. A hundred years, after the voyages of Columbus and Cabot, were given to enterprises, with but few exceptions, of mere exploration:—blind struggles to get deeper insight into this world of wonders. The Frenchman, the Spaniard, the Florentine, and the Portuguese, were the navigators. Until the voyage of Frobisher, in 1576, England—even then a predominant power on the ocean—had but little share in this great work. North of the Gulf of Mexico, no colony had been planted during all this century, except the small settlement of Jacques Cartier in Canada. Ribault had made an unsuccessful effort in Florida; and Sir Walter Raleigh a still more unfortunate one to plant Virginia. This was all that the sixteenth century contributed in the way of settlement to make the Discovery useful to mankind. It is quite remarkable that England should have done so little.

But the seventeenth century came with a fresh and sudden ardor of adventure, and was distinguished by a steady, systematic pursuit of the policy of colonization. During that and the succeeding age, America became incorporated into the political relations of Europe, became a well recognised power in the adjustment of the interests of States, supplied the commerce, even partook of the wars of the Old World, and finally matured those plans of social polity, which have since had such visible and authoritative influence in giving to mankind new perceptions of their own rights, and new views of the purposes and obligations of government.

The general scheme and progress of our coloniza-

tion exhibits to us a great historical Epic. It had its age of adventure,—its age of commerce,—and its age of religious impulse: and there predominated throughout its entire action—linking the whole together, and imparting to it what we may call its mystical and predestined completeness—a very visible conspiracy of means to afford mankind the experience and enjoyment of a peculiar trans-atlantic system of empire, differing in its essential features from all established polities. We may discern in it the dawning of a new consciousness of higher temporal destiny for man; the first movement towards the establishment of social organization on a plan to diffuse power and the faculty of self-advancement amongst the great masses of the people, to a degree never before thought of, that plan not altogether defined in the conceptions of those first engaged in the exploit, but gradually transpiring with the course of events, and finally taking its appointed shape under the resistless control of circumstances which Providence seems to have made the guide to this grand and beneficent end.

In the first of these periods,—that age of adventure,—men seem to have been impelled by the spirit of an excited knight errantry. Before them lay a world of novelties. The path that led to it was beset by dangers to allure the pride of the daring. The field of their labor was full of marvels to captivate the heart of the credulous. Renown awaited the explorer who could bring new contributions to the stock of foreign miracles which so charmed that wonder-loving time. Many courageous spirits enlisted in this quest of fame. They brought home tidings of nations gorgeous in gold and silver, and precious

stones. Riches fineless, in their report, lay open to the brave hand that should be first stretched forth to win them. The ear of Christendom was enthralled by tales, which we should think now too light even for the credulity of childhood, of an imaginary city, sparkling with more than Arabian magnificence; of mysterious fountains, capable of renewing youth in the pulse of decrepit age;* of relics of ancient generations, whose abodes rivalled the glories of Heliopolis or Thebes. Inflamed by such visions, the cavaliers of the sixteenth century launched their barks upon the rough Atlantic and sped to its farther shore, with resolve to carve their crests upon this magnificent continent:—Knights errant of the sea,—a romantic, wave-tempting chivalry, bred to the courtesies which the fanciful gallantry of the Court of Elizabeth held up to admiration in Raleigh and Essex, Effingham and Howard, yet brave as the old Norse Sea Kings, and credulous as children.

Such is the argument and these the personages of the first book of this wonderful Epic. Illusions like

* "It was not," says Irving, in a note to his Narrative of the Adventures of Juan Ponce de Leon, in quest of the Miraculous Fountain, "the credulous minds of voyagers and adventurers alone that were heated by these Indian traditions and romantic fables. Men of learning and eminence were likewise beguiled by them: witness the following extract from the second decade of Peter Martyr, addressed to Leo X, then bishop of Rome:

"Among the islands on the north sideof Hispaniola, there is one about 325 leagues' distance, as they say which have searched the same, in which is a continual spring of running water, of such marvellous virtue, that the water thereof being drunk, perhaps with some diet, maketh old men young again. And here I must make protestation to your holiness not to think this to be said lightly or rashly, for they have so spread this rumor for a truth throughout all the court, that not only all the people, but also many of them whom wisdom or fortune hath divided from the common sort, think it to be true: but, if you will ask my opinion herein, I will answer that I will not attribute so great power to nature, but that God hath no less reserved this prerogative to himself than to search the hearts of men." *Voyages of the Companions of Columbus*, p. 314.

these could not long endure. The age of commercial action came, with its practical sense and sober judgment of realities, to measure and gauge the new continent by the most unromantic of all standards. The astute London merchant followed in the wake of the soldier enthusiast, and set himself to the task of computing what America was capable of yielding to the enlargement of trade. This computation of the practicable, ever, in the end, the most effective friend of civilization, soon began, though not without many drawbacks, to produce its good fruits in the enterprise which it fostered and controlled. The search of El Dorado was abandoned: the fountain of Bimini was forgotten: the emigrant was provided with axe and plough, and after some severe trial and disappointment, was taught the lesson that competence, and, in the end, affluence were to be won by diligent cultivation of the soil;—were, in no wise, to be hoped for in rambling on the search of mines of gold and precious stones, in sacking cities or laying waste the territory of weak barbarians.

Religion, as I have said, also had its share in the progress of colonization. Fanaticism had reared a bloody ensign over the fields of Europe. The Thirty Years' War, the civil broils of England, the murderous dissensions of Ireland, the universal intolerance of jarring sectaries, wrought such distraction, that thousands, in despair of peace at home, gathering their wives and children, their friends and servants together, sought this new sky and these rough shades, with scarce other hope or purpose but to enjoy that unmolested worship which was denied them in the temples of their native land.

This is a bare outline of the history of American

settlement. I have sketched it off in this rapid form of review, by way of introduction to a topic which it was my design to present to your attention this evening. My purpose is to offer some views of the original settlement of Maryland, connected with the character of the founder of the State. The theme is not unfamiliar either to this society or to this auditory. It has recently, more than once, invoked the labor of accomplished minds amongst us. I trust, however, that in recurring to it, I shall not be found to weary your patience, as I venture to hope in what I have to say, I shall not be led to repeat after those who have better said, what it fell in their way to discuss, than I could hope to do were my reflections conducted into the same channel.

Maryland was originally planted and grew up into importance as a colony under the genial impulses proper to the best days of that commercial era of which I have spoken. The original settlement partook, in no degree, of the illusions of romantic adventure. Nor did it owe its conception, either to religious persecution, or to that desire which is supposed to have influenced other colonies to form a society dedicated to the promotion of a particular worship. This, I am aware, is contrary to a very generally received opinion. It is my purpose, in what I am about to offer, to produce some proofs of the assertions I have just made.

This province, I think I shall show, was founded, chiefly, in accordance with a liberal plan to erect a community on this continent, which, while it should afford a happy home to those who might make it their abode, securing to them all the privileges of the most favored subjects of the British Crown, aimed, at the

same time, to promote the objects of a wise and beneficent commercial speculation. The merit of this plantation is due to Sir George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore. There is no man distinguished by so large and active a participation in the colonial history of this Country of whom so few memorials remain in published records. It is, in part, the reproach of our State, that so little is known of him. For there is good reason to believe that manuscripts and other relics of his history exist, which have not been brought to our notice on this side of the Atlantic.* We may

* Wood, in the Athenæ Oxonienses, refers to the following writings of Calvert:—

Carmen Funebre in D. Hen. Untonum, ad Gallos bis legatum, Printed 1596: Parliamentary Speeches: Various Letters of State: The Answer of Thomas Tell Troth: The Practice of Princes, and Lamentations of the Kirk, Printed London, 1642.

He also, says Wood, wrote something concerning Maryland.

The Sir Henry Unton above referred to, is better known as Sir Henry Umpton, who, being sent by Elizabeth as Ambassador to France, was somewhat celebrated for his chivalrous bearing, according to the fashion of that time, 1592, in resenting a supposed insult offered by the Duke of Guise to the Queen. He sent the Duke the following challenge:

"For as much as lately, in the lodging of my Lord Du Mayne, and in public elsewhere, impudently, indiscreetly, and over boldly, you spoke badly of my sovereign, whose sacred person here, in this country, I represent: to maintain both by word and weapon her honor, (which never was called in question amongst people of honesty and virtue;) I say you have wickedly lied, in speaking so basely of my sovereign; and you shall do nothing else but lie whenever you shall dare to tax her honor. Moreover, that her sacred person, (being one of the most complete and virtuous princesses that live in the world,) ought not to be evil spoken of by the tongue of such a perfidious traitor to her law and country as you are. And, hereupon, I do defy you, and challenge your person to mine, with such manner of arms as you shall like or choose, be it either on horseback or on foot. Nor would I have you to think any inequality of person between us, I being issued of as great a race and noble house (every way) as yourself. So, assigning me an indifferent place, I will there maintain my words and the lie which I gave you, and which you should not endure if you have any courage at all in you. If you consent not to meet me hereupon, I will hold you, and cause you generally to be held, for the arrantest coward and most slanderous slave that lives in France. I expect your answer."

Sir Henry died in the French camp in 1596, and his body being brought to London, was removed to Farringdon, and buried there on the 8th day of July of

hope that to the research of this Society, our State may hereafter become indebted for their production and publication.

According to Anthony Wood, in his Athenæ Oxonienses, Calvert was born in 1582, at Kipling, in the Chapelry of Bolton, in Yorkshire, and was the son of Leonard Calvert and Alice, daughter of John Crossland. Fuller with more probability, I think, dates his birth in the year 1580. The author of the Worthies of England was his contemporary, though thirty years his junior, and, it is of some moment to my argument to remark, was obviously not personally acquainted with him. Both from Wood and Fuller we learn that in 1597, Calvert took a bachelor's degree at Oxford, and then visited the continent of Europe to com plete his studies, and procure the advantages of travel, as was customary to young men of birth and fortune at that period.

It is said that he attracted the regard of Sir Robert Cecil, the Lord Treasurer, afterwards Earl of Salisbury:—a fact that we may suppose he designed to acknowledge in the name given to his eldest son. This son, Cecil, was born in 1606, as I find from an original portrait engraving of him in my possession—for which I am indebted to a friend, a valuable member of this Society. This engraving enables us to fix

that year. The elegy or Carmen Funebre above referred to, was written by Calvert, at a very early age, and was most probably a college exercise. See *Fuller's Worthies*, 1 vol. p. 131.

It is said by Belknap, that Calvert "left something respecting America in writing, but it does not appear that it was ever printed." I find also a reference by Bozman, 1 vol. 240, to the Bibliotheca Americana, published in London, 1789, which mentions a MS., entitled "Account of the Settlement of Newfoundland, by Sir George Calvert."

Some insight may perhaps be obtained to a portion of these writings, by an examination of the Maryland Papers, in the office of the Plantations in London, referred to frequently by Chalmers.—See also the *Strafford Papers*.

the marriage of Calvert about the year 1604–5,—his twenty-third or twenty-fifth year, as we compute it according to the different dates of Wood and Fuller. He married Anne, the daughter of George Mynne of Hertfordshire, and grand-daughter of Sir Thomas Wroth of Durance in Enfield, Middlesex,—a gentleman of some distinction in his time.

About the year 1606, he experienced a substantial proof of the prime minister's friendship, in the gift of an appointment to the office of under or private secretary to the minister himself, which he held for several years.

Three years afterwards—1609—his name appears as one of the patentees in the new charter, which was then given to the company for planting Virginia; and I find it again enumerated in Captain Smith's list of the members of that company in 1620, showing that during all this interval he was interested in the settlement of that colony.

The Earl of Salisbury died in 1612, after which event Calvert seems to have enjoyed a liberal share of the favor and regard of King James, who, in 1617, promoted him to the post of clerk of the Privy Council, and invested him with the honor of knighthood. Two years later, 1619, the king appointed him principal Secretary of State as the successor to Sir Thomas Lake; which place he held until 1624, when he resigned it, according to Fuller, for the following reason:—"He freely confessed himself to the king that he was then become a Roman Catholic, so that he must be wanting to his trust or violate his conscience in discharging his office. This, his ingenuity"—adds Fuller—"so highly affected king James that he continued him privy counsellor all his reign,

as appeareth in the council books, and soon after created him Lord Baltimore, of Baltimore in Ireland."

As a further testimony of the bounty of his sovereign, it is recorded of him that James gave him a grant of lands in Ireland,* and also a pension of one thousand pounds. "During his being Secretary,"—says Fuller,—"he had a patent to him and his heirs, to be *Absolutus Dominus et Proprietarius*, with the royalties of a Count Palatine, of the province of Avalon, in Newfoundland. Here he built a fair house in Ferryland, and spent five and twenty thousand pounds in advancing the plantation thereof. Indeed, his public spirit"—the biographer continues—"consulted not his private profit, but the enlargement of Christianity and the king's dominions."†

The settlement in Newfoundland, alluded to in this extract, was made in 1621; in which year, according to the account of Oldmixon, in his British Empire in America,‡ Sir George Calvert sent Captain Wynn thither with a small colony. In 1622, Captain Wynn was reinforced with an additional number of colonists. The charter or grant, however, for this plantation, it

* "The King being given to understand that divers towns and lands within the late plantation of Longford, amounting to about two thousand three hundred and four acres, remained in his hands undisposed of, he conferred the same on Sir George Calvert, his principal Secretary, as a person worthy of his royal bounty, and one that would plant and build the same according to his late instructions for the better furtherance and strengthening of the said plantation." The grant was accordingly made 18th February, 1621. This patent Calvert "surrendered to he King 12th February, 1624 (1625 according to the present calendar), and had a re-grant thereof in fee-simple, dated at Westminster, 11th March following, to hold as the Castle of Dublin in free and common soccage, by fealty only for all other rents, with the erection of the premises in the Barony of Longford into the manor of Baltimore, and those in the Barony of Rathlyne into the manor of Ulford, with the usual privileges of Courts, Parks, free warren, &c." *London Magazine, June,* 1768.

† *Worthies of England,* vol. 3, p. 418.

‡ *Bozman's Maryland,* vol. 1, p. 240, note.

is said, upon some doubtful and rather obscure testimony, bears date of the twenty-first year of the King, which would assign it to the year 1623. After the death of James, which was in 1625, Lord Baltimore went twice to Avalon. "Here,"—says Fuller again—"when Monsieur de L'Arade, with three men of war, sent from the King of France, had reduced our English fishermen to great extremity, this lord, with two ships, manned at his own charge, chased away the Frenchman, relieved the English, and took sixty of the French prisoners." It is related by Oldmixon and others, that Lord Baltimore removed his family to Ferryland, and resided there some few years. This establishment being found to be ungenial, both in climate and soil, being subject to great annoyance from the French, and withal exceedingly expensive, Lord Baltimore finally abandoned it, and turned his thoughts upon settlement in a milder latitude, and on a more kindly soil.

He was a member, as we have seen, of the Virginia Company,—had been a member for eleven years, and, perhaps, longer: besides this, as Secretary of State,—Chalmers tells us—he was officially one of the Committee of Council for the affairs of the plantations. We may presume, therefore, that he was fully acquainted with the proceedings of the Virginia company, and well versed in all that belonged to the subject of colonization. Thus qualified for his enterprise, he turned his attention towards Virginia, with an undivulged purpose, as we may suppose from what afterwards occurred, to examine the regions within the charter of that plantation, which had not yet been settled. Accordingly, in 1628, he visited Virginia in person. It has been said that he was

received very ungraciously by the assembly of that colony, who directed the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to be tendered to him and his followers. This incident would seem to show that the assembly did not look upon Lord Baltimore in the light of a mere casual visiter; that they suspected his intentions in regard to settlement, and were jealous of them: that, actuated by this sentiment, they subjected him to what amounted almost to an indignity, in requiring him to take the oaths;—requiring him, who had been a Secretary of State, who was one of their own patentees in the London Company, and who was a public spirited nobleman, somewhat distinguished for his enterprise in the cause of colonization; who, in addition to all this, was on the best terms with the reigning sovereign at home. With a proper sense of self-respect, Lord Baltimore refused to take the oaths, or to allow his servants to take them, and very soon afterwards departed from the James River, to pursue a much more agreeable voyage up the Chesapeake, in quest of the unoccupied territory, to which his thoughts had most probably been directed from the first. Under these circumstances, he entered the Potomac, examined the country upon its left bank, and projected his settlement of the province of Maryland.

I need not relate by what steps he contrived to secure the grant for this province. It was clearly within the limits of the Virginia charter; parts of it were actually settled—Kent Island especially;—yet he had influence and address to obtain the grant from Charles the First. I need not relate either what great dissatisfaction this grant gave to the colonists of Virginia—to those very persons who had so un-

civilly exacted the oaths of allegiance. We of Maryland, at least, have no reason to regret that this pristine and most incompatible breach of hospitality in Virginia, should have been followed by such a retribution—one in which we perceive almost a poetical justice. It concerns my purpose merely to advert to the fact that, in 1632, King Charles gave his permission to Lord Baltimore to prepare the Charter of Maryland. That instrument was, in pursuance of this permission, drawn up, it is said, by Calvert's own hand, or under his personal dictation. Before it passed the seals, he died—25th of April, 1632—leaving Cecil heir, not only to his title and fortune, but also to his enterprise and his hopes. The charter was executed on the 20th of June following, with no other change than the substitution of Cecil for his father; and was signed by the King, who, himself, gave the province the name of Maryland, in honor of his Queen Henrietta Maria, instead of "Crescentia," as Lord Baltimore had originally designed.

This Charter is said to be a transcript, with no other alteration than the localities required, from that which had before been granted by James, for the province of Avalon.* Fuller's brief description of the Newfoundland patent, which I have already quoted, would seem to confirm this fact.

In addition to what I have brought into this summary of Calvert's history, it is proper to notice that in 1620 he was first elected to Parliament to represent Yorkshire, through the influence of the celebrated Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford: he was subsequently elected by the University

* Chalmers, in his History of the Revolt of the American Colonies, says it was "literally copied from the prior patent of Avalon." *Book the Second*, ch. 3.

of Oxford. His parliamentary career, which lasted four or five years, seems to have been, as far as the scant records of it disclose its character, at least worthy of the praise of a diligent and upright performance of the duties which it required of him. We may suppose that these duties, as a minister of state in the House of Commons, were by no means light, and that they demanded the frequent exhibition of a high order of knowledge, tact and judgment. There can be no doubt that his services in this theatre were entirely acceptable to the king.

In politics, he was of the Court Party of that reign, opposed to the Country Party—designations which subsequently slid into those of Tory and Whig. As one of this party, he was the advocate of the high kingly Prerogative, as contradistinguished from the Privilege of the Legislative body; a champion of Executive power, against the power of parliament. Not only his interest, but we must presume, his inclinations lay in that way. Grahame says of him, what would seem almost sarcastically said, that "he was a strenuous asserter of the supremacy of that authority from the exercise of which he expected to derive his own enrichment." I will not do him the wrong, in the absence of better proof than we have, to believe that he was not entirely honest in maintaining the prerogative against the popular privilege. In parliament, we find him asserting the doctrine, "that the American territory, having been acquired by conquest, was subject exclusively to the control of the royal prerogative:" in other words, that the King, and not parliament, had the entire regulation and government of the colonies. This, with many other ultra-monarchical doctrines of that day, we can have

no doubt James would expect his ministers to defend; and, though highly flattering to a monarch of his character, they were not, however, without a strong party opposed to them, even in the parliament of which Sir George Calvert was a member.

The facts I have now brought to view demonstrate that Lord Baltimore was of a family of rank and influence in England;* that he was wealthy, as the expenditure of £25.000 on the settlement of Avalon, a very large sum in those days, would show: that having married early in life, he was brought into the way of preferment and favor through the friendship of the prime minister; that his personal deportment, political opinions, habits of business and usefulness secured him the regard of king James, a pedantic and hypercritical asserter of the broadest pretensions of kingly government,—a prince whose service exacted an earnest defence of the highest claims of prerogative: that, being for a long time a member of a company concerned in the colonization of Virginia, and, moreover, one of the Committee of Council for the plantations, he had ample opportunities to become acquainted with the character of these enterprises, and to embark in them with advantages which very few possessed. There is indeed abundant evidence that these schemes of colonization were a favorite speculation of his. He was engaged in them from the date of his early manhood until the close of his life. It was his prevailing passion, if we may so speak, and was indulged with great assiduity, personal devotion, and at heavy pecuniary charge.

* The family of Calvert is said to be descended from an ancient and noble house of that name in the Earldom of Flanders, whence they were transplanted into the northern parts of England.

There is no evidence that his ardor in these undertakings was stimulated by any motive having reference to particular religious opinions. We are, on the contrary, bound to presume that his purpose was in part the advancement of his own reputation, the increase of the wealth of his family, and, as the Maryland charter expresses it, "a laudable and pious zeal for extending the Christian religion, and also the territories of our (the British) empire." We may commend him for all these motives as in their nature honorable, just and useful.

He obtained from James the charter for the province of Avalon; from Charles that for Maryland,—the one about ten years before the other. As these charters are claimed to be the production of Lord Baltimore's own hand, an examination of that to which we have access, our own, may serve to give us further insight into the history of the author.

Turning to this instrument, then, we may remark that it embodies a scheme of the strongest government known throughout all the American colonies.

The Proprietary was made the absolute lord of the province, saving only the allegiance due by him to the crown. He was invested with prerogatives and royal rights, not inferior to those of the king himself. He was empowered to make laws, with the advice of the freemen, and to withhold his assent from such as he did not approve. The Proprietary even claimed and practised in the course of the government of the province, the right to dispense with the laws, in accordance with a principle asserted by king James, as a branch of the royal prerogative, and which we may conclude was consonant with Lord Baltimore's own opinions. He

was authorized to create manors with manorial rights and lordships; to reward well born and deserving subjects with titles and dignities; to summon, by writ, as we find by early practice under the Charter, whatsoever freemen he chose, to take a seat in the Legislative Assembly, without election by the people,* thus enabling him to control the majority of that body. He was empowered to make ordinances, in certain emergencies, of equal force with laws, and without the aid or confirmation of the Assembly. He had the absolute control of the military and naval force of the colony, and might declare and exercise martial law, at his own pleasure, whenever he should conceive rebellion or sudden tumult to demand it. He possessed the patronage and advowsons of all churches, and had the sole authority to license the building or founding of churches and chapels, and to cause them to be consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of England.

In regard to these last two subjects, I beg to observe that they apply strictly and exclusively to the Church of England, the Protestant Episcopal Church. The advowson, or right of presentation of a minister to a parish or ecclesiastical benefice, being only a right, in the sense of this Charter, connected with the organization of that church; whilst the right to license the consecration of churches and chapels is, in terms, confined to such as were to be consecrated "according to the ecclesiastical laws of England."

* The language of the Charter, regarding the summoning of delegates, is:—"Whom we will shall be called together for the framing of Laws, when and as often as need shall require, by the aforesaid Baron of Baltimore and his heirs, *and in the form which shall seem the best to him or them.*"

These were the powers, rights and prerogatives conferred upon the Proprietary. On the other hand, the concessions or grants to the colonists are equally worthy of notice. The colonists were guarantied all the privileges, liberties and franchises of Englishmen born within the Realm. They were protected against all laws repugnant to the laws, statutes and customs of England; and, what is particularly deserving of observation, they were for ever exempted, by express covenant in the Charter, from all royal taxation by the crown—from all "impositions, customs or other taxations, quotas or contributions whatever," to be levied by the King or his successors. There is also a clause which provides that no interpretation shall be made of the Charter, "whereby God's holy and true Christian religion, or the allegiance due to us (the King), our heirs and successors, may, *in any wise, suffer by change, prejudice or diminution.*"

No provision was made for submitting the laws, ordinances or proceedings of the province, either to the King or Parliament, by which omission the security against infractions of the Charter was very materially diminished,—perhaps in a great many cases rendered altogether unavailing. It has been intimated that this omission was not accidental, but, rather, intentionally made to strengthen the hand of the Proprietary against a supervision which he chose to have as little exercised as possible. This defect in the Charter was complained of and represented by the Commissioners of Plantations, in 1633, to the House of Commons. It seems, however, to have been passed by without a remedy. "Nothing," says Chalmers, "can afford more decisive proof than these material omissions, that Sir George Calvert was the

chief penman of the grant. For the rights of the Proprietary were carefully attended to, but the prerogatives of the crown, the rights of the nation, were in a great measure overlooked or forgotten." This is a sketch of the Charter.

Certainly we may affirm of it, that, however beneficent it might be under the ministration of a liberal and wise Proprietary, it contains many features which but little coincide with our notions of free or safe government. Considering it as the work of Lord Baltimore himself, it is a very striking exponent of his political opinions. The colonial history of that period, 1632, furnished abundant examples in the New England settlements, of government on a much more popular basis, and we can not suppose that these were not well understood by Calvert. We must infer, therefore, that he was no great admirer of those forms which diffused power amongst the people, and restricted the exercise of it in the magistrate—that he was, in fact, here, as well as in England, the friend of Prerogative against Privilege.

The review of this Charter impresses me strongly with the conviction that its author was an adroit manager of public affairs, skilful in business, sufficiently awake to his own interest, and intent on obtaining as much from the crown as his position enabled him to procure; that he was remarkably calm and unobtrusive—even compromising and politic—in his religious opinions; and that he enjoyed, to a very extraordinary degree, the favor, esteem and confidence of his sovereign.

That proviso which prohibits any interpretation of the Charter which might "change, prejudice, or diminish" the true Christian religion, or the allegiance

due to the crown, was undoubtedly intended to guard the rights of those persons attached to the English Church who might emigrate to the province,* and also to preserve unimpaired the allegiance of all British subjects, as that allegiance was then understood. It was a very natural condition for a Protestant monarch, of that period, to require in a grant to any subject, when the grant gave such powers as those contained in the Maryland Charter; much more when that subject was of a different religious faith from the monarch himself. The mind of Great Britain was, at that date, intensely agitated with the fears, jealousies and hatreds of a fierce religious quarrel. The question of the supremacy, which was involved in that of allegiance, constituted a large ingredient in this quarrel.

The oath of allegiance, passed in the reign of Elizabeth, and then in force, declared the King governor of all his dominions and countries, "as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal."

It was held by the highest authorities of the Romish Church, that this oath could not be taken by those who professed that faith, without incurring the censure of the church:—though it is known that many Catholics in England did not so interpret it. Upon the detection of the Gun Powder plot, a new oath was exacted by Parliament, which was particularly aimed at the Catholic party. All persons who were suspected to belong to that party were required to take it upon the demand of the Bishop of the Diocess, or of the Justices of the Peace. It contained a denial of the power of the Pope to depose the King,

* See 1 vol. Hazard's State Papers, pp. 621 and 624.

or to dispose of his dominions, or to absolve his subjects from their allegiance; and it abjured, as impious, the doctrine that excommunication of a prince authorized his being put to death or deposed by his subjects.

This oath, like the former, furnished matter of discontent to the Roman Pontiff. Paul the Fifth addressed a brief to the English Catholics, commanding them to abstain from taking it, holding that it could not be taken "without hurting of the Catholic faith."

Upon this arose that celebrated dispute, which makes no small figure in the history of the time, between King James on one side, and Paul the Fifth, with Cardinal Bellarmine, on the other. Whatever may have been the intrinsic merits of this dispute, it is very certain that it greatly irritated the public mind, and produced a large store of ill-will between the friends and followers of the two parties. King James himself had written and spoken, argued and scolded in this quarrel, in the sharpest temper of that vain pedantry for which he was renowned. There is something amusing, as well as characteristic, in the quaint and solemn anger of the following outbreak, which I find in a speech delivered by him in the Star Chamber in 1616:—

"I confess," he says, "I am loth to hang a priest only for religion's sake and saying mass; but if he refuse the oath of allegiance, which, (let the Pope and all the devils in hell say what they will,) yet, as you find by my book and divers others, is merely civil,—those that so refuse the oath, and are polypragmatic recusants, I leave them to the law; it is no persecution, but good justice."

It is not to be supposed that a despotic monarch, in such a *polypragmatic* temper as this, would be likely

to make a grant of power to govern a state, without a vigilant eye to this question of allegiance, and some such reservation as this of our Charter,—first inserted in that of Avalon, and exacted, no doubt, by Charles in the copy of that which was granted for Maryland.

I stop here to remark that Sir George Calvert, at the date of the Avalon Charter, is generally reputed to have been of the Protestant faith. In 1624, when he resigned the post of Secretary of State, "he freely confessed to the King," says Fuller, "that he was *then* become a Roman Catholic."

Upon this question of the supposed conversion of Calvert, there seems to be room for great doubt. I do not believe in it at all. I think there is proof extant to show that he had always been attached to the Church of Rome, or, at least, from an early period of his life.

The chief authority for his conversion is Fuller, in the passage to which I have referred. That account assigns it to the year 1624, when it occasioned, according to the author, his resignation. Now Calvert settled his colony in Newfoundland in 1621; and Oldmixon and others, amongst whom I find our own historian Bozman,* have ascribed this settlement to his wish to provide an asylum for persecuted Catholics. Although I cannot discover any warrant for this statement, either in the history of the times or in what is known of Calvert, yet the assertion of it by Oldmixon and those who have preceded or followed him, demonstrates that they did not credit the story of the conversion as given by Fuller: for the author of the Worthies of England dates the conversion three years later than the settlement of Avalon, and

* History of Maryland, vol. 1, p. 232.

affirms it to be the motive to Calvert's resignation of a high trust, which, he informs us, the Secretary supposed he could not conscientiously hold as a Catholic.

If the conversion had taken place so early in the life of George Calvert as to have opened to him the scheme of planning a settlement for his persecuted fellow Catholics in Newfoundland, it must have happened before 1621. Indeed, as such a scheme was not of a character to be matured without long consideration, and preparing for the enterprise, it is not too much to presume that he had been of the faith which he was so anxious to protect, even in 1619, when he accepted the office of Secretary of State. We might then ask, why did he accept that office, with the scruples imputed to him by Fuller? At all events, why did he not resign it in 1621, if he had such scruples?

Even in 1624, the King, if Fuller's story be true, did not recognise the necessity of Calvert's resignation, for he was so affected "by this his ingenuity," says Fuller, "that he continued him privy councillor all his reign, and soon after created him Lord Baltimore, of Baltimore in Ireland."

Why should he resign? The only motive that could impel him to it, as a question of conscience, was the necessity of taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. These he had already taken when he accepted office: and this being done, his continuance in office threw no new obligations upon him. Calvert was not averse from taking these oaths, we may fairly infer—first, because he had, in fact, taken them on assuming office; and second, because his Avalon Charter, already granted, and his Maryland

Charter, which was conferred but a few years afterwards, both placed him under obligations, on this point of supremacy and allegiance, which, as an honorable man, he could not have incurred if he entertained the scruples imputed to him. It is only to read the Charter, and to observe the import of the clause relating to the consecration of churches, the security of the religion of the Church of England, and the allegiance due to the crown, which I have already noticed, to see the force of this conclusion.

I cannot, therefore, perceive with Fuller that there was any special reason connected with Calvert's official relation to James, which rendered it a point of conscience that he should give up his office. Nor can I believe, if he had surrendered his post for that reason, he could have retained the favor of the King; much less that he could have attracted such renewed manifestations of it as he experienced. I discredit the story altogether. There were several Catholic noblemen who enjoyed the confidence and friendship of James, and received high dignities from him: there were, for example, the two Howards, Lords Thomas and Henry, one the son and the other the brother of the Duke of Norfolk, who were both brought into the ministry, the first being created Earl of Norfolk, and made Lord Treasurer, the second Earl of Northampton. There was no great asperity in the feelings of James against such Catholics as had been bred and nurtured in that faith. Towards such he was in the habit of expressing the most tolerant opinions. But he was noted for the avowal of particular hostility against such as had been converts from the Protestant Church. In a speech delivered at Whitehall, in 1609, on the occasion of the opening of Parliament,

he said, "I divide all my subjects that are papists into two ranks; either old papists that were so brought up in times of popery, and those that be younger in years, yet have never drunk in other milk, —or else such as do become apostates, having once been of our profession, and have forsaken the truth, either upon discontent or practice, or else upon a light, vain humor of novelty.——For the former sort I pity them, but if they be good and quiet subjects, I hate not their persons; and if I were a private man, I could well keep a civil friendship and conversation with some of them. But as for these apostates, who I know must be the greatest haters of their own sect, I confess I can never show any favorable countenance toward them; and they may all be sure, without exception, that they shall never find any more favor of me than I must needs, in justice, afford them, and these would I have the law to strike severeliest upon, and you carefullest to discover." Eight years after this, we find him expressing the same feeling, in language equally strong. He says, in 1616, in his Star Chamber speech, "I can love the person of a papist, being otherwise a good man and honestly bred, never having known any other religion; but the person of an apostate papist I hate."

It is not to be believed that James, thus openly avowing and reiterating such sentiments, would consent openly to reward, with distinguished marks of favor, a subject who stood precisely in the category he so strongly denounced. It is against all rational deduction of human conduct to believe, in the face of James' known aversion against converts to the Catholic from the Protestant faith, and his continued manifestation of kindness to Calvert, that

the story told by Fuller, of Calvert's conversion, can be true.

I refer to these facts, and especially to these extracts from the writings and speeches of King James, in no sectarian spirit. I am incapable of being enlisted as a partisan in such a cause. My respect for all who honestly profess the faith of either of the churches to which this controversy refers, and, above all, my reverence for the rights of conscience, forbid me to allude to these incidents with any other purpose than to use the facts which they supply to the illustration of a very interesting point in the history of this State. They furnish an almost conclusive argument to prove that Sir George Calvert was, if not actually nursed in the faith of Rome, no convert to that faith in his period of manhood: that if he ever was a Protestant, there is no record of it within our knowledge.

There were many in those days who did not choose to incur the vexations and perpetual annoyances of the proscription which the law denounced against Catholics; and to avoid these, they chose to conceal their opinions. The better part of the community,—I mean the more considerate and liberal—connived at these concealments, and gave the parties all the aid in their power. We find constant references to this fact in the history of the time. James himself secretly sustained many of these, especially when the persons concerned were friendly and serviceable to himself. In addition to the names I have already given, I find proof of this in a fact recorded by Burnet. I quote from his History of his Own Times:—"He (the King) fearing an opposition to his succeeding to the crown of England from the papist party, which, though it

had little strength in the House of Commons, yet was very great in the House of Lords, and was very considerable in all the northern parts, and among the body of the people, employed several persons who were known to be papists, though they complied outwardly. The chief of these were Elphinston, Secretary of State, whom he made Lord Balmerinoch, and Seaton, afterwards Chancellor and Earl of Dunfermline."

I much rather incline to the belief, without, in any degree, derogating from Lord Baltimore's integrity, that he was one of those who did not choose to make any very public exhibition of his faith; preferring the peace and security of private worship to the hazard and contention which a too open manifestation of it might bring. That being a man of moderate opinions, tolerant, and unassuming,—a sensible and discreet man, enjoying the confidence, and diligently employed in the service of the King,—he thought it the part of prudence and wisdom to keep his religion as much as possible confined to the privacy of his own chamber. We may believe that James was not too curious to inquire into the private opinions of a useful and faithful servant; and that when, in the last year of that monarch's life, Calvert made some open avowal to him of his attachment to the proscribed faith,—which most probably the King had known or surmised long before,—the disclosure produced no more unfriendly answer than an assurance of unabated confidence, and the promise of further preferment. This, to my mind, is the most rational explanation of the varying facts that are brought to us, and may have been at the foundation of the story told by Fuller. It is much the most probable surmise that the

Secretaryship was resigned, not on a scruple of conscience, but from a desire on the part of Calvert to visit his colony in Newfoundland, which he did very soon after that event.*

There are other circumstances to raise a doubt of the story of the conversion. All the children of Lord Baltimore, of whom we know any thing, were Roman Catholics. We can hardly suppose their conversion to have followed that of their father. In 1624, Cecil, the eldest, was in his eighteenth year. Leonard, who took charge of the first colony in 1633, must have been but one or two years younger. Philip, who, in 1656, was made Secretary of the Province, and subsequently Chancellor, and then Governor, was probably very young at the period of his father's death.† These three sons we know were Catholics.

* Vide *note*, page 38, showing that Lord Baltimore visited Newfoundland very soon after his resignation.

† In the Memoirs of the Baltimore Family, published in the London Magazine, June, 1768, it is said that George Lord Baltimore had eleven children:—Cecil, Leonard, George, Francis, Henry, John, Anne, Dorothy, Elizabeth, Grace, and Helen. John and Francis died before their father. Anne married William Peaseley, Esq.; Grace married Sir George Talbot, of Cartoun, in the county of Kildare, Bart.

No mention is made in this list of Philip, who resided for many years in the Province of Maryland, and filled some of the highest offices in it. In the Appendix to the second volume of Bozman's Maryland, p. 699, may be seen the commission of Cecil, to "our very loving brother Philip Calvert, Esq.," creating him one of the Council. A tablet erected to the memory of Lady Baltimore, in Hertingfordbury Church, has the following inscription,—as well as I am able to decipher it in the wretched Latin which I copy from an obscure MS., of the origin of which I am ignorant:

Obiit 8 die August, Anno Salutis, 1622.
D. O. M. S.
ET
JUCUNDISS. MEMORIÆ
ANNÆ GEOR. F. JOAN. N. MINNÆ
Ad omnia quæcunque egregia natæ, ad meliora regressæ,
Pietate, pudicitia, prudentia incomparabilis feminæ,
Georgius Leon. F. Joan. N. Calvertus Eques Aur. Invictiss. Jacobo Regi

When did they become so? It is assuming too much to suppose that the mere influence of the parent's example would be sufficient with the two elder, Cecil and Leonard, at their time of life, to induce them to abandon the church in which they were bred, for another, against which all the prejudices of their youth and all the influences of their education must have been arrayed. It is much more probable that these sons were privately nurtured in the faith to which their parents had been attached before the children were born.

Amongst the proofs to be brought against the conversion, there is a strong passage in Rapin, which seems almost to settle the question.

Referring to the intrigues of the Spanish minister, Gondomar, in 1620, to manage king James, through his eagerness for the Spanish match—the marriage of the Prince of Wales to the Infanta—and, by the pretext of promoting that marriage, to prevent the king from taking up the cause of his son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, Rapin remarks:—"He (the king) was so possessed with the project of ending the war by means of this match, that nothing was capable of altering this belief. Count Gondomar had bribed with presents and pensions all those who had the

Mag. Britanic. Franc, Hiberniæ, pio felici, semper augusto, secret. prim.
Et a conciliis sanctoribus, quæ cum vixit annos 18, sine offensa, liberosque pari sexus discrimine decem
Reliquit Cecilium, Leonardum, Georgium, Franciscum, Henricum, Annam, Dorotheam, Elizabetham, Graciam, Helenam, Sextem autem filium Johannem, mortis,
Heu, suæ luctusque paterni prodromum ediderat,
Tam suavis contubernii memor maritus, tantoque
Dolore et desiderio impar, conjugi sanctissimæ hoc
Monumentum manibus geminis gemens posuit,
Sibique et suis posteris eorum.
Vixit An. XLII. M. IX. D. XVIII

king's ear, and who took care to cherish him in this vain project. Particularly—the author adds, in a note upon the authority of Arthur Wilson,—"the Earls of Worcester and Arundel, the Lord Digby, Sir George Calvert, Sir Richard Weston and others *popishly affected.*"*

I produce this passage not to give credit or currency to the bribery—which, in deference to Calvert's high character, integrity and honor, I utterly disbelieve,—but to show that, in 1620, he was regarded as a gentleman well affected to the Church of Rome, and was associated, in the public estimation, with that party who were favorable to the Spanish match, —a project which was particularly repugnant to the great body of the Protestants of that day, and no less particularly sought and desired by the Catholics.†

* This story of the bribery was very current at that time, as one may see in the first volume of Rushworth, who gives a copy of the instructions of the King of Spain to his minister in reference to it, exhibiting a very curious feature of diplomacy. It may amuse us to learn how broadly Gondomar practised on these instructions, as we may see from another of Rapin's notes, which immediately follows that I have just quoted. It is in these words:—"Wilson says he bribed the very ladies, especially those who talked much, and to whom much company resorted, that they might alloy such as were too sour in their expressions, and stop them if they run on too fast. But it seems he had neglected the Lady Jacobs, who, upon his passing by her window in his chair, instead of answering his salutation as usual, only gaped with her mouth, which, repeating again next day, he sent to know the reason. She replied, 'she had a mouth to be stopped as well as other ladies.'"

† It is worthy of notice, as an item of testimony in this argument, that Anthony Wood, in his account of Calvert, says nothing about his conversion, but remarks, at the time of his being made Lord Baltimore he was supposed to be well affected to Popery. Wood makes no reference to Fuller, who, as far as I can learn, is the sole authority for the story of the conversion.

My view of Calvert's private adhesion to the Church of Rome at a date so much earlier than is ascribed to him by Fuller, is greatly strengthened by the following extract from a letter written by Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury to Sir T. Roe, just before Lord Baltimore's visit to Newfoundland, and which is quoted from *Roe's Letters*, p. 372, by Horace Walpole, in his list of Noble Authors, under the title of "George Calvert, Lord Baltimore." It is as follows:

"Mr. Secretary Calvert"—saith the prelate—"hath never looked merrily since the prince his coming out of Spain: it was thought he was much interested

I have now set forth the principal facts which have been accessible to my search, to disprove the current opinion concerning Lord Baltimore's religion.

This point is of great importance as an index to the character of Calvert, and of his conduct in the settlement of Maryland. If it be true, as I have endeavored to show, that Calvert, during the period of his official service in the government and at the date of his settlements in Newfoundland and in Maryland, was a Roman Catholic—this fact presents him to us in a new light, from which we may gather some very striking views of our early colonial history, and much also to increase our good opinion of the founder of the State.

Regarding him in this character of a Catholic gentleman, and scanning his history in that relation, we

in the Spanish affairs: a course was taken to rid him of all employments and negotiations. This made him discontented; and, as the saying is, Desperatio facit monachum, so he apparently did turn papist, which he now professeth, *this being the third time that he hath been to blame that way.* His majesty, to dismiss him, suffered him to resign his secretary's place to Sir Albertus Morton, who paid him £3000 for the same: and the King hath made him Baron of Baltimore in Ireland: so he is withdrawn from us; and having bought a ship of 400 tons, he is going to New England or Newfoundland, where he hath a colony."

This is testimony from an enemy, who might be inclined to put the worst construction on Calvert's acts, and to say as much to his prejudice as he could. Whilst, therefore, we may disregard the motives he imputes to Calvert, we may still find useful illustration in the facts to which he refers. This account certainly proves that Calvert was believed by his contemporaries to be secretly attached to the Church of Rome, and we may infer from it a very cogent support of the view I have endeavored to present of his character.

I am led also to believe that the family of Lady Calvert—she was the daughter of George Minne, Esq.—were Catholics; as I find in *Rushworth*, vol. 1, p. 395, in the year 1626, that Sir Henry Minne is presented by the House of Commons to the King, as a suspected popish recusant. This, though a fact of doubtful import, would seem to contribute some aid to the argument I have offered Calvert's marriage into a Catholic family might either indicate his original attachment to the faith of Rome, or explain his early adhesion to it, and the fact also, of his children being educated in its tenets.

The evidence thus accumulated upon this point leaves us no room to doubt the inaccuracy of Fuller's statement.

shall find strong motive to admire him for some excellent and rare qualities of character.

The times through which he lived were peculiarly trying to men of rank and consideration attached to the Church of Rome. The religious wars of the Reformation had kept Europe, during almost a century, in a state of ferocious exasperation. The Protestants had gained the ascendancy in England during the reign of Elizabeth, but were not so confident in the security of their position as to relax either the rigor or the vigilance of their jealousy of the adverse party. Unfortunately, the heady zeal of fanatics, on the other side, aided by the ancient hatreds which centuries had nursed, had perpetrated many excesses that gave too much cause to this jealousy. I will not allude to them more particularly, because I take no pleasure in reviving passages of history which had much better, on occasions like this, be forgotten. It is sufficient to say that the Parliament of England, stimulated both by real and imaginary fears of the Roman Catholic party, and, doubtless, something moved by the characteristic temper of the theological warfare that still raged, passed several severe disabling statutes, which suspended over the Catholic subjects of the realm the vexations, if not the terrors, of a very keen proscription. The Puritans, somewhat famed at that day for their intolerance of all sects, but especially of the Roman Catholics, were gaining the ascendancy in Parliament, and were infusing into that body a large admixture of their own dislikes.

In such a time, the prudence of Calvert conducted him not only safely through the perils of his career, but enabled him, in addition, to secure the protection

and favor of the King. In such a time, Calvert became a member of the Virginia Company, and lent his aid, of course, to the scheme of colonization, which it fostered. In such a time, he obtained the charters of Avalon and Maryland, and devoted himself with a generous zeal to the project of settlement which these charters contemplated.

What shall we say of that clause in these charters which secured to all emigrants, who chose to demand it, the free exercise of the religion of the Church of England? What of that grant which gave to the Proprietary the patronage and advowsons of the English Church, as well as the right to found all the churches and chapels of that faith? What shall we say of such grants as these to a Catholic nobleman by a Protestant Prince? Certainly we may say that the Prince who made such a grant had great faith in the religious tolerance, the wisdom and integrity of the subject to whom the grant was made. Certainly we may say that the man who attracted such confidence, was neither a fanatic nor a bigot, but one whose character gave the highest assurance that his trust would not be abused.

I find no reason, whatever, to suppose, as I have already intimated, that in the planting of either Avalon or Maryland, Lord Baltimore was moved by a special desire to provide an asylum for persecuted Catholics, as many have alleged. The Charter of Maryland does not indicate such a purpose, nor do the proceedings under it. Quite the reverse. I gather from that Charter, and from all I read concerning what was done under it, that it was planned by Lord Baltimore, and carried into execution by him and his sons, in a spirit of the broadest and most

liberal toleration towards, at least, all Christian sects. The wisdom of that age had not risen to the acknowledgment of that universal freedom of conscience—the glory of the present time—which limits not to Christendom only the privilege that belongs to mankind.

The glory of Maryland toleration, which has been so fruitful a theme of panegyric to American historians, is truly in the Charter, not in the celebrated act of 1649. There is more freedom of conscience, more real toleration, an hundred-fold, in this Charter of a Protestant prince to a Catholic nobleman, than in that act so often recalled to our remembrance, in reference to which I propose to take some other opportunity to review its history and its suppossd claims to our admiration. The glory of Maryland toleration is in the Charter—not in the act of 1649. In settling the colony under this charter, it is true that Cecil, the second Lord Baltimore, gathered the colonists chiefly from the Roman Catholics. It was quite natural that, in making up his first adventure, the Proprietary should have gone amongst his friends and kinsmen, and solicited their aid to his enterprise. It is to their credit that they joined him in it. And much more to their credit that they faithfully administered the Charter, by opening the door of emigration to all Christians, with an assurance of equal rights and privilege. Where have we such a spectacle in that age? All the world was intolerant of religious opinion but this little band of adventurers, who, under the guidance of young Leonard Calvert, committed their fortunes and their hopes to the Ark and the Dove, and entered Maryland between St. Michael and St. Joseph,—as they denominated the two head-

lands of the Potomac,—the portals to that little wilderness which was to become the home of their posterity. All the world outside of these portals was intolerant, proscriptive, vengeful against the children of a dissenting faith.—Here, only, in Maryland, throughout all this wide world of Christendom, was there an altar erected, and truly dedicated to the freedom of Christian worship. Let those who first reared it enjoy the renown to which it has entitled them!

This happy enterprise could not have succeeded under any other circumstances than those which existed. If Charles had been a Catholic Prince, a Catholic Proprietary would have procured a Charter for the establishment of a Catholic province. If Calvert had been a Protestant nobleman, a Protestant Prince would have granted him a Charter for a Protestant province. In either case it would have been proscriptive. Both of these predicaments were abundantly exemplified in the history of that period. Exclusiveness, intolerance, persecution of opposing sects, were the invariable characteristics of early American colonization. It was to the rare and happy coincidence of a wise, moderate and energetic Catholic statesman, asking and receiving a Charter from a Protestant monarch, jealous of the faith, but full of honorable confidence in the integrity of his servant, that we owe this luminous and beautiful exception of Maryland to the spirit of the colonization of the seventeenth century.

Before this enterprise was consummated, Lord Baltimore died. His son Cecil was now twenty-eight years of age. To him was committed the fulfilment of his father's design. He was faithful to the trust;

and in the same beneficent, liberal and sagacious spirit in which the colony was first projected, he devoted himself to the ministration of its affairs. He was wealthy, and in the first two years expended forty thousand pounds upon the plantation.

It is not my purpose now to comment upon the history or the character of Cecil, the second Lord Baltimore. I reserve that for another time. I wish, however, before I close this discourse, to note some facts connected with Cecil's administration of the province, to show how admirably and how justly the father had conceived the plan of a benignant government, and how faithfully the son had carried it into execution. The incident to which I am about to call your attention, is an index to the purpose of Lord Baltimore, more comprehensive and pertinent than a volume of dissertation. Maryland may be called THE LAND OF THE SANCTUARY. All Christians were invited freely within its borders. They found there a written covenant of security against all encroachment on their rights of conscience by the Lord Proprietary or his government. The following story, copied by Bozman from the records at Annapolis, will illustrate not only how tenderly these rights of conscience were respected, but—what would be quite remarkable in any government—what delicate concern was manifested in the early administration of the province, for the sensibilities of those who might feel aggrieved by any attempt to insult their religious opinions.

A proclamation had been issued by Leonard Calvert, the Governor, in 1638, to prohibit "all unseasonable disputations in point of religion, tending to the disturbance of the public peace and quiet of the colony, and to *the opening of faction in religion.*"—Captain

Cornwaleys, a Catholic gentleman, one of the most distinguished and authoritative persons in the province, had two Protestant servants by the name of Gray and Sedgrave. These two chanced to be reading aloud together Smith's Sermons,—a Protestant book, and were overheard by William Lewis, an overseer in the employment of Cornwaleys. Lewis was a zealous Catholic, and it happened that the servants, when overheard by him, were reading a passage to which he took great exception: it charged the Pope to be Antichrist, and the Jesuits to be antichristian ministers. Lewis, it seems, supposed this was read aloud to vex him;—whereupon, getting into a passion, he told them "that it was a falsehood, and came from the devil as all lies did: and that he that writ it was an instrument of the devil, and he would prove it: and that all Protestant ministers were the ministers of the devil,"—and he forbade them from reading more.

Without going further into the particulars, it will be sufficient to relate that the two servants prepared a formal complaint against the overseer, to be submitted to the Governor and Council; that Captain Cornwaleys himself gave the case another direction, by sending it into court, of which Governor Calvert, Cornwaleys, and Mr. Lewger, the Secretary of the Province, were the members; that this court summoned all the parties before it, heard the whole case, and fined Lewis five hundred pounds of tobacco, and ordered him to remain in prison until he should find sureties for his good behaviour in future.

This proceeding needs no comment. It certainly was a curious matter to be made a State affair:—but it very strikingly displays the patriarchal character

of the government and its extreme solicitude to keep all religious bickerings and discontents out of the province. It is curious, not only as an evidence of the tolerant spirit of a Catholic administration, engaged in defending Protestant subjects from insult, but also as an evidence of the care of that government to protect the humblest persons within its jurisdiction from the slightest invasion of their rights of conscience.—We might ask if a parallel to this incident can be produced in the history of colonization on this continent.

I am admonished by the time I have occupied, of the necessity of drawing this discourse to a close. I shall do this, in presenting the character of Calvert, as it strikes me in the review I have made of his life.

Belknap, writing from the biographies of Collier and Kippis, says of him :*—" Though he was a Roman Catholic, he kept himself disengaged from all interests, behaving with such moderation and propriety, that all parties were pleased with him. He was a man of great good sense, not obstinate in his opinions, taking as much pleasure in hearing the sentiments of others, as in delivering his own. Whilst he was Secretary of State, he examined all letters, and carried to the King every night, an exact and well digested account of affairs. He agreed with Sir John Popham, in the design of foreign plantations, but differed in the manner of executing it. Popham was for extirpating the original inhabitants; Calvert was for civilizing and converting them. The former was for present profit; the latter for reasonable expectation, and for employing governors who were not interested merchants, but unconcerned gentlemen: he

* American Biography, vol. 2, p. 367. Title *Calvert.*

was for granting liberties with caution, leaving every one to provide for himself by his own industry, and not to depend on a common interest."

This sketch of Calvert is, doubtless, just. We may say, in addition, that he was characterized not less by the politic management than by the vigor with which he prosecuted his designs. Considering the difficulties in his way, nothing but the greatest tact and judgment could have conducted his plan of the Maryland settlement to a prosperous conclusion. His address in the contest with Virginia, evidenced by his complete success, gives us a high opinion of his fitness for public affairs. The enterprise shown by him in the defence of Avalon; his perseverance and promptness in bringing his Maryland scheme into action; his personal labors in both of these colonies, impress us most favorably with a respect for his courage, his energy, and his skill in the management of men. The posts which he filled, his position and conduct in parliament, the favor and esteem he seems always to have inspired, demonstrate his ability, as well as his prudence, and give us reason to infer an amiable, well bred and affable disposition: the character of the government he established in Maryland, and the just sentiments with which he seems to have inspired his son, and the lavish expenditure which he, doubtless, both authorized and provided before his death, attest his liberal views of the rights of conscience, his generosity, and his zeal in the cause of colonization.

He was eminently fitted for his undertaking, by the circumstances in which he lived. Although we have no reason to believe that he was a very ardent or zealous follower of his faith, but, on the contrary,

moderate in that as in all other matters of opinion or conduct, yet, to a certain extent, he had been schooled in adversity:—not the adversity of want, or of disfavor,—but in that adversity which a lofty spirit equally feels,—the proscription, namely, of himself, his kindred and friends, for maintaining a faith to which his judgment and conscience attached him. Persecution and intolerance of his own particular religious opinions taught him, what they always teach upright minds, the practice of the opposite virtues; and they brought him to a true appreciation of that nobleness of character which cherishes freedom of opinion as one of the highest prerogatives of a rational being. In this respect Calvert was in advance of his age. There was ever before him a daily admonition of the necessity of reserve, prudence and humility, from which he drew a wise man's profit. The bitter intolerance which was, in his time, more or less the characteristic of every religious sect,—almost the universal fashion of opinion,—spent itself with peculiar acrimony in England against those of his creed. It furnished him a daily topic of meditation, and so chastened his feelings towards mankind. "It is the method of charity,"—says Sir Thomas Brown,—"to suffer without reaction." This affords us the key to those virtues which appear so conspicuous in the frame and administration of the Maryland Colony, and which have drawn forth so much commendation from historians.

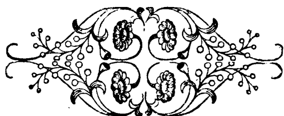
"Sweet are the uses of adversity."—Happy is he who, experienced in these uses, comes to authority amongst his fellow men; whose temper, tuned to the humility of suffering, brings a heart warm with that memory, brings a mind skilled, by old sympathies

springing from the knowledge of human wrongs, to some station of control wherein he may somewhat direct and shape the lot of his fellow men. Blessed is such a man in his generation, if, wisely and humbly, with due weighing of his own trials, with due reverence for that holy light these trials have thrown upon the pathway of justice and mercy along which he is commissioned to walk,—he remembers, heeds and practises the duty of guidance and instruction to his subordinates.

When I go forth to seek a leader of men in whatsoever enterprise, let me find him of a generous nature, of a manly, brave spirit, of clear insight of what he is and what he has to do, of sturdy intelligence improved by all good studies, of honest soul,—and then to all these rare perfections, let me add that richest grace which comes from a successful encounter with adversity—not broken by it, but taught; not hardened in heart, but mellowed and filled with pity,—such a man would be one, above all men, to follow, cherish, for ever remember. Of such are heroes made: by them is our race adorned, exalted, made worthy of history. Truly, I believe no hero ever became veritable but through this high road of suffering! Mock heroes we have enough: the world is full of them, who strut before the footlights in all manner of tinsel; who flaunt on many sign-posts; who fill the throats of a whole senseless generation with huzzas:—such mock heroes, with their "mad jumble of hypocrisies," we have in all times to a surfeit. But no true hero, who has not stood, in many a dark day, erect and manful, trusting to his manhood, and confident to carve his way either to proud destruction, or to the prosperous light. This world's vicissitudes, which

men somewhat impiously call Fortune, are the tests by which God has signified the true man from the false;—which, checkering the progress of mortals with more or less of pain and privation, in greater or smaller degree, render them heroic;—prepare Hercules for his twelve labors;—prepare Jason for his long circumnavigation;—prepare Columbus for his abyss of waters, and his miraculous Epic of a New World;—prepare Washington to render that New World for ever unchainable,—for ever proud, and disdainful of tyranny.

Is not George Calvert, in some honorable degree, entitled to a portion of this praise?



REVIEW

OF THE

HON. JOHN P. KENNEDY'S DISCOURSE.

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On the Life and Character of

GEORGE CALVERT,

THE FIRST LORD BALTIMORE.

BALTIMORE:
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ERRATA.

Page 6, 21st and 22d lines, for *Bishop of Toledo* read *Archbishop of Grenada.*
Page 13, first note, for *Discourse p.* 74, read 34.
Page 21, fifteenth line from the bottom, for *ever* read *even.*

REVIEW

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HON. JOHN P. KENNEDY'S DISCOURSE

ON THE

LIFE AND CHARACTER OF GEORGE CALVERT,

THE FIRST LORD BALTIMORE.

Discourse on the Life and Character of George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore: made by John P. Kennedy, before the Maryland Historical Society, being the second annual address to that association. Baltimore: John Murphy. 1845.

THE institution of the Maryland Historical Society has been welcomed by the citizens of our state with general approbation. It is regarded as its proper function to collect and preserve the too long neglected documents of our early history. In the first discourse delivered before the society, the orator declares its intentions and object in the following beautiful language:

"We would disclose in their seclusion and proclaim in all their excellence the treasures that invite research—and would mark the benefits of the maturing records of the times. We would make them a coinage of medals sacred to the honor of the republic—and edifying with political virtue and wisdom—and infusing the only meritorious aristocracy, the pride of state."*

The author of the second discourse, who chose for his subject "The life and character of George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore," has been distinguished as a polished writer, and an agreeable speaker. He is, moreover, a respectable lawyer, and has filled important stations as a legislator, with credit to himself, and with the approbation of a large portion of his fellow citizens.

Mr. Kennedy seems to have been conscious of the honor conferred on him by his having been selected to deliver the second annual discourse before the respectable body which we have named, without duly appreciating the responsibilities of his position. The author of a historical discourse, delivered under such circumstances, should not have ventured to substitute crude opinions and doubtful theories for the unquestionable truths of history. But Mr. K., with professional adroitness, has labored to "make the worse appear the better cause;" to torture good and honorable motives into bad or unworthy ones; and he has used the privilege of a novelist to make the coinage of his own fancy pass current for truth. His endeavors to build facts upon merely conjectural history—however spirited and original—should not have been essayed in opposition to the records, without a more thorough acquaintance with his subject, and a more comprehensive view of the history of the times than he has displayed. Although long distinguished as a graceful writer in the department of fiction, this, we believe, is his first attempt in the more important province of history. From the general approbation of his talents and the respect for his personal worth, this performance was looked for with considerable interest:

* First discourse before the Maryland Historical Society, delivered on 20th of June, 1844, by Charles F. Mayer, A. M.

which was rather increased than diminished by the delay from June to December, which circumstances had made unavoidable. Perhaps the composition may have suffered from this cause. The belief that much is expected sometimes bewilders the writer as well as the orator; and long protracted time for preparation may obscure the emanations of genius, as superfluous labor often mars the beauty of a graceful structure by encumbering it with incongruous appendages. As a literary composition, we think it inferior to many, perhaps all, of the author's productions. And we regret it: for we were among those who expected something from him, alike creditable to his own talents and honorable to the respectable society who appointed him its orator. With a proper apprehension of the fate of Gil Blas for condemning the bishop of Toledo's last homily, we would say, with that well-meaning critic, that this discourse savors of apoplexy, were it not for its concluding apostrophe to adversity as the tutor of heroes. That portion of the discourse is worthy of the author's best days, and almost tempts us to suspect that it was composed for some other occasion, and merely attached to the discourse on Calvert for a graceful peroration. Ben Johnson, who was free to admit the genius of Shakspeare, would sometimes rail at his neglect of "the unities;" and, in the like spirit, we may suggest that this same peroration is out of both time and place. Out of time, because the drift of the preceding portion of the discourse is to detract from the character of Calvert, for the noble qualities with which history has invested it; and out of place, because, so far as his biographers testify, he had no experience whatever of adversity. Possessed of talents and wealth, honorably employed, patronized by the great prime minister, esteemed and rewarded by his sovereign—what was the adversity in which he was schooled, except when he embraced, in the last seven years of his life, the proscribed creed of the Catholic church? But he appears to have had the address to escape the penalties allotted to his new faith, by withdrawing from England immediately after his conversion. We are now considering Calvert as history has exhibited him;—not in the character which Mr. K. has invented for him. We do not, however, undertake a literary criticism of this discourse. But the auspices under which it has been ushered into existence, give it an importance that calls for the examination of its statements. Ordinary courtesy to its author, perhaps, required that the society should publish it; and by this means it has appeared before the world with a sanction and a consequence to which no intrinsic merit of its own entitles it. Maryland has a right to complain of the author, for using his office for the purpose of lessening her honest pride in the deeds of her founders. All historians who have written on the subject, have conceded to her first settlers the glory of having established a more liberal polity than was to be found, up to that time, in any other state. But Mr. Kennedy has referred this honor to the king of England, who, he contends, granted such a charter as left the proprietary and the colonists no discretion; but made it imperative on them to found the new province upon the basis of religious liberty. The fallacy of this assumption, as well as of other positions taken by Mr. Kennedy, we hope clearly to expose. We should have no reason to complain of the author, had he presented his own peculiar views of history to the society at its ordinary meetings, as other gentlemen have done. There they could have been canvassed, authorities examined, and from the discussion certainty and conviction would have ensued. Truth, on which side soever it might be found, would have triumphed, and the result would have been such acquisitions to our history as it is the special province of the society to preserve, and thus, in Mr. Kennedy's own words,

"Full stores of the treasures of our young antiquity might have been gar-

nered into a magazine safe enough to deliver them unmutilated into our hands!"*

But by the selection of the principal and public meeting, when "all the beauty and all the intelligence" of the city are the invited auditory of an orator who is supposed to speak the sentiments of his constituents,—by using such an opportunity to mystify our history, and to put forward his own conceits in opposition to all historians who have treated of the subject,—he takes an advantage unworthy of his candor, and not in accordance with the spirit of the society. For no one could presume, "in such a presence," to suggest objections to his statements, or be prepared with authorities to prove their inaccuracy. The publication, in print, of his "historic doubts," requires that they be examined in detail—both for the credit of the state and of that society which is destined, we hope, to be both useful to its history and ornamental to its literature.

Could we believe the portrait of Calvert accurate, as redrawn in the "fancy's sketch" of the orator, we should have little cause of pride or pleasure in contemplating its lineaments. For, notwithstanding all the garniture of eloquence with which he has decked his enumeration of the fancied defects of Calvert's character, the obvious meaning is, that the first Lord Baltimore was selfish in his motives and actions, a sycophant or knave in politics, and in religion a hypocrite. These discoveries certainly are novel, and have escaped all the historians from Fuller down to the scrutinizing Bancroft, and impartial McMahon,—whose brilliant history is equally creditable to his genius, his faithful research, and devotion to truth.

After an outline of the history of the American settlements, the author passes at once to his subject. His first proposition is that the original settlement of Maryland did not

"Owe its conception either to religious persecution, or that desire which is supposed to have influenced other colonies to form a society dedicated to the promotion of a particular worship. This," continues the orator, "I am aware, is contrary to a very generally received opinion. It is my purpose, in what I am about to offer, to produce some proofs of the assertions I have just made."*

In other words, Lord Baltimore did not turn his attention to the settlement of Maryland because of the persecutions of Catholics in England; nor from a desire to secure an asylum for his fellow members of that communion. It is in the attempt to establish this negative and novel proposition, that the author of the discourse is led to deal in vague surmises, and erroneous inferences: prejudicial to the character of Lord Baltimore, and subversive of facts, not only never before disputed, but adduced by most credible historians to sustain his high character. According to the "Discourse," he was a speculator in grants of new settlements, for ambitious purposes and pecuniary gain alone; he was indifferent about religion, a dissembler, and, withal, was a Catholic all his life.† These are all legitimate conclusions from the author's statements, put forth to sustain his assertion that the establishment of the Maryland colony did not owe its "*conception*" to religious persecution, or to the "*desire*" to promote any "particular worship."

Now we think that a fair mode of understanding what were the conceptions and desires of Calvert, is to compare them with the *acts*, which were manifestly intended as their development and fulfilment. If this be not the "philosophy of history," it is at least fair dealing, and that quintessence of wisdom called common sense. If the author had respected such evidences, he would not have doubted that, from the period of Calvert's conversion, his mind was pregnant with the cherished idea of shielding from persecution his numerous family, and his fellow Catholics, and securing them an asylum, where they might serve God in peace, in the exercise of "their particular worship." And yet, as if to shut out such a presumption, the au-

* Discourse, p. 5.

* P. 14. † See p. 35 of the Discourse.

thor tells us that the charter, drawn up and carried into execution in the "spirit of the broadest and most liberal toleration towards at least all Christian sects,"* did not indicate "a *special* desire to provide an asylum for persecuted Catholics." Now is it credible that Calvert, himself a Catholic, subject to persecution the moment the king should look coldly on him, could have no special desire about his own situation and that of his family? Or is a desire that those of a particular religion should profit by a liberal grant, inconsistent with a willingness that *all others* might share in its advantages? If the orator's family, in common with many others, were subject to odious restraints, and he had influence enough to obtain their removal, can it be imagined that, in the fulness of general philanthropy, he entertained no special desire for the welfare and relief of his own kindred and connexions? To suppose this would be both unjust and unnatural. But if it was really the design of Lord Baltimore to make Maryland an asylum for Catholics, is it to be supposed he would have set forth such intention in the charter? If he had, Charles durst not at that period (1632) have affixed his royal signature to it, and no man understood better than Calvert the difficulties of the king's position. The outcry against popery often drove him to acts of persecution, that his admirers say were revolting to his nature. And we find the parliament often charging him with his too great lenity to Catholics, in reprieving priests condemned to death for the exercise of their functions. Mr. Kennedy promises (p. 14) to produce proofs to establish his assertions that the desire to escape religious persecution, and to enjoy liberty of conscience, had no influence in causing the first settlement of our state. But we look in vain for his proofs.

The question is one of history—not of imagination: and the proofs should be sought in those historians whose information and credibility are entitled to the most confidence—not in the conjectures and strained inferences of the author of the discourse. Contemporaneous publicity of the intentions of the Catholic colonists can not be expected, not merely because the press was closed against them, but because publicity would have invoked opposition from the zealots they were fleeing from. But we find satisfactory proof of the religious motives of Lord Baltimore, in the exemplification of his plan of settlement. It never has been questioned—Mr. Kennedy himself does not doubt that Cecilius Calvert did but fulfil his father's wise designs.

"He was faithful to the trust, and in the same beneficent, liberal and sagacious spirit in which the colony was first projected, he devoted himself to the ministration of its affairs."*

Was not the first movement of Cecilius Calvert to collect a band of Catholic gentlemen and Jesuit fathers, and despatch them with his brothers to his domain of Maryland? And as they touch the shores of their new home, do they not manifest the "special desire" of their hearts in the most solemn religious exercises of adoration and gratitude to God, with all the forms and ceremonies of Catholic worship? Their first impulse, and their first acts, are to erect an altar and a cross; to chant the litanies, and to celebrate mass; to name capes and islands, bays, rivers, and their new city, after saints. Showing how, above all things, they appreciated their newly acquired liberty of conscience, and luxuriated in the enjoyment of freedom of Catholic worship. These were the *first* proceedings under the charter framed by Sir Geo. Calvert, and carried into execution according to his plans and instructions; and they constitute such illustrative proofs of his *desire*, and such evident manifestations of his original *conception*—as well as of the motives and intentions of the first actual settlers, as can not be refuted by mere fanciful speculations, and their inferences, designed to misrepresent his motives, and tarnish his

* Ibid. pp. 41, 42.

* Mr. Kennedy's Discourse, pp. 43 and 44.

fame. In the words of the first orator of the society:

"This father of the province put to his edicts the seal of his noble heart as well as the sanction of his titles; and with this charter gave to Maryland the injunctions of his policy which has crowned her with the purest distinctions of history. I speak of what George Calvert effectively did, though he did not live to accomplish personally all that he thus liberally devised."*

The acts of the colonists were, indeed, the development of his generous design, and the expression of the sentiments of hearts responding joyfully to the wisdom of his original conception. Yet, in the face of facts like these, Mr. Kennedy declares, p. 24:

"There is no evidence that his ardor in these undertakings was stimulated by any motive having reference to particular religious opinions."

But he who will survey the history of the period will arrive at a different conclusion. Was it possible that a *Catholic* in the reign of James I, or Charles I, should not be stimulated, in obtaining a colonial grant, by motives "having reference to particular religious opinions?" In the midst of civil and political disabilities of all kinds, of fines and confiscations that brought many wealthy families to poverty; subjected to invasion of their most sacred domestic privacy by ruffian "pursuivants;" witnessing the banishments and hangings of their priests;—when such was the daily doom of men of Calvert's creed, is there no evidence that his ardor in the undertaking was stimulated by motives having reference to particular religious opinions? Yet, Mr. Kennedy tells us, "we are on the contrary *bound* to presume that his purpose was in part the advancement of his own reputation, the increase of the wealth of his family," &c. p. 24.

Where history is explicit, we should not indulge the imagination in conjecture. Of what use are records, if "history, the registry of probation, the chart of a nation's path, be suppressed and denounced as a record of questionable doings or pedantic minutiæ?"*

We will refer to some of the writers on Maryland's history, to show how far their testimony coincides with the negation embraced in Mr. Kennedy's first proposition.

Our first authority, Beverly, will prove that in 1628, six years before the settlement of Maryland, its founder visited Virginia in search of an asylum for religious liberty. He says:

"Calvert (Lord Baltimore), a Roman Catholic, thought *for the more quiet exercise of his religion to retire with his family* into that new world. *For this purpose* he went to Virginia to try how he liked the place; but the people there looked upon him with an evil eye on account of his religion, *for which alone he sought this retreat;* and by their ill treatment discouraged him from settling in that country."†

Wynne says:

"His Lordship (Sir George Calvert) was a Catholic, and *had formed his design of making this settlement, in order to enjoy a liberty of conscience,* which, though the government of England was by no means disposed to deny him; yet the rigor of the laws threatened in a great measure to deprive him of—the severity of which it was not in the power of the court to relax."‡

On this point Douglass says:

"Upon a new royal regulation in Virginia, several families went over from England to settle there; amongst these was Lord Baltimore, a rigid Roman Catholic; *for the advantage of a more free exercise of his religion, he retired thither;* but being ill used," § &c.

The article "Maryland" in the Modern Universal History|| has the following ac-

* First Discourse before the Maryland Historical Society, by C. F. Mayer, p. 20.

* Mr. Mayer's Discourse, p. 28.

† History of Virginia, by a native and inhabitant of the place. R. B. Gent. 2d edition. London: 1722. P. 46.

‡ Wynne's History of America.

§ Douglass's Summary, Vol. 2, p. 355. London: 1760.

|| Vol. 36, p. 107 and 108. London: 1780.

count of the motives and objects of our colonists:

"The Lord Baltimore, who was of the Roman Catholic religion, and *had obtained the grant to be an asylum to himself and those of his persuasion from the persecutions of the times,* appointed his brother, Lionel (Leonard) Calvert, governor of his new colony, and joined in commission with him Jeremy Hawley and Thomas Cornwallis, Esqrs. The first plantation, consisting of about two hundred colonists, were sent thither in 1633, chiefly, if not wholly, Roman Catholics, many of them gentlemen of fortune; and, like the Protestants of New England, *their settlement was founded upon a strong desire for the unmolested practice of their own religion.*"

In addition to the testimony of the historians quoted, showing that Lord Baltimore was influenced by religious motives in founding Maryland as an asylum for his Catholic brethren, we have public documents which prove that these motives were admitted in Maryland.

About the year 1751 the policy of requiring Catholics to pay taxes on their lands, double the amount exacted from the Protestant inhabitants, was first introduced. On this occasion, among other efforts to protect themselves from this unreasonable and unjust imposition, they addressed a petition to the governor, which contains the following passages:

"Many Roman Catholic gentlemen of good and ancient families in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, and many others of lesser note, to *avoid the penal laws* in force in their native countries, and other vexations, to which they were liable at home, quitted their countries, their friends and relations, and every thing dear to them, to enjoy these privileges, that freedom, liberty, and equality in every thing here, especially a full liberty of conscience, and *to that end only* transported themselves into this province."

And in another place, in the same petition, they say:

"For the province being granted to a Roman Catholic, the act concerning religion having passed, &c., the Roman Catholics looked upon Maryland as *an asylum and place of rest for themselves and their posterity.*"*

At a later date, 1758, the upper house of assembly refused to require the double tax from Catholics, and among other reasons gave the following: "The first settlement of this province was made by the Roman Catholics, who had been driven from their native country by the severity of its laws, and an act for an unlimited toleration of all Christians passed in the year 1640, after they have been *promised and allowed an asylum here,*"† &c. The lower house, in reply, says: "As we have never discovered any thing in history or otherwise that will justify or even countenance your assertion that the papists were promised and allowed an asylum here, we should be glad to have it explained to us,"‡ &c.

This explanation is furnished very amply in the rejoinder of the upper house: the following are some portions of it: "You have been pleased to remark upon this passage of our message, that you have not been able to discover any thing in history or otherwise, to justify or countenance our assertion that the papists were promised and allowed an asylum here. It may be so, but it is not our fault, that you have not, and, to be plain with you, we should have been restrained from telling you what you have been pleased to acknowledge, by the apprehension of its giving offence. However, as you have desired to have this matter explained, and we flatter ourselves it may have some effect, we shall undertake to do it in as full a manner as the shortness of the time will admit." After quoting some introductory passages of the charter, the explanation proceeds: "After the charter was thus granted to Lord Baltimore, who was then a Roman Catholic, his lordship emitted his

* Petition to Gov. Sharp.

† Votes and Proceedings of L. House, March term, 1758, p. 29. ‡ Ibid. p. 52.

proclamations to encourage the settlement of his province, promising therein, among other things, liberty of conscience, and an equal exercise of religion to every denomination of Christians who would transport themselves and reside in his province, and that he would procure a law to be passed for that purpose afterwards. The first or second assembly that met after the colonists arrived here, some time in the year 1638, a perpetual law passed in pursuance of his lordship's promise, and indeed such a law was easily obtained from those who were the first settlers. This act was confirmed in 1640, and again in 1650. By this act it was enacted, 'that whatsoever person or persons should, upon any occasion of offence or otherwise, in a reproachful manner, or any way declare, call or denominate any person or persons, inhabiting or residing, trading or commercing within the province, an heretic, &c. &c., papist,' &c. &c.

"The grant to Lord Baltimore, who was a papist, his lordship's promises and declarations, the confirmations of them by acts of assembly, and the oaths we have recited, we hope will amply justify our assertion, that the Roman Catholics were promised and allowed an asylum here.

"As you have been pleased to say that you have not discovered any thing in history or otherwise to countenance our assertion, we shall mention some passages from books for your satisfaction, though we must observe to you that writers may be mistaken or misrepresent, but the evidence we have produced can't mislead. Mr. Bowen, speaking of Maryland, says: 'The first colony sent to Maryland was in the year 1633, and consisted of two hundred people. The chief of these adventurers were gentlemen of good families and Roman Catholics; for persons of that religion, being made uneasy as well as Protestant Dissenters, they transported themselves to this province, hoping to enjoy there the liberty of their consciences, under a proprietary of their own profession, as the then Lord Baltimore was.'"

The same paper contains extracts from various other historians to the same purpose, and concludes this branch of the subject with remarking: "Many other passages from books to the like effect might be cited, but we presume they would be unnecessary."*

With such evidence as the early writers on Maryland furnish, sustained by the testimony of a Protestant legislature of 1758,—for no Catholic was then eligible as a member, or even entitled to vote for members of the legislature,—it is difficult to account for Mr. Kennedy's doubts.

But while the orator denies that Calvert was influenced by religious motives in his attempts at colonization, he attributes these to a spirit of commercial speculation: his proofs of which are of an extraordinary character. He shows that Calvert had been a member of the Virginia Company from 1609 to 1620; had procured a charter for a portion of Newfoundland, and resided there some few years; yet, during the whole period that Calvert was interested in the colonization of Virginia, he could not have derived the least return for his investment: as the Virginia Company was, so far as the patentees were concerned, an utter failure, and Calvert had even been denied permission to reside there, unless he would renounce his faith. He did not go to Newfoundland until the reign of Charles I, of course after he had become a Catholic. Having built a fine house there for his family, he expended one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars in "advancing the plantation," fitted out two ships at his own expense, defended his country's possessions against a hostile attack, and defeated the enemy;† and after this great outlay from his private fortune, he abandoned Newfoundland. Now if his object in colonizing had been the enriching of his family, and this the motive of his "passion for charters," who will say that

* Votes and Proceedings of the L. House Assembly of the Province of Maryland, pp. 65—67.
† Discourse, pp. 18 and 19.

the continued disappointments of twenty years would not have been sufficient to have given the spirit for speculation, with which his new biographer has endued him, its everlasting quietus? This is a trait of character that no former biographer has ever assigned to Calvert. On the contrary, he is described "as a man of great good sense, not obstinate in his opinions, taking as much pleasure in hearing the sentiments of others as in delivering his own."* And, as if to leave no room to suspect him of selfish motives, or of being a mere speculator, Fuller, his contemporary, remarks: "Indeed *his public spirit* consulted not *his private profit*, but the enlargement of Christianity and the king's dominions," and Mr. Kennedy has quoted this passage from Fuller!† Would not a more just inference from Calvert's character and history have been, that none but more lofty motives could have induced his last attempt, in which his son expended two hundred thousand dollars in the first two years of the settlement of Maryland? If ambition or wealth had been his object, in his previous engagement in colonization, both had been signally disappointed. The orator's inference that Calvert's name being among the members of the Virginia Company is an evidence of his passion for charters and speculation, is not justified by facts. The list‡ numbers among the members of the corporation the names of the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Bath and Wells, of Lincoln, of Worcester; the earls of Bedford, Devonshire, Salisbury, Northampton, &c. &c., the countess of Shrewsbury, Lady Conway, Lady Gray, &c. &c. Were these all speculators? Or may we not rather suppose that patriotic views for the enlargement of the king's dominions, and for the aggrandizement of their native country, influenced some, while a laudable desire to diffuse the light of the Gospel among the "salvages," led others to encourage the then popular scheme of American plantations? That the latter motive is not a mere conjecture, appears from the following passage in Oldmixon's History of Virginia, chap. v. "When the nobility, gentry, merchants and others, first got a grant of this country, and resolved to make a settlement upon it, they received large contributions to carry it on from several devout persons who were for propagating the Gospel among the Indians, building schools, churches, and settling ministers for their conversion and instruction."*

If the orator has been unable to establish his first proposition by evidence, his failure to prove that Calvert was not a convert to the Catholic faith is still more signal. We will give his own words in stating this, which we regard as his second proposition:

"Upon this question of the supposed conversion of Calvert, there seems to be room for great doubt. I do not believe in it at all. I think there is proof extant to show that he had always been attached to the church of Rome, or, at least from an early period of his life."†

The process of reasoning, by which he endeavors to prove his negative, is very remarkable. He has employed more industry in the attempt to subvert this simple historical fact than on any portion of his discourse. Detached scraps of history, questionable dates, the sneers of political and religious opponents, are all marshalled by Mr. K. to assist his hypothesis, without allowing to the affirmative of the question the least support from the clear and indisputable records of the time. And while he infers proofs to sustain his conjecture from the sentiments and character of the king, he entirely omits those from the whole spirit of contemporaneous history, which go to establish the fact he disputes. And yet, with remarkable complacency in his exertions, he asserts

"That Sir George Calvert was, if not

*Belknap, vol. ii, p. 367, who quotes Collier and Kippis.
† Mr. Kennedy's Discourse, p. 18.
‡ In Captain Jno. Smith's History, v. ii, p. 45, &c. Richmond edition.

* Brit. Empire in America, vol. i.
† Discourse, p. 30.

actually nursed in the faith of Rome, no convert to that faith in his period of manhood: that if he ever was a Protestant, there is no record of it within our knowledge."*

Before we proceed to analyze the various arguments of Mr. Kennedy, we will quote the passage from Fuller, the contradiction of which employs so large a portion of the discourse. Mr. K. gives it in these words:

"He freely confessed himself to the king that he was then become a Roman Catholic, so that he must be wanting in his trust, or violate his conscience in discharging his office."†

Mr. K. remarks that "the chief authority for his conversion is Fuller." We ask could there be better? He is an author of great respectability, and was, withal, so decidedly opposed to the Catholic religion, that he would not have mentioned so remarkable an occurrence had there been the least doubt of it; nor would he have omitted to state Calvert's hypocrisy or dissimulation, had he been a concealed Catholic. Mr. K. admits that "*Fuller was his contemporary;*" ‡ he had then the best means of ascertaining the truth of what he asserts in his history. But Mr. K. discredits Fuller's story of Calvert's being a convert, because he "can not perceive" with him "that there was any special reason connected with Calvert's official relation to James which rendered it a point of conscience that he should give up his office." § But it must be observed that Fuller does not give his speculative opinions, or perceptions of causes or motives; but he states with confidence, as facts, the resignation by Sir George Calvert of his office, the reason which he assigned to his sovereign, namely, his conversion to the Catholic faith; and he describes the remarkable effect produced upon the king's mind by that confession, and the consequences which resulted to Calvert from his ingenuous proceeding. There is no surmise or conjecture by Fuller, but a positive assertion of facts which occurred within his own time; and the narration of which was necessary to the fidelity of a biography which he was then writing, because the incidents were not only striking in their character and connection, but also influential in a high degree upon the future history of the subject of his memoir and the fate of his family. Turning aside, in a very unlawyerlike way, from the *positive* testimony of Fuller, a veracious witness, the orator has preferred to substitute *circumstantial* evidence to prove the negative. With what success we shall see.

Wood's silence as to the circumstance of Calvert's conversion is relied on by the orator as evidence of the inaccuracy of Fuller. Yet, if Wood be fairly examined, his evidence will be found to corroborate, rather than impugn Fuller's statement. He says that Calvert, AT THE TIME of being created Lord Baltimore, was "then a Roman Catholic, or at least very much addicted to their religion."* Now, the time when he was created Lord Baltimore was 16th Feb., 1624—the date precisely assigned by Fuller for his conversion. The inference, therefore, is that he was not always so regarded, else why specify a particular time as that at which he was so affected? Thus, too, with Mr. K's other witness, Abbott, archbishop of Canterbury, who says "that *since* Charles' return from Spain, (which was in the last of 1623,) Mr. Secretary Calvert apparently did turn papist, which he now professeth." Does this contradict Fuller? To be sure, he adds "this is the third time he has been to blame in that way." This is a sneering innuendo to which converts are accustomed—but very different from saying that this was the third time he had become a Catholic; and certainly does not avail our orator, who contends that he was always a Catholic, or certainly from 1619, whereas, Abbott describes Calvert's conversion in 1624 as a fresh event, and thus corroborates

* Discourse, p. 74. † Ib. 17. ‡ Ib. 16. § Ib. 32.

* Wood, vol. i, p. 565.

Fuller. But while Mr. Kennedy attaches importance to the sneering remark—the mere conjecture of Abbott after Calvert's avowed conversion—because it suits his purpose, he discredits and rejects the remainder of Abbott's statement as the unsubstantial testimony of an enemy. Now, if we take the truthful account of Fuller, that from 1619 to 1624 Calvert was secretary of state, at which latter period he resigned and freely confessed "to the king that he *was then become* a Roman Catholic,"* has this positive historical record been contradicted by any witness, or any incident which the orator has cited? It has not. Additional evidence that Calvert was not a Catholic in 1620 is found in the period of his parliamentary career. He was elected a member of the house of commons in 1620. At that period, even if as a Catholic he had been eligible to a seat in the house of commons, it is not to be imagined that an Oxford or a York constituency would have elected a member of that persuasion as their representative, or that, in the then state of popular excitement, they would have chosen a member who was suspected of being "popishly affected." Now his parliamentary services terminated *in* 1624—the time of his conversion as stated—and, thus, this fact may be invoked as well as the testimony of Wood and Abbott, to confirm the veracity of Fuller. It should have been enough for an impartial mind, that Calvert's conversion was stated positively by a disinterested and credible contemporary—who, besides, could have had no motive for fabricating such a story—to save his fame from the imputation cast upon him by the discourse—of being a pliant trifler with his faith.

But while the orator infers a doubt of Fuller's accuracy from Wood's silence on the subject of the conversion, he does not find a confirmation of Fuller in the various authors who have repeated the statement: and there are many. Among these may be mentioned, as of the first authority, Kippis, in the Biographia Britanica, vol. iii, p. 152.

* Discourse, p. 17.

The record of such an incident in that elaborate work, in which the dates of Calvert's life, &c., are examined with scrupulous care, and the various authors who have mentioned him are collated and quoted with critical precision, gives to the confirmation of this fact high authority. Our own Belknap, who has produced the most complete biography of Calvert, repeats it; and, besides, we have the fact recorded by Dodd in the following words:

"An. 1624, Feb. 16th, he was created Lord Baltimore of Longford, in Ireland, by the name of Sir Geo. Calvert, of Danbywisk, &c., *and about that time* became a member of the Catholic church."*

Besides the authorities Cambden and Wood, Dodd refers to MS. for the life of Calvert.

One of the most extraordinary of the attacks on Fuller's veracity is that founded on the *supposed* date of Calvert's charter for Avalon. The zeal with which the orator elaborates his argument upon this topic, requires more time to analyze his quotations and exhibit how utterly fallacious are his conclusions, than under other circumstances would be bestowed on them. Mr. Kennedy says:

"Now Calvert settled his colony in Newfoundland in 1621; and Oldmixon and others, amongst whom I find our own historian Bozman,† have ascribed this settlement to his wish to provide an asylum for persecuted Catholics. Although I can not discover any warrant for this statement, either in the history of the times or in what is known of Calvert, yet the assertion of it by Oldmixon and those who have preceded or followed him, demonstrates that they did not credit the story of the conversion as given by Fuller: for the author of the Worthies of England dates the conversion three years later than the settlement of Avalon, and affirms it to be the motive to Calvert's resignation of a high trust, which, he informs us, the secretary supposed he could not conscientiously hold as a Catholic."‡

* The Church History of England, vol. iii, folio, p. 46. Brussels: 1742.

† History of Maryland, vol. i, p. 232.

‡ Discourse, pp. 30 and 31.

Now the inference that Oldmixon discredits Fuller is entirely unauthorized, as are, also, the deductions from the date of *the settlement*, 1621, as being the date of *the charter*.

The orator was not aware that Calvert had made a settlement in Newfoundland *before* he obtained a charter for Avalon, and therefore he has himself fallen into the error of confounding the settlement of Capt. Wynne in 1621, when Sir George Calvert was secretary of state and a Protestant, with the endeavor to find an asylum for the practice of his religion in 1626, and later, when he had become a Catholic. But while the orator quotes Bozman's authority, he has no right to assume 1621 as the date of the charter for Avalon. Oldmixon does not profess to give the date of the charter. But Bozman furnishes the highest testimony that has been produced to show that the date of the charter for Avalon was 1623. This statement is made in the Bibliotheca Americana, published in London, 1789, and its authority is the catalogue of MSS. relative to America preserved in the British museum. Bozman adds: "In corroboration of this state of the charter of Avalon may be cited the Geographical Grammar of Patrick Gordon, published in 1719, a work which has been always deservedly held in high estimation by literary men. He therein, under the head of Newfoundland, thus speaks of its government: 'In the year 1623, Sir George Calvert, principal secretary of state, having obtained a patent for a part of Newfoundland, erected the same into a province (called Avalon), and therein settled a plantation, which after him was enjoyed by his son Cecilius Lord Baltimore.'"*

Oldmixon does not contradict Fuller, but in fact confirms his statement. For after stating that Sir George Calvert was not in Newfoundland until after 1624, he adds: "His zeal for the Romish religion would have been no lett to his fortune in King James' opinion, if he could have borne the restraint of a disguised Protestant, which he could not, and so resolved to withdraw to Newfoundland *for conscience' sake*, as the Puritans were at the same time for the same cause withdrawing to New England."*

Now the truth is Sir George Calvert was interested in Newfoundland several years before he obtained a grant of Avalon from the king. This interest was assigned to him by Sir William Vaughan, who had an interest in a patent for the south part of Newfoundland as early as 1617, and resided there many years. Vaughan and Calvert had been students together at Oxford. Being disappointed in his expectations of his colony, Vaughan assigned a portion of his grant to Viscount Falkland and to Lord Baltimore, the latter of whom, Vaughan remarks, "to his immortal praise, *has lived there these two last years with his lady and children*."† It was therefore in furtherance of this interest that Sir George sent Capt. Wynne thither in 1621, and, as an evidence that this settlement preceded the date of the charter for Avalon, we find the following passage in Capt. Wynne's letter written from Newfoundland to Sir George Calvert, dated 17th of August, 1622: "If a plantation be there this next spring settled, and your honor will let *me be furnished with charters*, and give me leave to work, I make no doubt but to give your honor and the rest of the undertakers such content that you shall have good encouragement to proceed."‡

Having shown the fallacy of the orator's statement that *Avalon* was *chartered* and settled in 1621, all his arguments founded upon that hypothesis asserting that Calvert was a Catholic in 1619, and imputing to him oaths which, as such, he could not conscientiously take, must fall.

* Hist. Maryland, vol. i, note, pp. 240 and 241.

* British Empire in America, vol. i, p. 9.

† From Vaughan's book, the Newlander's Cure, printed in London, 1630, quoted in N. A. Review, vol. iv, p. 291, &c. See also Vaughan's life in Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. ii, p. 528, and notices of him and his various writings composed in Newfoundland, in Oldmixon, vol. i, pp. 7, 8.

‡ Oldmixon, vol. i, p. 10.

The orator's whole assumption in regard to the date of the Avalon charter and settlement is unauthorized, and the authorities he refers to contradict his statements.

It is surprising that the orator should find any support to his hypothesis in the remark of Arthur Wilson (p. 38) about those lords who were *popishly affected* in 1620. The term was used by one political party to designate the other party, who were endeavoring to bring about a marriage between the prince of Wales and the infanta of Spain, and, although James himself was the head of the party, those who were furthering his views were denounced as "popishly affected," precisely as the most violent members of our two former political parties characterized the democrats as under French influence, and the federalists as British tories. The extravagant appellations of political partisans can never be depended on as just designations of the principles of their opponents. It is most probable that when Wilson spoke of "the earls of Worcester and Arundel, and the Lord Digby and Sir George Calvert and Sir Richard Weston, and others popishly affected,"* he only meant to denote their coöperation with Catholics in their efforts for the Spanish match, to which the Catholics looked for relief from the penal laws, and with good reason, as it is matter of history that James had agreed to a secret treaty with Spain, binding himself to alleviate the sufferings of the persecuted Catholics.

At the close of his attempts to prove the insincerity of Calvert in his religious profession, Mr. Kennedy remarks, with complacent confidence, that "the evidence thus accumulated upon this point leaves us no room to doubt the inaccuracy of Fuller's statement."† We would repeat that our orator has used singular industry in collecting disjointed passages of history, and has strained inferences from them to sustain his novel proposition, but has overlooked or omitted many facts and consequences that would seem to belong to the subject, but are opposed to his hypothesis.

* Discourse, p. 38. † Ibid. p. 39.

We do not impute to him any "sectarian spirit," nor question that he is "incapable of being enlisted as a partisan in such a cause."* That is his affair, not ours. We do not attribute motives, we are discussing facts; to ascertain the truth of a history which Mr. Kennedy has impeached, and whether the estimate to be made, hereafter, of our orator, be more or less favorable to his talents for history, or his spirit of justice, will be of as little consequence in the decision of this question of Maryland history, as is the declaration of his "respect for all who honestly profess the faith of either of the *churches* to which this *controversy* refers."† As the orator refers to churches, we will add: there is one expression in the Discourse which, from the use that has sometimes been made of it, is regarded as disrespectful, and therefore does not obtain in polite conversation as a designation of the Catholic church. We allude to the term "Romish,"‡ which, though quite innocent in itself, from having figured as a nickname or term of reproach in the English and colonial laws for restraining and punishing Roman Catholics, grates upon the Catholic ear, just as the political designation of tory, which is not reproachful in England, would be disagreeable to an American, although only used to characterize him as the supporter of the administration of his own country. Mr. Kennedy is too well bred to use, in conversation with the Chief Justice of the United States, or the Archbishop of Baltimore, the appellative of the Romish church, if he wished to speak to them of the ecclesiastical society of which they are members; and hence he should have selected another term, when speaking to his polished auditory, of a church whose name is so well known.

Although "Fuller's veracity" has been sufficiently vindicated, we find a note on the 18th page of the "Discourse" which

* Ibid. p. 34. † Ibid. p. 34. ‡ Ib. p. 28.

we think is conclusive against all Mr. Kennedy's surmises that Sir George Calvert was a Catholic all his life. It is from the London Magazine, June, 1768, and relates to the grant of lands in Ireland from King James to Sir George Calvert. As our orator has not favored us with any illustration of the important incidents referred to in the extract, we must supply the omission by some explanatory history, the relevancy of which will, we hope, excuse its length.

The unsuccessful result of the various military attempts to conquer the native Irish, and exterminate their religion, by the fierce penal enactments of Elizabeth's reign, satisfied James I that there was some defect in the system of measures pursued. More vigorous military operations were impracticable in the state in which the national finances then were. To pass laws for rooting out the faith of the Irish of greater severity than those of Elizabeth, was impossible. The great aim of the latter had been to substitute a Protestant population for that of the Irish Catholics—English, if possible, but Protestant at all events. To carry into effect this rational scheme for the conversion of the Irish, they were often goaded to desperation, that the English might confiscate their estates. "If once declared rebels, their lands and property lay at the mercy of their pursuers."* Large domains were thus confiscated, and parcelled out among the dependants of the court.† The outraged owners of the soil were often troublesome neighbors to the English colonists, who were too few in number to keep them in subjection. Hence the enforcement of the measures of rapine and spoliation was attended, not only with trouble and danger to the English settlers, but with annoyance to the imperial government, and withal, the pious work of converting the intractable natives made but slow progress. James, whose opinion of his own ability as a legislator, was equal to his estimate of his theological eminence, determined to take the matter in hand, and to *civilize* and *convert* the Irish at once. It is matter of history that James regarded the "plantation of Ireland" as one of the *chefs d'œuvres* of his reign. He commenced on a large scale without delay, and made it a convenient mode of rewarding his needy friends. "Six entire counties in the province of Ulster were confiscated, and nearly five in another."* By the orders and conditions of the plantation of Ulster,† the spoils were divided, first, "to English and Scotch, who are to plant their proportions with English and Scottish tenants;" secondly, to "servitors," and thirdly, to natives, who are to be freeholders. Those of the first class were designated as "undertakers." They and the servitors were bound under penalty never to sell to the *mere Irish,* nor to *Roman Catholics* of any nation; for the disposal to persons who did not take the oath of supremacy, and '*conform themselves in religion* according to his majesty's laws,' was rigorously prohibited and punished."‡ The undertakers were bound to take the oath, "and," says article 7th of the conditions, "to that end *a proviso shall be inserted in their letters patent.*" Art. 8. "The servitors shall take the oath of supremacy, and be conformable in religion as the former undertakers."§

The king's system of plantation worked so successfully in Ulster, for the objects he had in view, that he extended it to other counties; among which was *Longford,* and in 1614 he appointed a special commission to take proper steps for "reducing and settling them."‖ In the fourteenth year of King James was established in Ireland the court of wards, the ostensible object of which "was to educate the heirs of the great *Catholic* families in the *Protestant* religion, and thus prevent the growth of popery."¶

Having now seen what were the designs of King James in his favorite mea-

* Leland, ii, 347.
† Carey's Vindiciæ Hibernicæ, 105, 106, &c.

* Vind. Hib. 174.
† Ibid. 179.
‡ Ibid. 179.
§ Ibid.
‖ Ibid. 191.
¶ Ibid. 214.

sure, the plantation of Ireland, we are prepared for the first part of Mr. Kennedy's note, which is in the following words:

"The king being given to understand that divers towns and lands within the late *plantation of Longford,* amounting to about two thousand three hundred and four acres, remained in his hands undisposed of, he conferred the same on Sir George Calvert, his principal secretary, as a person worthy of his royal bounty, and *one that would plant and build the same according to his late instructions for the better furtherance and strengthening of the said plantation.* The grant was accordingly made 18th February, 1621."*

We ask, was Sir George Calvert a Catholic at the time of receiving this grant, made upon the conditions expressed in it, as appears by the above extract of Mr. Kennedy? To believe so is to suppose him capable of an act worthy of the utmost infamy!

According to King James' "*instructions*" he would have been bound not only to take "the oath of supremacy, and to conform in religion," "*to which end a proviso was inserted in the letters patent,*"—but also to use active measures to extirpate the Catholic religion from the territory contained within his grant. Could he then have been a Catholic in 1621? We are willing to abide by Mr. Kennedy's answer to the question.

We shall now be able to understand the remainder of Mr. Kennedy's note, which is as follows:

"This patent Calvert 'surrendered to the king 12th February, 1624 (1625 according to the present calendar,) and had a re-grant thereof in fee-simple, dated at Westminster, 11th March following, to hold as the castle of Dublin in free and common soccage, by fealty only for all other rents, with the erection of the premises in the barony of Longford into the manor of Baltimore, and those in the barony of Rathlyne into the manor of Ulford, with the usual privilege of courts, parks, free warren,' &c.—*London Magazine, June,* 1768."†

We are not informed of a reason for this "*surrender*" of the patent, but we are told it was made February, 1624; and this was the time when he resigned his office as secretary of state, and "freely confessed himself to the king that he was *then* become a Roman Catholic, so that he must be wanting to his trust or violate his conscience in discharging his office."* Neither could he, as a Catholic, carry on the "plantation" agreeably to the conditions of his patent, and consequently his title would have been *void in law.* Yet the king had bestowed this grant upon him three years before, of his "royal bounty," in consideration of faithful services, which had been increased since that time, by fidelity to his sovereign in promoting his favorite project, "the Spanish match." For this he had borne from the opposition the reproach of being a "Hispaniolized papist." His claims upon the monarch's gratitude were greater than when he had first received the grant; and it would have been an act of meanness in the king to permit his faithful minister to lose the benefit of his former bounty—which probably had thus far been a cause of expenditure rather than a source of profit. His surrender placed it again in the hands of the king, because he could not hold it by the former conditions; but there was no impediment to his receiving an unconditional title in fee simple; and, accordingly, we find that within a month afterwards the king gave him a re-grant of the same land, in fee simple, to hold in free and common soccage *by fealty only* for all other rents.

Weak, inconsistent, and contemptible as James was in his general character, there were moments when he exhibited an amiable tenderness, and occasions on which he showed that he prized merit, and was not destitute of gratitude. We are not left to conjecture the effect made upon the king by Calvert's avowal of his conversion to the ancient church—for Fuller says his frankness "so highly affected the king that he continued him

*** Mr. Kennedy's Discourse, p. 18.** **† Ib.**

*** Ibid. p. 17.**

privy counsellor all his reign, and created him Lord Baltimore."

But there is another objection to our orator's assertion "that if Calvert ever was a Protestant, there is no record of it within our knowledge."* Of all the enemies in church or state which the Catholics had to contend against, Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, was the most subtle, implacable, and powerful. He had displayed the bitterest hostility to Catholics during the previous reign of Queen Elizabeth, whose prime minister he was. And the nine years in which he was prime minister to James were signalized by his uncompromising opposition. The exercise of his eminent abilities, assisted by his great experience in the policy of Elizabeth, contributed more than the efforts of any other individual in England, to the devices by which the professors of the ancient faith were spoiled of their possessions; and, with their clergy, consigned to prison, to the rack, and to the gibbet. Yet this keen and able minister, the Talleyrand of his day, who had even deceived Elizabeth herself,† was the early patron and friend of George Calvert.‡ Calvert was twenty-six or twenty-eight years of age when he entered into his service; he continued in his confidence several years, and was recommended by Cecil to the office of clerk of the privy council. Could Calvert have been a Catholic then? His entrance into Cecil's employ was at the period when the examinations and trials growing out of the gunpowder plot excited suspicions throughout all England. Cecil himself took part in these examinations—and is it possible that he could have been deceived so far as to have a Catholic for his confidential secretary?§ To believe that Calvert could have deceived Cecil in the matter of religion, is to be credulous to a degree only inferior to the consummate hypocrisy which it presupposes Calvert to have been capable of.

* Discourse, p. 34.
† Biograph. Brit. Art. Cecil.
‡ Discourse, p. 16.
§ Cecil is described by Sir Fulk Grevill in his "Five Years of King James" as "the only supporter of the Protestant faction, disclosure of treasons, and the only Mercury of our time."

But among the most curious of Mr. Kennedy's arguments to prove that Calvert was always a Catholic, and not a convert, is that founded upon the sentiments of King James. He says, p. 32:

"There was no great asperity in the feelings of James against such Catholics as had been bred and nurtured in that faith. Towards such he was in the habit of expressing the most tolerant opinions. But he was noted for the avowal of particular hostility against such as had been converts from the Protestant church."

Now if there was one king of England who more than all others was conspicuous for his inconsistency, and the avowal of opposite sentiments to gain his ends, that king was James I. Sully, who, as Lord Rosny, had been embassador at the English court, pronounced him the *wisest fool* in Europe—and the character was a compliment. McCauley says of him:

"The follies of the man increased the contempt which was produced by the feeble policy of the sovereign. The most ridiculous weaknesses seemed to meet in the wretched Solomon of Whitehall: pedantry, buffoonery, garrulity, low curiosity, the most contemptible personal cowardice. Nature and education had done their best to produce a finished specimen of all that a king ought not to be. The sovereign whom James most resembled was, we think, Claudius Cæsar. Both had the same feeble, vacillating temper, the same childishness, the same coarseness, the same poltroonery."*

Before James came to the throne of England, he endeavored to enlist the Catholics in his favor, by holding out hopes of relief from the cruel laws then in force against them.† Their attachment to the house of Stuart, and their sufferings in the cause of his unfortunate mother, gave them claims upon his gratitude. He had bound himself to grant them indulgence, by his promises to their envoys and the

* Nugent's Memorials of Hampden.
† Mr. Kennedy's quotation from Bishop Burnet, Discourse, p. 34 and 35, is evidence of this fact.

foreign Catholic princes. He invited some of them to court, and promised to protect them from the penalties of recusancy. And yet, in 1604, on 22d February, he required all priests to depart the realm before 19th March, under pain of having the sanguinary laws of Elizabeth executed against them without mercy; and many of them were shipped off. In that year and the next, the two first of his reign, one priest and five laymen were executed for their religion.* To the dismay of those Catholics who had relied upon assurances of the king's lenity, the legal fine for recusancy of £20 per lunar month was again demanded, and not only for the time to come, but for *the whole period of the suspension.* This atrocious regulation, by crowding thirteen payments into one, reduced many families to beggary. To satisfy the wants of his needy countrymen, whose importunities for money were incessant, he transferred to them his claims on the more opulent recusants, with authority to proceed against them by law in his name, unless the sufferers should submit to compound by granting an annuity for life, or the immediate payment of a large sum.† Yet this is the king who, according to the "Discourse," "was in the habit of expressing the most tolerant opinions towards Catholics who had been bred and nurtured in that faith."

But, when James began to desire the union between his son and the infanta of Spain, it became necessary to relax the severity of the laws against Catholics, to obtain a favorable answer from the Spanish king. The prisons had been crowded with priests; yet, from 1607 to 1618, *only sixteen* had been put to death for the exercise of their functions.‡ From the fines of lay Catholics for recusancy, the king derived a *net* income of £36,000, or $180,000 *per annum.*§ "When the king," says Dr. Lingard, "in 1616, preparatory

* Challenor, vol. ii, pp. 12 and 13.
† Lingard, ix, p. 31.
‡ Challenor's Memoirs, vol. ii.
§ Hardwicke Papers, i, 446.

to the Spanish match, granted liberty to the Catholics confined under the penal laws, four thousand prisoners obtained their discharge.* In 1620 he promised the king of Spain relaxation of the laws in favor of Catholics; in July, 1622, to induce the pope to be favorable to the match, this relaxation took place; and in 1623 James bound himself by the word of a king that the English Catholics should no longer suffer restraint, provided they confined the exercise of their worship to private houses.†

The match was broken off in the last days of 1623, and when the king met the parliament in Feb., 1624, he declared that although he had connived at a less rigorous execution of the penal laws, yet to dispense with, to forbid, or alter any that concerned religion, "he had never promised or yielded—never thought it with his heart, nor spoke it with his mouth."‡ And yet our orator discredits a grave historian because his statement of a fact which occurred in his time, and has been unquestioned for two centuries, is inconsistent with the feelings and character of James I, as displayed towards his Catholic subjects.

"It is against all rational deduction of human conduct to believe, in the face of James' known aversion against converts to the Catholic from the Protestant faith, and his continued manifestation of kindness to Calvert, that the story told by Fuller, of Calvert's conversion, can be true."§

Rational deduction from James' conduct! Why nothing rational could be deduced from it. He was a living paradox, a practical contradiction. What his tongue was engaged in declaring, his hands were employed in contradicting. And the utmost exertion of his abilities were sometimes used to perpetrate acts of duplicity and to maintain falsehood.‖

* Hist. Eng. vol. ix, p. 128.
† Lingard, ix, 163.
‡ Lingard ix, p. 175. Authorities stated.
§ Mr. Kennedy's Discourse, p. 33.
‖ See the extract from Prynne 44, Hardwicke papers, i, 428—430 in Dr. Lingard's Hist. Eng. note, p. 175, vol. ix. Philda. edition.

The attempt to show that Calvert was under no necessity to resign his office, either on account of the obligations of conscience or from the dispositions and sentiments of the king, we regard as the most unfortunate of the "Discourse." Of the dispositions of the king we shall say no more. But the casuistry employed to justify Calvert in retaining office, after he had changed his religion, seems to have been held in no estimation by a man of Calvert's instinct of honor and sound moral principle. He had, as a Protestant, taken the oath as to the king's supremacy, as a condition precedent to his holding a cabinet appointment; but, according to this doctrine, if he changed his religion during his continuance in office, so as to hold that spiritual supremacy was in the successor of St. Peter, and not in the head of the state, it threw upon him no disqualification, no obligation to discover his change of sentiment; so that a man may to-day, as a condition of office, swear to support a king's supremacy, and to-morrow, when the oath becomes repugnant to his conscience, continue without blame in a station of the highest trust and confidence without revealing the change to his employer. Such conduct in a minister of state, where the church was essentially connected with the government, would exhibit a man, in the language of the orator, "remarkably calm and unobtrusive, ever compromising and politic in his religious opinions."* But Lord Baltimore appears to have been made of more sterling metal. With the sincerity of a Christian and the candor of a man of honor, he preferred laying down the honors and emoluments of his high station, telling his sovereign that "he was then become a Roman Catholic, so that he must be wanting to his trust, or violate his conscience in discharging his office." The judgment of the world for two hundred years has pronounced his eulogium, and stamped the seal of its approbation upon this honorable act. But in truth Calvert's conduct, assigning his profession of the Catholic faith to the king as his reason for withdrawing from the cabinet, is conclusive against our orator's surmise that he was a Catholic all his life. For, if he had concealed his religion so long from the king, why should he now declare it when the surrender of his post was the consequence?

* Discourse, p. 27.

Our orator is peculiarly unhappy in the witnesses he names to prove the soundness of the course he would advocate in Calvert's case. He says:

"There were several Catholic noblemen who enjoyed the confidence and friendship of James, and received high dignities from him: there were, for example, the two Howards, Lords Thomas and Henry, one the son and the other the brother of the duke of Norfolk, who were both brought into the ministry, the first being created earl of Norfolk, and made lord treasurer, the second earl of Northampton."

These specimens of Catholicity will not bear the test of history. "Lord Thomas Howard, earl of Norfolk, partly through fear, partly through desire of the king's favor, he accommodated himself to the time," and "in the royal chapel at Whitehall, on the 25th of December, 1615, he publicly received the sacrament according to the forms of the established church."* Of Lord Henry, earl of Northampton, Walpole says: "At the king's request, he abandoned popery. He had even been a competitor with Grindal for the archbishopric of York, but miscarried from the doubtfulness of his religion."† Sir Fulk Grevill says of him, that, having been brought up a papist, "by the persuasion of the king, changeth his opinion of religion in outward appearance, and to the intent to reap unto himself more honor, became a Protestant, for which cause he was created earl of Northampton."‡

Mr. Kennedy, having disposed of the personal history of Lord Baltimore very much to his satisfaction, next proceeds to

* Tierney's Arundel, vol. ii, p. 427.
† Noble Authors, vol. ii.
‡ The Five Years of King James.

demolish the claims of the Catholic proprietary and settlers of Maryland to the glory of having established religious liberty, and to crown King Charles I with that honor, and this we consider his third proposition. We will let the orator speak or himself:

"The glory of Maryland toleration, which has been so fruitful a theme of panegyric to American historians, is truly in the charter, not in the celebrated act of 1649. There is more freedom of conscience, more real toleration, an hundred-fold, in this charter of a Protestant prince to a Catholic nobleman, than in that act so often recalled to our remembrance, in reference to which I propose to take some other opportunity to review its history and its supposed claims to our admiration. The glory of Maryland toleration is in the charter—not in the act of 1649."*

As this is a professional point, we will, in order not to have what the equity lawyers call a multifarious bill, defer the consideration of the act of 1649 until the orator shall have prepared those illustrations which he promises, to enable mankind to estimate its "supposed claims to our admiration"—but with this remark, that Maryland toleration was coeval with the foundation of the colony, to as great an extent as it was after the passage of that act.

Mr. Kennedy reasons hypothetically from his own peculiar construction of the charter, and we have little more than his surmises here, as in other parts of his discourse, against the recorded facts of history. With a sophistry unworthy of such a subject, he argues that because the charter "secured to all emigrants who chose to demand it the free exercise of the religion of the *church of England*,"† therefore, the glory of Maryland toleration is in the charter. But surely this is a *non sequitur*. For intolerance, at that day, mainly consisted in requiring all British subjects to conform to the religion of the church of England. It was this intolerance that incensed the Puritans in England, that subjected the Catholics and dissenters to the cruel laws against nonconformists, that drove the Brownists from their native land, and finally led the pilgrims of Massachusetts to encounter the rigors of their painful settlement. Was not that intolerance in Virginia which refused to Catholics and dissenters permission to exercise their respective religions there? But intent upon proving that the glory of toleration was in the charter of Maryland, the orator asserts that all Christians "found there a *written covenant* of security against all encroachment on their rights of conscience by the lord proprietary or his government."*

The inference from the orator's assertions would be, that this "*written covenant*" is in the charter. But we look in vain for it in that instrument. The author does not designate it. It can not be in "that proviso which prohibits any interpretation of the charter which might 'change, prejudice, or diminish' the true Christian religion, or the allegiance due to the crown,"—for he assures us that that "was *undoubtedly* intended to guard the rights of those persons attached to the *English church* who might emigrate to the province,"† and he defines allegiance as including the acknowledgment of the king's supremacy "as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal."‡ If, then, Mr. Kennedy's construction of the only clause in the charter which has relation to the subject be correct, there was no stipulation or provision made for freedom of religious worship to any but the members of the church of England; and, of course, neither Catholics nor dissenters had in the charter "a written covenant of security against all encroachment on their rights of conscience."§ We can not find in the charter a single stipulation on the subject except the above, which Mr. Kennedy has quoted from the 22d section.

As to "the patronage and advowsons of all churches, and the sole authority

* Discourse, p. 42. † Ibid. p. 41.

* Ibid. p. 44. † Ibid. p. 27, 28.
‡ Ibid. § Ib. p. 44.

to license the building or founding of churches and chapels,"* conferred upon the proprietary by the fourth section of the charter, Mr. Kennedy remarks:

"In regard to these last two subjects, I beg to observe that they apply strictly and exclusively to the church of England, the Protestant Episcopal church."†

We are not entirely satisfied that we understand the application which the orator would make of that portion of the Maryland charter which relates to patronage and advowsons. If he means to say that the power conferred on Calvert in these respects was one that "placed him under obligations, on this point of supremacy and allegiance, which, as an honorable man, he could not have incurred if he entertained the scruples imputed to him,"‡ we should think that our orator exhibits what the schoolmen would call a little rustiness in the laws regulating this species of hereditaments. For Catholics and members of every denomination had a perfect right in the reign of Charles I, by the laws of the land, to present to benefices in the established church of England. The advowsons which Catholics had in this church were first vested in the two universities in the reign of William and Mary, and it was not until the twelfth year of Queen Anne that they were *disabled* from presenting to ecclesiastical benefices. So that throughout the reigns of the Stuarts, and for more than half a century after the grant of the Maryland charter, this concession—which, according to our orator, Lord Baltimore could not accept without violating obligations to his king which were inconsistent with his duties as a Catholic—was an *existing right,* possessed by every Catholic in the British realm to whom advowsons might have descended. In his anxiety to enhance the merits of Charles I, and to depreciate the character of Lord Baltimore, our orator seems to have drawn more upon his fancy than his professional erudition, for the law relating to religious benefices. Mr. Charles Butler, the distinguished annotator of Coke upon Littleton, who may be presumed to know the law on this subject as well as most men of his profession, informs us that it was at a period long subsequent to the date of the charter for Maryland, that parliament interfered with the right of Catholics to present to religious benefices. I. W. & M. ch. 26, vested the presentations belonging to Catholics in the universities,* and "one law (12 Anne) was passed against the Catholics in her reign: it disabled them from presenting to ecclesiastical benefices, and vested the right of presenting to them in the universities. This, perhaps, is the penal law of which the Catholics have the least reason to complain, as it may be alleged that there is an evident incongruity in allowing any denomination of Christians to appoint the religious functionaries of another: yet it should not be forgotten that, as the law of England now stands, the unbaptized Quaker, and even the Jew, may present to benefices in her church."†

The author's "conclusion"‡ that Calvert could not have scrupled to take the oath of supremacy because he had received the rights referred to, and which were common to many lords of a domain at that period, derives as little force from the "import" of the clause of the charter which confers it, as that instrument can claim of the glory for Maryland toleration, for merely securing protection to members of the church of England, in the exercise of their religious worship.

Mr. Kennedy has failed to establish his third proposition by any better evidence than his own assertion. For the record does not bear him out, and we must attribute the honor of a policy which has challenged the admiration of mankind, to the proprietary and first settlers of Maryland, and not to the king; not to the charter. And such appears to have been Mr.

* Ibid. p. 25. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. p. 32.

* Butler's Hist. Mem. vol. iii, p. 136.

† Butler's Hist. Memoirs, v. iii, pp. 148 & 149. London, 1822. ‡ Discourse, pp. 31 and 32.

Kennedy's own opinion in 1838. For, in his *Rob of the Bowl*, an admitted work of fiction, but of which the author declares "it is proper for him to say that he has aimed to perform his task with historical fidelity," he thus expressed himself in the character of historian:

"Cecilius Calvert, the founder of the province, with a liberality as wise as it was unprecedented, had erected his government upon a basis of perfect religious freedom. *He did this at a time when he might have incorporated his own faith* with the political character of the colony, and maintained it by a course of legislation which would, perhaps, even up to the present day, have rendered Maryland the chosen abode of those who now acknowledge the founder's creed. His views, however, were more expansive. It was his design to furnish in Maryland a refuge not only to the weary and persecuted votaries of his own sect, but an asylum to all who might wish for shelter in a land where opinion should be free, and conscience undisturbed."*

In the eloquent language of the Historical Society's first orator: "The whole tenor of the early proprietary administration breathed but the element and fostering spirit of universal Christianity—of unstinted toleration within the bounds of the Christian faith. The terms of the governor's oath enjoined as early as 1636 this scrupulous charity in requiring that 'he would not by himself or another directly or indirectly trouble, molest, or discountenance, any one believing, or professing to believe in Jesus Christ for or in respect of religion, that he would make no difference of persons in conferring offices, favors, or rewards, for or in respect of religion, but merely as they should be found faithful and well deserving and endued with moral virtues and abilities; that his aim should be public unity, and that if any person or officer should molest any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ, on account of his religion, he would protect the person molested and punish the offender.'"*

Now whence came this oath which marks at the earliest period of our records the practical freedom of religion in Maryland? Clearly not from the charter, nor from the laws or usage of England, nor from the example of any other colony. Doubtless it was prescribed by Lord Baltimore himself. The ablest writer on our early history tells us: "Lord Baltimore *laid the foundation* of his province upon the broad basis of security to property, and of freedom in religion; establishing Christianity agreeably to the old common law, of which it is a part, without allowing preëminence to any particular sect."† The incident quoted by Mr. Kennedy‡ from Bozman, proves that at least in 1638, and we know not how much earlier, the governor, Leonard Calvert, *had already issued* a proclamation to prohibit "unseasonable disputations in point of religion, tending to the disturbance of the public peace and quiet of the colony, and to the opening of faction in religion." And the party accused of a violation of public peace by using language offensive to Protestants is fined, and imprisoned until he shall find sureties for his good behaviour. This took place within four years after the settlement, and marks the practice of that early period to have been the same as was afterwards established by law, by the act of 1649. As early as 1637, Governor Calvert wrote a letter to Boston, inviting those of the settlers there, who were disturbed on account of their religion, to come to Maryland: assuring them not only of the liberty of free and unmolested exercise of their religion, but of perfect equality with our colonists in all civil rights.§ When the Puritan ministers were forbidden to preach in Virginia, and their brethren constrained to emigrate, they were welcomed to Maryland. "Mankind then," says Chalmers,

* Vol. i, p. 52.

* C. F. Mayer's Discourse, p. 15.
† Chalmers' Po. An. p. 208.
‡ Discourse, p. 44.
§ Winthrop's Journal.

"beheld a scene new and uncommon, exhibited on colonial theatres: they saw in Massachusetts the Independents persecuting every different sect; the church retaliating on them in Virginia; the Roman Catholics of Maryland alone, actuated by the generous spirit of Christianity, tolerating and protecting all."*

The act of 1649 was but the imbodiment of principles which had regulated the practice of the colony from its foundation, and those principles were neither prescribed, nor hinted at, in the charter.

The historian of the government of Maryland, and the ablest expositor of its charter and laws, sustains these views. Having described the course of the government as "one which tolerated all Christian churches and established none," he says: "This system of toleration was coeval with the colony itself, and *sprang from the liberal and sagacious views of the first proprietary*. The oath of office prescribed by him to his governors in the province, from 1636 until the enactment of the act of 1649, is in itself a text book of official duty, &c. These, *his cherished principles* of religious liberty, were *at length engrafted* by law upon the government of the province, in the year 1649. The act which gave them legal sanction is one of the proudest memorials of our colonial history."†

But while we can not find a clause in the charter to sustain Mr. Kennedy's assertion, we are able, unfortunately, to furnish historical proofs that the virtue of toleration was not in the charter: because toleration was afterwards refused, and freedom of religious worship prohibited during the existence of the same charter. "In 1692 the church of England was established by law, and, until the American revolution, it continued to be the established church of the colony." In 1704 "an act to prevent the growth of popery within the province," inhibited, by severe penalties, the Catholic clergy from the exercise of their spiritual functions: Catholics were prohibited from engaging in the instruction of youth,"* &c. &c., and not until 1702 were the provisions of the English toleration act extended to Protestant Dissenters; "and thus," says McMahon, "in a colony which was established by Catholics, and grew up to power and happiness under the government of a Catholic, the Catholic inhabitant was the only victim of religious intolerance."† "The government of Maryland thus became, and continued until the revolution, exclusively Protestant, and the Catholics were taxed to sustain a religion and a government to which they were emphatically strangers."‡ Now if there was any guarantee of toleration in the charter which made "MARYLAND THE LAND OF THE SANCTUARY;"§ if "all Christians found there a written covenant of security against all encroachment on their rights of conscience,"‖ how did it happen that Protestant Dissenters, for several years, and Catholics up to the year 1776, were restrained from the exercise of their own religion, and that both, for that whole period, were compelled to pay for the support of another church? It is true that for the first twenty-six years the power of appointing a governor was taken from the proprietary, and exercised by the king: but the only cause for this was "found in the single fact that the proprietary was a Catholic."¶ Yet after the Baltimore family became Protestant in 1715, they immediately resumed their dominion over Maryland, and continued in possession, until the declaration of independence. During the whole of this period the charter of Maryland was in force, the whole organization and frame of government existed under, and by virtue of the charter. The legislature, judicial tribunals, and all officers, were indebted to the charter for their official existence, and it alone imparted legality to their proceedings. The charter was never annulled or abrogated; and if it con-

* Political Annals, p. 219.
† McMahon's Maryland, p. 226, &c.

* Ibid. 245. † Ibid. 246. ‡ Ibid. 281.
§ Discourse, p. 44. ‖ Ibid. ¶ McMahon, 278.

tained the vital spark which first enkindled the flame of religious liberty at the city of St. Mary's, that sacred flame could not have been extinguished by any act of the proprietary, or of the government. But no; the glory of Maryland toleration is not in the charter, and the history of that instrument, as appears by what has been developed, will prove that no peculiar feature had been given to it, because Charles was "a Protestant prince," and Calvert "a Catholic nobleman."*

It may be remarked that the only references in the charter to the subject of religion are incidental, with the exception of that clause which refers to the patronage and advowsons, &c., of churches, of which we have already disposed. The twenty-second clause directs that, in any doubts about the meaning of the charter, that interpretation of it which is most favorable to the proprietary shall be applied, and then makes the following proviso, to which so much importance has been given by Mr. Kennedy: "Provided always that no interpretation thereof be made whereby God's holy and true Christian religion, or the allegiance due to us, our heirs, and successors, may in any wise suffer by change, prejudice, or diminution." If we admit Mr. Kennedy's construction of the charter, it would only follow that members of the church of England were to be secured in their religious liberty in Maryland,† and consequently the proprietary was under no obligation to extend the same privilege to Catholics and dissenters, who were denied freedom of religious worship by the laws of England, and hence it would follow that the unlimited liberty to all Christians, granted in Maryland, was the free act of the proprietary and the first settlers. But it was not only in the toleration extended to those of different creeds who came to settle in the province that the liberality of the Calverts was conspicuous; for we have seen that the governor actually invited such as were oppressed for conscience' sake in New England and Virginia to come to Maryland and participate in the blessings of her enlightened and liberal policy. Assuredly the charter did not require the exercise of so expanded a liberality as this, and, therefore, the merit, which Mr. Kennedy claims for that instrument, is surpassed by the more enlarged practical liberality exercised by the governor and the first settlers.

Did we even suppose the charter to have bound the proprietary more closely than Mr. Kennedy contends for, and to have required, what it did not, that he should have debarred the province to no one professing Christianity in general; even by this vague and unauthorized interpretation, the liberal views of the proprietary are eminently conspicuous. For, considering the spirit and circumstances of the times, it would have been a very easy matter for him to imbue the legislation of the colony with a spirit hostile to civil and religious liberty, had such a disposition been lurking in his own bosom. Mr. Charles F. Mayer has very justly observed that "if intolerance had been *in the hearts* of these excellent men, it would readily and assiduously have imbodied itself in enactments and institutions; and restrictions in that spirit would have had their iron rule in evasions of the chartered interdict, express or constructive. Long, too, before the sufferings of the oppressed could have reached the ears of English royalty, the odious discriminations might have spread their affliction and tortured the obnoxious to quiescence."* In fact, the history of Massachusetts furnishes proof that such measures of intolerance were not only possible, but actually carried into effect with impunity; not only in violation of the letter of her charter, but in direct opposition to the spirit of the existing laws of England. The case we allude to was that of John and Samuel Browne, two settlers, both of them members of the colonial council, and one of them a respectable lawyer. For exercising religious worship, according to the forms prescribed by

* Discourse, p. 42. † Ibid. p. 28.

* Mr. Mayer's Discourse, p. 15.

the book of common prayer, they were expelled from Massachusetts. Bancroft says "their worship was forbidden as a mutiny, while the Brownes, who could not be terrified into silence, were seized like criminals, and transported to England. They were banished from Salem because they were churchmen."* Returning to England, they breathed ineffectual menaces, and in fact never received redress. We have already shown (p. 24) what were Mr. Kennedy's opinions in 1838 of the powers of our proprietary on this point. He then asserted that "he might have incorporated his own faith with the political character of the colony, and maintained it by a course of legislation, which would perhaps, even up to the present time, have rendered Maryland the chosen abode of those who now acknowledge the founder's creed." Now are we to credit Mr. Kennedy in 1838, or Mr. Kennedy in 1846?

It is difficult to understand what the orator means by the declaration, "that there is more freedom of conscience, more real toleration, a hundred fold, in this charter of a Protestant prince to a Catholic nobleman, than in that act (of 1649) so often called to our remembrance," &c. It has been seen that the charter does not contain either a covenant for "freedom of conscience," or a guarantee for "toleration:" and Mr. Kennedy is too good a lawyer to hold that any private understanding between the grantor and the grantee would control the interpretation of a perpetual charter under the great seal of England, which solemnly erected a province, and conveyed away a country to the grantee, "and his heirs and assigns *for ever*." Indeed, as Mr. Kennedy has asserted, and it is not denied, that the charter of Maryland is "a transcript, with no other alteration than the locality required, from that which had before been granted by James, for the province of Avalon,"† we could not expect to find in it any peculiar features adapted to the relation of "a Protestant prince" and "a Catholic nobleman." For Calvert was undoubtedly a Protestant when he obtained from King James the charter for Avalon, although he did not go to reside there until some years afterwards, when he had become a convert to the Catholic faith. We may here remark, upon the orator's contradiction of the generally received opinion, that Lord Baltimore was influenced in his plans of colonization by a desire to provide an asylum for Catholics—that, although we have substantiated, by quotations from history, the correctness of the popular belief, there are some circumstances to which we have not sufficiently adverted, that serve to confirm it. It was not until some time after Charles I had ascended the throne, which was in 1625, that Lord Baltimore withdrew from England. With an ample fortune, a fine estate in Yorkshire, an extensive domain in Ireland, and no doubt an establishment in London, he could have had no motives or prospects for the improvement of his family by removing them to Newfoundland. But it is well known that very soon after the commencement of Charles' reign, the attacks of the Puritan party upon the Catholics compelled many of the latter to withdraw from England. The parliament of 1628 that nobly wrung from the king "the petition of right," also petitioned him against that "mystery of iniquity," the concealed toleration of Catholics, and required that "the children of recusants might be educated in the principles of Protestantism."* Avalon, in the far distant island of Newfoundland, offered an asylum for the family of Calvert beyond the range of the iron bigots who then ruled England: and accordingly we find by Vaughan's book printed in London in 1630, that Lord Baltimore had resided in Newfoundland the *last two years with his lady and children.* Experience soon convinced him that Newfoundland was not a suitable place for an asylum, and, after having expended a large sum

* Hist. U. S. vol. i, p. 350
† Discourse, p. 21.

* Lingard, vol. ix, p. 225.

there, he abandoned it. We find him in Virginia in 1628; and his object, as expressly stated by Beverly, was to seek a place there where he and his family might retire for the more quiet exercise of their religion. We think, with Mr. Kennedy, that the Virginians did not look upon Lord Baltimore "in the light of a mere casual visiter," but that he frankly explained his object to be the founding of an asylum for Catholics. At that period the colonists of Virginia were too anxious for the accession of men of the rank and fortune of Lord Baltimore, to have thrown impediments in the way of his settling among them: but they might well have doubted their authority, under the existing laws, and intolerant feeling of the mother country, to sanction the establishment of a Catholic colony; and it would have been unfair, in the highest degree, to have misled him into a settlement, as it would have been imprudent in him to have risked his fortune and happiness in a strange land, without any assurance of that religious liberty for which he was about to renounce his native country. It was, therefore, a much higher motive than mere "self-respect" that led Lord Baltimore to refuse the test oaths, and to forbid his servants to take them. It was the same consistent, conscientious objection which had caused him to resign his office of secretary of state. No other view of the proceeding can explain the tender of the oaths to Calvert; for there was not only no obligation on the part of the Virginia authorities to require these oaths, but Bozman shows* clearly that they had no right to tender them to Lord Baltimore. Had he been in search of a settlement for himself and his family only, he doubtless could have found a suitable place in Virginia, where he might have practised his religion in secret, and the Virginians would have asked him no questions. But his views were more enlarged, and we next find him exploring the Chesapeake for a suitable location for a Catholic colony, and where he might erect an altar to religious liberty.

His gallant exploit in Newfoundland, in defeating the French, gave him, we may suppose, some eclat in England, and a claim upon the gratitude of his sovereign: which was readily acknowledged by the cheap liberality of the grant of an unsettled portion of America: especially as the former grant of Avalon had proved a barren gift to Calvert, though of advantage to his country. Nothing could be more natural than to authorize the new charter to be drawn up in the same form as that for Avalon, which, having been prepared with great care under the late king, when Calvert was a member of the cabinet, thus became the model for that of Maryland, without the slightest reference to the respective belief of "the Protestant prince," or "the Catholic nobleman." Mr. Kennedy says: "I need not relate by what steps he (Calvert) contrived to secure the grant for this province. It was clearly within the limits of the Virginia charter."* This remark would imply some unworthy proceeding on the part of Lord Baltimore. But history records none such. The candid McMahon, who insinuates nothing, but speaks with the dignity of a historian, says: "On his return to England he preferred his application for the grant of the province of Maryland, and sustained, as it was, by the considerations of distinguished services, untiring enterprise, and great moral worth, it was readily acceded to."† As to its being within the limits of the Virginia charter, the same historian informs us that, in 1623, nine years before the Maryland grant, in virtue of a *quo warranto*, the Virginia charters had been *annulled*, "and the rights granted by them revested in the crown. From that period Virginia became what was termed a 'royal government,' and as such there was an inherent right in the crown to alter and contract its boundaries, or to carve new and distinct territories or governments out of it at its

* Hist. Maryland, vol. i, pp. 255 and 256.

* Discourse, p. 20. † Hist. Md. pp. 9 & 10.

pleasure.* Regarding the point of law involved in the question, no higher professional opinion could be desired than that of this eminent lawyer; and he has pronounced the right "incontestable."†

In the endeavor to make his character of Calvert *original*, our orator's remarks upon his parliamentary career may be regarded as a specimen of that peculiar style of eulogy which the poet designates to "damn with faint praise;" but whether he succeeds in proving him "the advocate of the high kingly prerogative, as contradistinguished from the privilege of the legislative body," is of less consequence than to ascertain whether Calvert procured such a charter for Maryland as protected its people from the tyranny of the one and the oppression of the other. In his analysis of the charter for the purpose of exhibiting Lord Baltimore as a man who "was no great admirer of those forms which diffused power amongst the people, and restricted the exercise of it in the magistrate,"‡ we think the orator has done great injustice to his subject. Fortunately Calvert had other "chroniclers of his living actions," and other "heralds of his fame," than Mr. Kennedy, whose commentaries on the charter are furnished more for the purpose of illustrating the life of his *hero*, we should presume, than to exhibit the depth of his own researches on constitutional law, or American history.

"Turning to this instrument, then, we may remark," says Mr. Kennedy, "that it imbodies a scheme of the strongest government known throughout all the American colonies."§

Chalmers makes a similar remark; but he adds what Mr. Kennedy omits: "The privileges conferred upon the *people* are assuredly *superior* to those granted to other colonists,"‖ and McMahon says: "The charter of Maryland exhibits to us the most favorable form of proprietary government." But Mr. Kennedy asserts that

"The proprietary even claimed and practised in the course of the government of the province, the right to dispense with the laws, in accordance with a principle asserted by King James, as a branch of the royal prerogative, and which we may conclude was consonant with Lord Baltimore's own opinion."*

Now we are not aware of any such claim on the part of the proprietary. He held that the initiative, or the right to propound the laws to the legislature was with him; which was denied by that body, and claimed for themselves. Each rejected the body of laws *proposed* by the other: but that was very different from dispensing with the laws. The legislature might as well be said to have claimed the right to dispense with the laws as the proprietary. It was a question, in the infancy of the colony, merely as to who should originate the laws; and under the charter the people carried their point. The comparison to King James, and his royal prerogative, is a mere fancy tint, to give a shade of despotism to Lord Baltimore's character. But, says Mr. Kennedy, he was authorized to summon "whatsoever freemen he chose to take a seat in the legislative assembly, without election by the people, thus enabling him to control the majority of that body,"† and in proof of this power of the proprietary, he quotes a *portion only* of that sentence of the seventh section of the charter which confers the authority to make laws. We give the extract as prefaced and italicised by himself.

"The language of the charter, regarding the summoning of delegates, is:—'Whom we will shall be called together for the framing of laws, when and as often as need shall require, by the aforesaid baron of Baltimore and his heirs, *and in the form which shall seem the best to him or them.*'"‡

Now the clause of the charter which confers the power referred to, has the following significant words in the preceding part of the *same* sentence from which Mr. Kennedy has quoted:

"We grant, &c., unto said baron, &c., power 'to ordain, make, and enact laws, &c. *of and with the advice, assent and ap-*

* Ibid. p. 6. † Ibid. ‡ Discourse, p. 27. § Ibid. p. 24. ‖ Political Annals, p. 204.

* Discourse, p. 42. † Ibid. p. 25. ‡ Ibid. *note*.

probation of the FREEMEN of the same province, *or* of the *greater part of them, or* of their *delegates* or *deputies,* whom WE will *shall* be called together *for the framing of laws* when, and as often as need shall require, by the aforesaid now baron of Baltimore, and his heirs, and in the form which shall seem best to him or them.' "*

Did Mr. Kennedy do justice to the character of Lord Baltimore in quoting from that sentence of the charter—which not only authorizes, but positively commands the organization of a popular legislative body—only so much of it as relates to the form of convoking them? The power to enact laws is confided to the proprietary *and* the people or their representatives, jointly; but it is made the imperative duty of the proprietary to convene them:—"Whom we *will shall* be called together for the framing of laws." Nay, more, the words of the charter provide that the deliberative body on whom this power of legislation is conferred shall be the "freemen, or the *greater* part of them, or *their* delegates or deputies," and as to the form, it is to be that which "shall seem best to *him* or *them.*"

"The colonial history of that period, 1632," says Mr. Kennedy, "furnished abundant examples in the New England settlements, of government on a much more popular basis, and we can not suppose that these were not well understood by Calvert."

Mr. Kennedy does not designate any among the "abundant examples" of these governments on a more "popular basis" in 1632. They exist but in his imagination: which has been taxed too much already. The *only one,* at that period, "the charter on which the freemen of Massachusetts succeeded in erecting a system of independent representative liberty, *did not* secure to them *a single privilege* of *self-government;* but left them, as the Virginians had been left, *without one valuable franchise,* at the mercy of a corporation within the realm. This was so evident, that some of those who had already emigrated clamored that they were become slaves."*

To obviate these difficulties, it was arranged that the "corporation" should emigrate to Massachusetts, which it did in 1630. There, says Chalmers, "the ruling men showed their own temper, by sending forcibly to England those whose opinions or practice they did not believe were sufficiently orthodox."† In 1631 it was "decreed that none shall be admitted to the *freedom* of the company, but such as were church members; that none but *freemen* shall *vote* at elections, or act as magistrates, or *jurymen.*"‡

These regulations were in full force in 1632, and in the only New England settlement which pretended to a charter at that period. And whether popular rights and rational liberty were more safe under such limitations, than under the charter of Maryland, we leave to the impartial to decide. In fact, while the liberties of the New England colonies were but in the germ, those of Maryland were in the full bloom of maturity. Hear the testimony of an enthusiastic son of New England of the present day.

"The fundamental charter of the colony of Maryland, however it may have neglected to provide for the power of the king, was the sufficient frank pledge of the liberties of the colonists, not less than of the rights and interests of the proprietary."§

The orator's opinions about the comparative excellence of different forms of government seem have undergone a remarkable change within the last eight years, if we may judge from the sentiments expressed by him in 1838, about the charter and form of government of Maryland; when he thus referred to them, in the *preface* to his *Rob of the Bowl,* over the signature of the "THE AUTHOR:"

"As a native of the state, he feels a prompt sensibility to the fame of her Catholic founders, and, though differing from

* Bacon's translation of the Charter.

* Bancroft, vol. i, p. 345.
† Political Annal, p. 153. ‡ Ibid.
§ Bancroft's U. States, vol. i, p. 241.

them in his faith, cherishes the remembrance of their noble endeavors to establish religious freedom, with the affection due to what *he believes the most wisely planned* and honestly executed scheme of society which *at that era*, at least, was to be found *in the annals of mankind*."

As the author now contradicts himself, it is not surprising that his present views are at variance with those of every respectable writer on the government of Maryland. Now, we ask again, are we to credit Mr. Kennedy in 1838, or the same gentleman in 1846?

Instead of commending Lord Baltimore for that invaluable privilege secured by the charter to the province of Maryland—of an exemption for its laws and proceedings from any supervision or control by the king or parliament,—Mr. Kennedy only sees in this peculiar privilege a diminution of security "against infractions of the charter,"* and intimates that it was "to strengthen the hand of the proprietary against a supervision which he chose to have as little exercised as possible." Nor does he vouchsafe a word of praise for the exemption for ever, "by express covenant in the charter, from all royal taxation by the crown—from all 'impositions, customs or other taxations, quotas or contributions whatever,' to be levied by the king or his successors."†

But he sums up his judgment of the charter, and delivers his sentence in the following authoritative decree:

"Certainly we may affirm of it that, however beneficent it might be under the ministration of a liberal and wise proprietary, it contains many features which but little coincide with our notions of free or safe government. Considering it as the work of Lord Baltimore himself, it is a very striking exponent of his political opinions," and, we must infer "that he was, in fact, here, as well as in England, the friend of prerogative against privilege."‡

The royalist Chalmers, who had lived and practised law in Maryland, many years, before the revolution, entertained very different sentiments, as appears by the following remarks on these topics:

* Discourse, p. 26. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. p. 27.

"To guard against the irregularities of prerogative, therefore, and not the constitutional authority of parliament, he (Calvert) procured, with that caution which experience inspires, the various clauses before mentioned, to be inserted in his patent. And from all such taxation, and even legislation, the people of Maryland were most assuredly exempted."*

We shall conclude with Mr. McMahon's remarks upon these points:

"The proprietary might, doubtless, have as easily obtained a grant of legislative power, to be exercised solely by himself, and quite as extensive: and the admission of the colonists to participation in it, at once evinces his sagacity, and reflects lustre on his character. It was this exalted privilege, which endeared his government to the people of Maryland: and had they not possessed it, his dominion would soon have been marked by the same arbitrary character, and have shared the same fate with that of the London company. There was another very peculiar feature in the grant of legislative power. The sovereignty of the mother-country was reserved in terms, but the proprietary was under no obligation to transmit the laws of the province to the king, for allowance or disallowance. Thus the vigilance of the crown, in guarding its own prerogatives against silent and gradual encroachments, was in a great measure excluded."†

In the tenth edition of his History of the United States, Bancroft has this record:

"Sir George Calvert died, leaving a name against which the breath of calumny has hardly whispered a reproach."‡

In a future edition he may add that, although history had ennobled that name, for more than two centuries, among the most disinterested, conscientious, and liberal founders of states, it was the ungracious office of a native orator of the state he had founded—in that city whose gratitude, signalized by its monuments, is the proud memorial of his titled name and

* Polit. Ann. p. 205.
† Hist. of Md. p. 155. ‡ Vol. i, p. 244.

fame—to present him to the world as an interested speculator in charters, a temporizing hypocrite in religion, and a selfish and despotic statesman. But that enlightened historian will vindicate the fame of Calvert by pointing to the impartial history of the past, which sparkles with the record of his virtues—whilst he again registers the fact that he "was the first to plan the establishment of popular institutions with the enjoyment of liberty of conscience,"—and he will point to the present prosperous, patriotic, and happy commonwealth, as the monument of his successful policy in adopting "religious freedom as the basis of the state."*

Far better had it been for the fame of Mr. Kennedy, had he never attempted to write the life of Lord Baltimore; which, with the solemn air of a historian, he has made the dullest of his works of fiction; full of grave invention, without wit or humor to enliven it. And far more honorable to his love for his native state, had he withheld the unfilial, though impotent hand which has been extended to deprive the founders of our commonwealth of their glory and fame, as examples to the world in the establishment of a state, upon principles alike sacred to liberty, and sanctified by the charities of religion.

* Ibid.

It is unaccountable how such a production should have fallen from the pen of Mr. Kennedy. Without insinuating that he acted with any evil intention, his inconsistency and signal failure have reminded us of an amusing story that embellished the pages of a spirited ephemeral periodical, which the juvenile efforts of several wits of Baltimore produced, some quarter of a century since, under the title of the *Red Book*. The story we refer to—*The Student of Gottingen*—is composed with grace and elegance, and conveys an excellent moral, that may be useful to all writers. Namely, that an author should never be induced to write by the promptings of evil advisers. The story represents the student at the midnight hour, alone in his chamber, broken down, and at his wit's end to know what he shall do next to make his way through the world. His solitary musings are interrupted by the appearance of the devil in the disguise of a Capuchin friar. After the student has informed him of the cause of his despondency, and requested his counsel, the friar praises his learning and genius, and tells him to *write*. "But what shall I write?" asked the student. The friar dictated, and the story concludes with stating that the student did as the friar had told him, and, as the devil had foreseen—***the student was damned.***

We have adopted the spelling of Sir Walter's name, as given by Oldys and Cayley. This is the spelling in the Indictment for High Treason as well as in the Royal Commission for the voyage to Guiana. In Hall's British Poets a *fac simile* of Sir Walter's *autograph* is given, in which it is spelled "*Ralegh.*"

DISCOURSE

ON THE

LIFE AND CHARACTER

OF

SIR WALTER RALEGH:

DELIVERED BY

J. MORRISON HARRIS,

BEFORE THE

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

MAY 19, 1846.

BEING THE THIRD ANNUAL ADDRESS TO THAT ASSOCIATION.

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MDCCCXLVI.

SIR WALTER RALEGH.

We have opened the volume of History, this evening, at a page crowded with the record of great deeds, and glowing with the story of illustrious men.

The period immediately preceding, was one of the most momentous in the annals of the race, for the events which distinguished it, were of a weight and character, not merely to impress, powerfully, the age in which they occurred, but to extend their influence through all subsequent time,—tinging the opinions, moulding the institutions, and affecting the destinies of man.

It was a period of varied and startling action, mental, moral and physical. The invention of Printing had given impetus to Letters. The revival of Letters, opportunity to investigation, and impulse to thought. With increasing knowledge, came new and just perceptions of mental freedom; and the withes of superstition, in which the spirit of man had been bound for ages, were rent asunder in the first struggles of the awakening giant. From his gloomy

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cell, the monk of Eisleben came forth with his latin Bible, and his indomitable heart; and, amid the war of creeds, the conflict of principles, and the convulsions of society, the Sampson of the Reformation held his appointed way. In the stern conflict which ensued, men of commanding genius, everywhere sprang up. On the one side fought Erasmus, Melancthon, Zuinglius, Calvin; on the other, Lainez, Xavier, Loyola. The collision of such minds could not fail to produce the most important results. The untiring effort and unshaken faith of the first, strengthened and carried on the Reformation; the splendid genius, and super-human zeal of the last, conceived and built up the order of the Jesuits.

The age was, further, illustrated by the success of Columbus. The mariner of Genoa, had given a new world to the sovereignty of Spain. A great problem had been solved, and the Geography as well the Religion of the world, was in a condition of agitation and reform. The immense field, thus suddenly opened to the daring and adventurous, soon became the theatre of some of the most interesting and momentous incidents in History. With unscrupulous hand, Pizarro had gathered the abundant wealth of Peru, and the sceptre of the fallen Incas passed into the iron grasp of the soldier of fortune. Through the lovely valley and the thronged City of Mexico, the fiery Cortéz had passed in his path of blood; and the expiring fires of the Teocallis threw their red glare, alike upon the *means* and the *end* of conquest:—the heaped spoils of the Indian Emperor, and the fearful scenes of the "night of woe."

Events of such magnitude could not fail to produce the most serious effects upon the character and conduct of the succeeding age, and we, accordingly, find their influence distinctly marked in the history of the time. It would lead us into too long a digression to trace out the results attributable to each; and it is sufficient for our purpose to state, generally, that they greatly enlarged the domain, and liberty of thought—directed the philosophic to new and wonderful themes—fired the imagination and gave scope to the daring of the adventurous;—changed entirely the tone of society—purged the church of errors—checked the throne in its license—gave place and reality to the People—devolved upon man, new responsibilities and rights, and invested his nature with sublimer dignity. The period to which our attention is particularly directed this evening, exhibits in all its occurrences the influence of the events to which we have referred, and premising that its general character cannot be rightly understood unless they are borne in mind, we shall pass at once to the consideration of our subject.

Sir Walter Ralegh was fortunate in the moment of his birth. He came into public life in the dawn of the most brilliant era of English History; during the reign of a Queen, who, great herself, appreciated and cherished greatness in others; upon the eve of events in which his genius fitted him to play a conspicuous part; surrounded by contemporaries of various graces and most remarkable intellect; representatives of all the varieties of human greatness; statesmen, who, born without the trappings, were also free from the prejudices of noble birth; men

of strong minds, clear heads, and bold hearts; who dismayed by no difficulty, appalled by no danger, wrought out, with firm purpose and skilful hand, well digested schemes for the advancement and safety of the realm. There were Soldiers, too, who went into the battles of the time, endued with much of the spirit, if not clad in the panoply of knights. Sussex, generous, impulsive and honest; Essex, the brilliant and successful courtier—the finished gentleman—the accomplished scholar—the illustrious commander—whose reckless and impetuous valor, made war romantic, and whose career was like the course of a shooting star, sudden in its rise—dazzling in its zenith—gloomy in its fall. Sir Philip Sydney, the Crichton of the age; a rare union of the elegant, the sterling and the true; a fine writer and accomplished soldier; while yet in his thirtieth year, famous throughout Europe; commemorated by Grotious for his great designs and inestimable worth; esteemed by Elizabeth "the jewel of her times," and, by the elegant Camden, pronounced "the darling of the learned world". Over the copious pages of Littleton, the great commentator bent in learned contemplation. With earnest heart, and powerful pen, Hooker labored in the field of ethical lore; and the father of the new Philosophy revolved in studious seclusion, the startling principles of the Novum Organum.—Nor was this period illustrated alone by chivalry and dignified by science. Literature became the mirror of human action; and whilst Spenser sang the beauties of the ideal world, Jonson, Fletcher and Beaumont; Webster, Marlowe, Decker and Shakspear, produced those dramatic

master-pieces which hold despotic sway over the taste and judgment of the world.

The three-score years of Sir Walter Ralegh's life, were so crowded with action, and he was so intimately connected with every event of moment which marked the annals of his time, that it is a task of no small difficulty, within the limits of an occasion like the present, to avoid being either prolix or incomplete in presenting a view of his character. In our narrative, therefore, we shall confine ourselves to the more prominent and important events in which he was an actor; and, in our deductions of his motives and conduct, present arguments as condensed as possible. It may be well to premise, that in reference to certain points, widely variant opinions are entertained, and while some exalt him into a demigod, others give him a far lower position in the scale of moral greatness. The authorities are in many respects scant and contradictory, and Sir Walter, himself, furnishes so much of the evidence, that, unless his veracity and honor are seriously questioned, it is scarcely possible to substantiate the charges which are preferred against him. To whatever conclusion we may arrive, however, in reference to these mooted points, it will be conceded that Ralegh was an extraordinary man, endowed with rare faculties, capable of any achievement, and standing forth in the completeness of his genius and variety of his labors, in the conspicuous foreground of History. To a society, therefore, such as I have the distinguished honor to address, the subject is both pertinent and interesting; and the more so from the fact, that the comprehensive mind of Ralegh planned

the colonization of the fertile realm of which our state formed part, while the ships of his adventurous fleet were the first that swept in pride over the waters of our own broad bay.

Sir Walter Ralegh appears, for the first time, an actor in the affairs of his age, as a volunteer in the gallant band of gentlemen who fought upon the side of the Huguenots, under the banner of Henry Champernon. The five years of his service in France, brought him into contact with some of the most renowned leaders of the time, and made him a participant in the most important events which marked that fierce and protracted struggle. Under Lodowick of Nassau, Coligny, and Condé, he appears to have fought in the memorable battles of Jarnac and Moncontour, and he escaped the comprehensive massacre of St. Bartholomew by taking refuge in the house of the Ambassador, Walsingham. Although he had not passed his seventeenth year, he behaved with great bravery, and his allusions in his History of the World, to the conduct of these distinguished leaders, in some of the battles referred to, clearly evince, that young as he was, he already exercised that habit of close observation and reflection, which is one of his characteristics. His return from France after the death of Charles IX. was succeeded by a short period of inaction passed in Chambers in the Temple. From his own account, Ralegh did not, at that time, read law, nor does it seem that he entertained the idea of pursuing the profession at any subsequent period. His ardent spirit, however, soon led him into more active life, and we find him increasing his military knowledge and rapidly earn-

ing the reputation of an accomplished soldier in the Low Countries which were then struggling against the encroachments of Spain. Amid the engrossing duties of the camp, and the alluring dissipations of military life, he was a regular and laborious student; and the germ of that vast fund of learning which has contributed to immortalize his name, is to be traced to the five hours which he devoted every day, under circumstances so unfavorable, to the cultivation of his mind. This assiduous application on the part of a young man, in such a position, evinces an elevated ambition, great self-command, and a persevering energy, which are interesting as the first development of those mental powers which subsequently led to greatness. After having passed nearly ten years in the career of arms, and having acquired a reputation as rare as it was honorable, he joined the enterprise of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who had obtained letters patent from Elizabeth, authorizing him to undertake north-western Discoveries, and to possess such lands as were unsettled by christian princes or their subjects.

The expedition encountered, at the outset, a severe storm, or, as some authors insist, a superior Spanish force; and, after the loss of a ship, was driven back to port. Before preparation could be completed for a renewal of the attempt, the outbreak of war in Ireland, again called Ralegh into the field, and he served with Lord Grey in the successful resistance which was made against the Spanish forces sent over to strengthen the Munster Rebellion. In this service he confirmed the military reputation acquired in France and the Low Countries, and came to be

ranked among the most accomplished soldiers of his times. In the destruction of the Spanish fort at Somerwick he has been charged with inhumanity; but the authorities clearly shew that his participation in the action was in obedience to orders, and that the blame must rest upon the Lord Deputy himself. The campaign was pregnant with great results to Ralegh. During its continuance he ingratiated himself in the favor of Leicester and had a serious difficulty with Lord Grey. On his return to England he was brought under the immediate notice of the Queen, by an act of gallantry which is related by several of the writers of the period as a fact, and which illustrates at once the quickness of Sir Walter's wit, and his correct appreciation of one of the weaknesses of Elizabeth's character. The difficulty with the Lord Deputy, was investigated by the Council, and Ralegh defended himself with such marked ability, that the occasion, in connection with the favor of the powerful earl, gave him admission to Court, and he soon gained the ear, and enlisted the good feeling of the Queen.

About this time,—1583,—a second expedition was set on foot by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, whose patent had nearly expired. Ralegh contributed a ship; and, in the capacity of vice-admiral, set sail in company with his brother-in-law. Soon after leaving Plymouth, however, a contagious sickness broke out among his crew, and he was forced to abandon the voyage and put back. The rest of the fleet reached and took possession of the coast in the vicinity of St. Johns, Newfoundland. In the succeeding year Ralegh obtained a patent from the

Queen similar to that held by Gilbert, and immediately thereafter equipped two barks, the command of which was entrusted to Captains Philip Amadis and Arthur Barlow. The expedition sailed upon the 27th April, 1584, and made the land in the neighbourhood of Cape Fear, early in the month of July. Barlow's account of the beauty and fertility of the country, seems to have delighted the Queen, as much as it gratified Ralegh; and she evinced her pleasure and vanity at the same time, by bestowing upon it the name of Virginia. The following year he despatched a fleet of seven sail, and the first Anglo-American colony was planted upon the shores of North Carolina, under the Governorship of Mr. Ralph Lane. The supplies which had been sent out for the relief of the settlers not having reached them as early as was expected, they became alarmed, and Sir Francis Drake happening to touch at Roanoke on his return from St. Domingo, they availed themselves of the opportunity and returned to England.* Meanwhile Ralegh despatched two more expeditions to Virginia, and Grenville, who had command of one of them, left fifteen men at Roanoke. Subsequently he sent out a colony of one hundred and fifty men under the charge of Mr. John White, and, with him, twelve assistants, who were incorporated under the name and style of the Governor and Assistants of the "Citie of Ralegh."—They found the site of Lane's colony overgrown with weeds, and learned that a

* Lediard, vol. 1st, p. 225, says that Ralegh went over in this ship himself, but neither Smith nor Hakluyt support the assertion. Indeed it seems clear that he never was in Virginia, unless his touching at Newfoundland on his return from the last Guiana Expedition can be construed into a visit to that Province.

portion of the colonists who had remained had been slaughtered by the natives, and that the rest were dispersed through the country. The settlers fearing a shortness of supplies, petitioned the Governor to return to England and take measures for their support. On his arrival, he found Ralegh actively engaged in assisting in preparations for the repulse of the threatened Spanish Invasion, but even under the pressure of his great engagements he fitted out a pinnace and fleet for the relief of the colonists, which he entrusted to Grenville. Grenville was commanded by the Queen not to leave England at such a juncture, and another expedition was prepared. The Captains who commanded it preferred, however, to cruise for prizes, and this disobedience of orders resulted in their capture by a superior French force from Rochelle. The pressing nature of public affairs prevented Ralegh from doing anything further for the relief of the colonists, and the subsequent descent upon Spain in which he was appointed to a command made it necessary to assign his Virginia patent to the "London Company," by which agreement he provided in the fullest manner for the relief of the settlers.

We have thus minutely traced the connection of Ralegh with the discovery and settlement of Virginia, because it is one of the important features of his history, and enables us more correctly to estimate the degree of praise to which he is entitled, and to free him from the charge of having deserted those, who in reliance upon his promises, had settled in a strange land.

When he embarked in this great scheme, Ralegh was *about thirty years* old. It is stated by Oldys, that

while yet a very young man, his favorite studies and topics of conversation, were the discoveries of Columbus, and the conquests of Cortéz, Pizarro, and other distinguished Spaniards who illustrated the reigns of the Emperor Charles and Philip II. These great enterprises greatly interested and strengthened an imagination naturally ardent. They directed the mind of Ralegh into channels calling for its largest grasp, and offered to his eager ambition, a dazzling and magnificent result. The attention of the whole christian world had been directed to the progress of discovery. Expedition succeeded expedition in the search for that new route, which was to lead to the golden realms of Cathay, and pour the spoils of the orient into the lap of expectant Europe. The adventurous navigator spread his sails to the winds that bore him westward, with a bold and hopeful heart, and the strange perils of a long voyage, made more fearful by the smallness of his ships, and the inadequacy of his supplies, were cheerfully borne; for at its close he might press the soil of a virgin world, and be the first to gather the harvest of its incalculable wealth. Sir Walter Ralegh was one of the most remarkable of this band of ocean Pioneers. A man of expanded views, and cultivated mind; versed in those sciences which while they suggested such designs, rendered him an apt agent in their successful prosecution; and uniting an enterprising spirit with an undaunted heart, all the energies of an ardent and hopeful nature, were enlisted in an undertaking worthy of the man, and characteristic of the age. His views in engaging in the cause of Discovery were to some extent nobler than those which

influenced many of the adventurers of the time, with the most of whom, even the greatest, Discovery was but the search after gold,—and Colonization, the means of securing it. Commerce unfolded her white wings too slowly for the quick spirit of adventure, and her rewards were not brilliant enough for ambition, or speedy enough for gain. While however we believe that many of the results to which Ralegh looked were of distant and gradual development, such as the growth of a colony, the conversion of aboriginal tribes, and the extension of trade, we cannot but admit that perhaps the most powerful magnet which drew him on in this enterprise, was the reasonable hope that the far land of whose existence and position he had satisfied himself, would yield in its *mineral wealth* a more speedy and brilliant reward for his laborious and costly undertaking.* This expectation was fairly inferable from the accounts of Landonière, Pedro Morales, Burgoignon and Lane, and was strengthened by the specimens of ore which had been obtained by Frobisher and Gilbert; and we are justified in the opinion which we express, as to the motives of Ralegh, both from his immature age, and the qualities of mind which his previous life was calculated peculiarly to develop. Colonization was as grand an idea in 1589 as in 1584, and although the dangers which threatened England at the time of his assignment, imposed of necessity a temporary check upon the prosecution of his schemes; yet we incline to the opinion that a feeling of disappointment, and a shaken faith in the mineral wealth of Virginia, influenced him in the

* Ralegh expended over £40,000 in his Virginia expeditions.

transfer of his patent, and prevented his recurring to the same field of enterprise, when, at the close of his military duties, he was again in a position to do so.

During these five years, evidences of the esteem of the people and the favor of the Queen had been showered upon Ralegh. He had been chosen to a seat in Parliament from the shire of Devon. The honor of Knighthood had been conferred upon him by the frugal hand of Elizabeth, who had also given him a lucrative patent for the vending of wines throughout the kingdom, and. a grant of twelve thousand acres of the sequestrated estates of the Earl of Desmond. He had been created Seneschal of the Duchies of Cornwall and Exeter, Lord Warden of the Stannaries, and Captain of the Queen's Guard. Thus, at an age when the majority of men have scarcely more than passed the threshold of active life, and have given scant evidence of their abilities, we find Ralegh in the full favor of an astute and discriminating monarch, loaded with honors, and confessedly ranked among the ablest and most distinguished men, of a brilliant Court, and a great kingdom. More to his credit, than the preferments themselves, is the fact *that he deserved them.* In his case, the rewards were fairly earned; and their bestowal is attributable to a just perception of character and qualities marking *the Queen,* rather than to a fond partiality influencing *the woman.*

The closing years of this period had also been filled up with occupation of the most engrossing and important nature. In connection with his brother Sir Adrian Gilbert, and as one of the "colleagues of the Fellowship for the discovery of the north-west

Passage," he had engaged with warm interest and liberal contribution in that great enterprise, which, under the able conduct of Captain John Davis, was carried on to so favorable a result. As a member of the Council of war, in connection with some of the ablest men in the Kingdom, he was charged with the responsible duty of devising plans of defence against the Spanish Invasion; and from the statement of their deliberations it would appear that he was a serviceable and leading member of that important Council.* The crisis was the most fearful that had ever occurred in English history. Sextus V. had launched against Elizabeth the thunders of the Vatican, and held up the sovereignty of England as the reward of the Conqueror;—and Philip II. the most warlike Prince in Europe, flushed with victory and enriched by conquest, had concentrated the resources of his vast dominions in an expedition of unparalelled magnitude. The integrity of the monarchy, the lives and liberty of the people, institutions hallowed by age, great principles, and inestimable rights, civil and religious freedom, the safety of person and the sanctity of home, were all involved in the issue and hung on its result. The whole land was aroused; everywhere was consternation. The general alarm was manifested in the universality of the preparation. All the resources of the kingdom, moral and physical, were called into action. Beacons were set up on every highland; fortifications protected every harbour; armed bands mustered in every shire, and hundred and hamlet. The distinctions of rank were forgotten. The prejudices of religion slumbered.

* Oldys, 39.

The Peer and the Peasant; the Catholic* and the Protestant; stood side by side. Two gallant fleets chafed at their moorings; and eighty thousand men, earnest, courageous and patriotic, calmly awaited "the Invincible Armada."

Eminent among these was Ralegh; with a Sovereign relying on his judgment, and a people confident in his valor; with every attribute called into play by the greatness of the emergency;—now enforcing upon the council some great scheme for the general defence; now begging for cannon from Woolwich; now despatching ordnance to London, or powder to Portland, or training bands of militia in Devon: amid the whirl of excitement, and the rush of action, he was in an element in which noble minds shew best;—for, action is not only the life of eloquence, but the eloquence of life.

To the Camp at Tilbury, came the Queen of England:—the lion-hearted Queen. The weight of years, and the pressure of the "golden round," had bent her stately person, but had not bowed her fearless spirit. Aged, and infirm, she came with greaves, and helm, and hauberk, veiling her womanhood in the stern panoply of war; and, as the glittering lines moved in review before her, she addressed them in a speech, which is so full of generous confidence and lofty courage, that we cannot refrain from quoting it. "My loving People," said she, "we have been persuaded by some that are

* The Catholic population behaved nobly in this crisis. The Peers served in the army and navy, in subordinate capacities. They fitted out vessels at their own expense and gave the command to Protestants, encouraging their dependants to lay aside all distinctions of politics, and religion, and unite in the general defence.—*Kent*, p. 275.

careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourself to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery: but I assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear; I have always so behaved myself, that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects, and therefore I am come among you, as you see at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of battle, to live or die amongst you all; to lay down for my God and for my kingdoms and for my people, my honor, and blood, even in the dust. I know I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a King, and of a King of England too: and think foul scorn that Parma, or Spain, or any Prince in Europe, should dare invade the borders of my realm."*

It is not essential to my purpose to detail the story of the overthrow of this gigantic expedition. It is sufficient to say that Howard and Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher and Seymour, performed prodigies of valor with their gallant fleets. In connection with the efforts of man, came the manifest intervention of God; and the destruction of the Armada is attributable to a series of providential occurrences, such as the sudden death of the Marquis of Santa Cruz—the succession in command of the inefficient Duke of Medina Sidonia—the departure from the orders of Philip—the tempestuous weather, and the timely intelligence of Fleming the Pirate.

* Tytler, p. 78.

In 1589 Ralegh accompanied Don Sebastian to Portugal, and was engaged against the Spaniards in the actions at Coruña, Burgos, Lisbon and Vigo. During this expedition a cause of quarrel occurred between him and Essex, which excited the anger of the Queen, and he passed over into Ireland. His interview and friendship with Spenser is a pleasant episode in his life, and if time allowed, we would willingly dwell upon it. It was beneficial to the Poet, whom it introduced favorably to Elizabeth and other distinguished patrons. His restored influence was exerted upon two occasions, to which we shall allude in detail, because they tend, although in a slight degree, to fill up that gap of evidence, as to his disposition and conduct in private life, which unfortunately exists in all his biographies. The first was the case of Mr. John Udall, a minister of the gospel, a good scholar, and a zealous puritan, who, in consequence of a certain publication reflecting strongly upon the habits and conduct of the prelacy had been brought to the bar in fetters, on an indictment for libel against the Queen. The prosecution resulted in sentence of death. Ralegh had been applied to and made the most strenuous application in his behalf. The Church however, was more powerful than the courtier, and the offending non-conformist died in prison. In the case of Captain Spring, he was more successful. This petitioner was an old and worthy soldier to whom quite a large arrearage of pay was due; the letter of Ralegh to the Lord Treasurer's Secretary in his behalf, displays the most hearty interest, and the petitioner gained his object. A third and striking instance

occurred in the generous and elaborate defence of the memory of Sir Richard Grenville, his old friend and servitor, from certain aspersions upon his fame, connected with the fight off the Azores in 1591. These are valuable illustrations of Ralegh's kindness of heart and liberality of sentiment, and strengthen the opinion, that had his friends been as careful to record those seemingly unimportant acts, which did him honor, as his enemies were assiduous in perpetuating those which tended to his discredit, we should have found him as distinguished for generous and disinterested action in private life, as he was illustrious for talent and service in his public career.

In 1592, he planned and carried out, with the most brilliant success, an expedition against Panama and the Plate fleet; and at the close of the year, we find him in Parliament, where his course in reference to many important measures, gave abundant evidence of the soundness of his judgment as well as the fervor of his patriotism.

About this time, as Oldys quaintly expresses it, "Sir Walter Ralegh had not lived so long at court, and so much about the dazzling beauties in it, without having the wings of his glory, at last, somewhat singed in the flames thereof;" and the matter of his amour with Elizabeth Throckmorton, becoming known to the Queen, she sent him to the Tower. The severity of his punishment for an offence of frequent occurrence at court, and usually overlooked altogether, indicates either the growing power of his rival Essex, or the strong personal affection of Elizabeth herself. His imprisonment, however, was of short duration, and we allude to the means by

which he effected his enlargement, not because we consider them derogatory to the character of Ralegh, but as affording an amusing illustration of his proficiency in the highflown language of the court, and of the fact that Elizabeth was no Homoeopathist in her fondness for flattery. It is narrated by Birch, that while Ralegh was one day sitting at his window in the Tower, the Queen passed on a visit to Sir George Carew the master of the ordonance. Ralegh knew the weakness, as well as the greatness, of his royal mistress. He resolved to disguise himself and get into a boat to see her majesty, vowing that if he were prevented, it would break his heart. Sir George Carew, however, was too flinty to be moved even by this touching outbreak of affection, and a regular fight ensued between the prisoner and his keeper. The occurrence was of course reported to the Queen, and together with the letter addressed by Ralegh to Burleigh, aided very materially in effecting his release. This letter is not the least curious part of the transaction, and we quote a portion of it. It avows that he suffers the torments of Tantalus in being debarred the favor of the Queen—and proceeds: "I, that was wont to behold her riding like Alexander—hunting like Diana—walking like Venus—the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her cheeks like a nymph—sometimes sitting in the shade like a goddess—sometimes singing like an angel—sometimes playing like an Orpheus!" Addressed to the most beautiful of the sex, this language might well seem a *little* exaggerated, as few, even of the Divinities whom we are prone to adore, combine so many rare characters and qualities; but when we

learn that the object of this superlative eulogy had passed her *sixtieth year*—was wrinkled, fretful, and ugly, we must admire the gallantry, as highly as we estimate the ingenuity, of the sighing prisoner; and admit that if any of the courtiers of the time could combine in a single sentence, a larger number of choice and classic appeals to the vanity of woman, he must have stood high indeed in the estimation of the Virgin Queen!

Released from the Tower, but still banished from Court, Ralegh passed a short season of retirement at Sherborne, devoting his leisure to useful occupations and study. The course of his reading may be inferred from the nature of the great enterprise in which he next appears an actor. We have already stated that he was thoroughly familiar with the achievements of the Spaniards in the New World, and have alluded to their influence upon his ardent temperament. The wealth which had flowed into the coffers of Spain and Portugal, from Mexico and Peru, had inclined the general mind to receive with the utmost favor, the accounts which, from time to time, had been given of the more surprising wealth and magnificence of the marvellous Empire of Guiana. Of the sincerity of Ralegh's belief in the existence and riches of El Dorado, we shall have occasion hereafter to offer conclusive evidence, and we pass, now, to the motives which urged him to attempt its exploration and settlement. High in the esteem of his sovereign—filling many honorable and responsible offices—distinguished as a soldier—ranking high as a scholar, and poet—a statesman of admitted merit, and, in every respect, eminent among

the greatest personages of the time—he had nearly run the career, and achieved the rewards of service at home; and although, only in his forty-second year, some great and untried field was essential to the further development of his energies. Guiana offered that field. The enterprise peculiarly suited him. It was grand in conception, it would be arduous in execution; others had failed, he would succeed; all was new—a virgin soil—an untrodden Empire—a strange people! His ambition was roused—he would link his name with the golden land—he would carry out his schemes of colonization—he would gratify to the utmost his love of magnificence—he would restore himself to the favor of his Queen, and set, in her regal crown, a richer jewel than Columbus had given unto Spain!

It may be interesting to preface our rapid summary of the efforts of Ralegh, with a brief reference to the geographical position of Guiana and the stories which were current at that period in regard to its wonderful riches. From an excellent work, styled "El Dorado," laboriously prepared by Van Heuvel, we learn, that "Guiana is that portion of South America, extending along the Atlantic coast, from the Oronoko to the Amazon, and is embraced between these Rivers, which are united by the junction of the Cassiqueara with the Amazon." According to Juan Martinez whose narrative Van Heuvel quotes, the name, "El Dorado," which was applied to the City of Manoa, was derived from a certain custom of the inhabitants "who, when their Emperor caroused with them, all those who pledged him have their bodies covered with a kind of white balsam,

and, certain servants of his, blow gold dust through hollow canes upon them until they are all shining from head to foot, and thus adorned, they do sit drinking by twenties and hundreds, and continue so sometimes six or seven days together. And from witnessing this, and from the abundance of gold which he saw in the City, the images of gold in the Temples, the plates, armors and shields of gold, which they used in the wars, he called it 'El Dorado.'" Lopez, in his general History of the Indies, in his description of the Court and magnificence of Guynacapa, ancestor of the Emperor of Guiana, uses the following language:—"All the vessels of his house, table and kitchen were of gold, and silver, and, the meanest, of silver and copper. He had in his wardrobe hollow figures of gold, which seemed giants, and the figures in proportion and bigness of all the beasts, birds, trees and herbs, that the earth bringeth forth, and of all the fishes that the sea or waters of his kingdom breedeth. He had also ropes, budgets, chests and troughs of gold and silver. Finally there was nothing in his dominions, whereof, he had not the counterfeit in gold."

In 1594 Ralegh despatched Captain Whiddon, an old and experienced officer, to explore the coast of Guiana, and ascertain the chances of success. The account which he gave upon his return, of the beauty and richness of the land, determined Ralegh in the prosecution of the enterprise, and, the succeeding year, he prepared an expedition and sailed, himself. His memorial of the voyage and its results, published soon after his return, was coldly received, and he was still denied access to Court. Not deterred how-

ever, by this harsh reception, which sprang less from incredulity than malice, he prepared a third expedition, which, upon the eve of departure, he was obliged to entrust to Captain Whiddon.

The emergency which now detained him in England, presents a striking proof that he was a clear and far-sighted statesman, as well as a bold military leader. When, in 1588, it was announced, that the indefatigable Philip of Spain was making great preparation for a second invasion, Ralegh had proposed that he should be anticipated in his attack, and that a force should be despatched to burn his fleets in his own harbours. This counsel was deemed ill advised, and was rejected; but the lapse of eight years shewed it to have been well conceived; and, in connection with Essex and Howard of Effingham, Ralegh was now appointed one of the commanders of the Cadiz expedition, to carry it into effect. The enterprise was crowned with the most brilliant success. Seven English ships engaged and destroyed the Spanish fleet, numbering fifty-five vessels, backed by the Fort of Puntal and the batteries on shore.* All the leaders behaved with great bravery, but Ralegh was most conspicuous for his valour; and the success of the attack is largely attributable to him, as he planned it and seems to have been virtually the commander in chief. When the city was taken, Ralegh, although severely injured by a splinter wound received in the naval fight, desiring to encourage the army by his presence, caused himself to be borne on shore upon the shoulders of his men. He afterwards urged upon Essex the adoption of measures for the cap-

* Oldys, p. 96.

ture of the Plate fleet, which, had his advice been taken, would, in all probability, have resulted in the seizure of those floating El Dorados. Immediately on reaching England he despatched a fourth expedition to Guiana, under Captain Berrie. Ralegh was now restored to favor, and resumed his place in a court, at that time, greatly distracted by the factions and animosities of Essex and Sir Robert Cecil, the Secretary of State.

The occurrences of the "Island voyage," in which Ralegh soon after served under Essex, added strength to the enmity which had grown up between them; nor did Essex scruple to poison the mind of James of Scotland, (with whom he was then intriguing, as the probable successor of Elizabeth,) against Sir Walter among others who were inimical to him at the English Court.* The indignation which such conduct is calculated to induce in our minds, must, however, give place to sympathy for the position of the doomed favorite himself. With many noble qualities and brilliant characteristics, Essex united a heat of disposition, an impetuosity of manner, an impatience of restraint, and, overweening estimate of his influence with Elizabeth, which led him on, with fatal rapidity, to his melancholy end. The long established and endeared favorite of the *woman*, he utterly forgot that he was no less the subject of the *Queen.* This was an oversight Elizabeth would not readily pardon; but still there is strong reason to believe that Essex might have reinstated himself in her favor, had not his impatient disposition led him to the commission of acts, which, managed as their representation to the

* Oldys, p. 135. 1 Cayley, p. 305.

Queen doubtless was, by the subtle and unscrupulous Cecil, rendered his fate inevitable. His arrest, trial and conviction followed in rapid succession, and the career of the soldier and courtier closed with the scaffold.*

In connection with this event it becomes necessary to refer to a rumour which was current at the time, and to which some writers have attached importance. The death of this unfortunate nobleman was attributed to the active agency of Ralegh, and it was even urged that he was present at the execution, that he might glut his hatred with the sight of the Earl's sufferings. It is undoubtedly true that a very hostile feeling had for a long time existed between them, and we propose very briefly to sum up the evidence in the matter and give the conclusion which seems fairly deducible therefrom. As we have already stated, Ralegh had been at the outset of his career introduced at court, and otherwise favored by Leicester. The advance of the protegé, however, was entirely too rapid for the patronizing Earl, and soon outran his intent. He therefore brought forward his nephew, Essex, to divert from Ralegh the favor of the Queen, and clip the wings of the aspiring courtier. We may readily suppose that the nephew thus introduced upon the stage, knew the purpose, and to some extent shared the feelings of his uncle. It is certain that he very soon manifested an inimical disposition, which was strengthened by various occurrences. In the expedition of 1589, in favor of Don Sebastian, Ralegh had the misfortune to offend

* He was brought under the notice of the Queen in his seventeenth year, and was executed in his thirty-fourth.—*Tytler*, p. 101.

Sir Roger Williams, who was an intimate friend of Essex; which so angered the Earl, that he brought Ralegh into temporary disfavor with the Queen, and drove him into Ireland.* In the expedition against Cadiz, in which they served together, the nomination of Ralegh by the Queen, as a commander and one of the council of five who were to control the hot spirit, and provide against the rashness of Essex, the admiral in chief; and the subsequent events of the attack and capture of Cadiz, the matter of the Plate fleet, and above all the preëminent ability displayed by Ralegh, and the great honor which he gained; strengthened this feeling in the bosom of the Earl.

Subsequently again in the "Island Voyage," the accidental separation of Ralegh, and his gallant capture of Fayall, the many gross errors committed by the Earl, the undoubted fact that all the success which attended the expedition was owing to Ralegh, the harsh reception of Essex by the Queen, who bitterly reproached him for his ill conduct, laying the whole blame upon him and highly extolling his associate in command; all these converted concealed dislike into open and avowed enmity, and Essex availed himself of every opportunity to indulge and display his now bitter hostility. The "Feather Triumph,"† as Camden styles it, is a striking illustration of this assertion, and the efforts which he made to prejudice the mind of James, and finally the slanderous charge, after his apprehension, that Ralegh had planned an ambuscade to murder him as he passed to the coun-

* Cayley, vol. 1, p. 109.

† See Camden. Oldys, p. 132. And Clarendon, Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, edition of 1685, p. 190.

cil chamber;* all shew conclusively that it was time Ralegh should ward off the blows of one so able and willing to do him injury.

The authorities on the other hand shew that Ralegh, while he unjustly incurred the anger of Essex in every one of the instances to which we have alluded, made every effort to conciliate and tranquilize the Earl; in one case going almost too far for his honor, as on the return from the Cadiz Expedition, when he treated him, as Camden says, "with the cunningest respect, and the deepest humility"—and in another case risking his life to serve him; as in the effort to warn Essex of the dangers which surrounded him after his return from Ireland, he solicited a meeting with Gorges, and was four times shot at by Sir Christopher Blount, the friend and servitor of the Earl.† His presence at the execution of Essex was undoubtedly official; as Captain of the Queen's Guard, the soldier was simply at his post; and, in addition to the entire incompatibility of the motive, charged in the rumour alluded to, with his whole character, we have his own declaration, which is certainly entitled to be considered. His celebrated letter to the Lord Secretary Cecil, which has been by some writers esteemed strong proof of the connection of Ralegh with the condemnation and death of Essex, does not seem to us to justify such a construction. He argues the necessity of keeping Essex down, of diminishing his power, and perhaps even of depriving him of his liberty; and urges this upon Cecil, because, to use the language of the letter, "the

* Oldys, p. 136. † 1 Cayley, 337. Oldys, 136.

less you (Cecil) make him, (Essex) the less he will be able to harm you and yours; *and if her majesty's favor fail him, he will again decline to be a common person;*" and concludes, "Let the Queen hold Bothwell (Essex) while she hath him. He will ever be the canker of her estate and safety. I have seen the last of her good days and all ours, after his liberty."*

We are to estimate the conduct of Ralegh in this transaction, both with reference to the imminent danger which the continuance of Essex in power would entail upon him, and the somewhat loose morals and practices of the times in which he lived. The letter from which we have quoted, was written with the view of relieving himself from this danger, and while some of its expressions would appear to justify the opinion that he counselled the death of the Earl, other passages shew with equal clearness, that the object in view could be attained by the displacement of Essex from his offices, and the forfeiture of the Queen's favor, for, once reduced to "a common person," he was no longer to be feared. This construction is strengthened by what Ralegh himself says in his last declaration, made under circumstances of the most solemn character. Referring to this charge, he declares, "It is true I was of an opposite faction, but I take God to witness *that I had no hand in his death;* but always believed that it would be better for me had his life been preserved; for, after his fall, I got the hatred of those who wished me well before, *and those who set me against him,* set themselves afterward

* This celebrated letter is given by Tytler in his Biography of Ralegh, p. 190. In connection with it, reference should be had to an extract from Jardine, quoted in a note to the same page.

against me, and were my worst enemies; and my soul hath many times been grieved that I was not nearer to him when he died, as I understood afterward that he asked for me, desiring to be reconciled."*

We have now traced Sir Walter Ralegh to the culminating point of his greatness. From the position of a private gentleman and a volunteer soldier, we have noted his rapid progress from honor to honor, until he fills a conspicuous page in the annals of the period he adorned. Placed in positions which severely try the virtue of men, and surrounded by enemies, who hunted for oportunities to defame him, we have found him worthy and honorable, truthful and just; with no charge substantiated against him, of sufficient weight to lessen admiration or forfeit esteem. This particular juncture is one of the most serious and interesting of his life. A tried and faithful servant, already rewarded in no mean degree by his Queen, whose feelings toward him mingled the impulses of sex with the policy of position; with a powerful enemy, by a melancholy fate, removed from his path, and but one prominent rival left beside the throne; it would be a curious speculation to trace out the probable character and termination of the career thus opening upon one, whose ambition was unsated by preferments, and whose energies action had matured. In following the severe muse of history, we must exchange the pleasant paths, in which imagination thus exercised would lead us, and pursue those devious and gloomy ways, through which subtlety and hate, conducted him to disgrace and death.

* See Harleyan MSS. Oldys, p. 230.

The first event which seriously affected the destiny of Ralegh, was one of the utmost moment, not only unto him, but to all England. In the seclusion of her palace at Greenwich, that "warm winter box, for the shelter of her old age," Elizabeth was dying. The hand that had swayed the sceptre with such masculine energy, was growing feeble. The mighty spirit that for four and forty years had comprehended the interests and directed the concerns of a great People, was passing away from earth; and in anguish of mind and torture of body, amid the tears of her waiting ladies, the unconcealed joy of her intriguing Courtiers, and the honest regret of her true subjects, the enfeebled body of the aged Queen bent beneath the sceptre of the king of terrors. In striking accordance with her character, as far as it has been necessary to our subject to portray it, was her last interview with the Councillors, who troubled her closing moments with the question of succession. Cecil, hitherto timid in her presence, and subservient to her lightest whims; Cecil, whose puling muse could not sufficiently paint the honor which the Queen had done him, when she tied his jewelled miniature to her shoe and kicked it about the room;* Cecil, the "potent pigmy," now, that the hand of Death was visibly upon his mistress, and yearning by one other act of treachery to the dying, to set himself more firmly in the graces of her successor, was bold and peremptory. Her compliance with the wishes of the Council was urged upon her at a moment when it was cruelty, and in a manner which made it insult. "Her throat," says the narrator, "troubling her much, they desired her

* Miss Strickland's Queens of England, p. 219.

to hold up her finger when they named whom she liked, whereupon they named the 'King of France;' (this was to try her intellect,) she never stirred: the 'King of Scotland;' she made no sign: then they named 'the Lord Beauchamp'—this was the heir of Seymour, whose rights were derived from his mother, Lady Catharine Grey, one of the most unfortunate of Elizabeth's victims." This last drop was too much, her glazing eye flashed with the old Tudor fire; her shrunken form started up from the couch, and in fierce and haughty tones she broke forth: "I told you that my seat had been the seat of Kings. *I will have no rascal succeed me.* Trouble me no more. He who comes after me must be a King. I will have none but our cousin of Scotland!"*

Alas for Ralegh! the parting soul of the queenly sufferer was *un*prophetic, and a "rascal" did succeed her, albeit in the person of "our cousin of Scotland!"

The contrast between the two sovereigns is exceedingly marked and striking. History, while she presents to our observation, very few such *women* as Elizabeth, unfortunately abounds in such *men* as James. She was distinguished by many of the best characteristics of *his* sex. He, was a strange blending of the worst weaknesses of *hers*. Her intellect, strengthened by exercise, and enriched by education, rapidly expanded and matured; embracing, with equal facility, the difficult problems of philosophy, the hidden beauties of literature, and the serious questions of state. His mind, ever subservient to his ruling weakness, was stored with scraps, and phrases, and superficialities; and the small stock of the solemn

* Cotton MS. Tytler, p. 221. Strickland.

pedant, was paraded with all the trickery of the royal buffoon. Her comprehension was enlarged; his contracted; her perception of character was acute and correct;—the little he possessed, was blunted by prejudice and warped by partiality. With her, the favorite never ceased to be the subject; with him, the pet of the moment, was the master of the King. Her ministers were chosen from the wisest, her commanders from the bravest, and her judges from the most learned of the realm; and the claims of the applicant for office were guaged by his ability to discharge its duties. Of the band that surrounded his throne, the most distinguished were old servants of hers, while the most infamous, were creatures of his own making. Her courageous spirit rode in armour through the lines at Tilbury; his craven soul drove him trembling behind his attendants, at the gleaming of a dagger. To the deliberations of the council chamber, she brought extensive information, and sensible speech. He wearied his ministers with crude notions of king craft, and fragments of delectable latin. As a Queen, she was frugal almost to parsimony, of the public money, while she indulged a woman's fondness for splendour and display. He, poor in pocket, as in spirit, borrowed spoons for his marriage feast; received ambassadors in the stockings of the Earl of Marr,* and counted over, inventory in hand, the jewels of his "beloved wife," before she had been two days dead!† The position of Ralegh, under the new monarch, was alike dangerous and unpleasant.‡

* Miss Strickland's Queens of England, p. 260.

† Ibid. 369.

‡ "James feared and hated him."—*Beaumont, Depêche*, of Dec. 18.

The representations of Essex and Cecil had long before prejudiced the mind of James against him;* and the feeling thus engendered, gained bitterness and strength from many circumstances. Ralegh had been to some degree connected with the death of the unfortunate Mary;—a prominent personage in the Court of Elizabeth, he had not only disdained to intrigue before the Queen's death, for the favor of "our cousin of Scotland:" but in a large meeting held in London soon after that event, he had urged that James be obliged to subscribe to articles, and, rumour added, that he even advocated bolder and more startling measures.† With all the vehemence of his nature he had opposed the peace with Spain, and offered the King, who shrunk in horror from such a project, to raise two thousand men, and, at his own cost, invade the territory of his ancient foe. It was perfectly natural that the timid James should recoil from such a man, whose fiery disposition and large designs, were so repugnant to his own contracted views and pusillanimous soul.‡ The two

* Carte, vol. 3, p. 709. Tytler, p. 225.

† 1 Cayley, p. 357. Oldys, p. 150.

‡ The following striking illustration of the cowardly nature of James, is taken from a MS. volume, which formerly belonged to John Randolph of Roanoke, and which has never been published. It is entitled, "The Ancient Records of the Colony of Virginia, under the Treasurer and Company." For the extract I am indebted to the kindness of Gustavus A. Myers, Esq., a distinguished member of the Richmond Bar.

EXTRACT

From "The Ancient Records of the Colony of Virginia, under the Treasurer and Company."

"At a Quarter Court, held for Virginia, at Mr. Farrar's, in St. Sithe's Lane, the 17th of May, 1620, one Mr. Kerkham, agent, sent from the King, presented himself to the Board, and signified to the Court, that his Majesty, understanding of the election of their Treasurer, which they intended this day to make choice of, out of an especial care and respect he hath to that plantation, hath required him to nominate unto them four, out of which his pleasure is, the

men were in every respect antagonistic. The very characteristics which endeared Ralegh to Elizabeth, made him odious to her successor; and, while the service of the one, afforded him constant opportunities

Company should make choice of one to be their Treasurer: That was, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Thomas Roe, Mr. Alderman Johnson, and Mr. Maurice Abbott, *and no other.*

"Sir Edwin Sandys, their then Treasurer, proceeded to make an elaborate report of the transactions of the Company during the preceding year, and delivering up his office together with the seals, he desired the Court to proceed in the election of their Treasurer, according to the message lately received from his Majesty, and thereupon withdrew himself out of Court.

"Upon which this Great and General Court found themselves, upon a deliberate consideration of the matter, *at an exceeding pinch;* for if they should not do as the King had commanded, they might incur suspicion of defect in point of duty, from which they protested they were and would be free; on the other side, if they should proceed according to the limits of that message, they *suffered a great breach into their privilege of free election, granted to them by his Majesty's Letters Patent, which they held fit rather to lay down with all submission and duty at his Majesty's feet, than to be deprived of their privilege.* The election was therefore adjourned to the 'next Great and General Court, some six weeks hence,' and till they understood the King's further pleasure; and in the interim they entreated the Right Honorable the Lord of Southampton, Viscount Doncaster, the Lord Cavendish, the Lord Sheffield, Sir John Davis, and others, all members of the Company, to meet and determine of an humble answer to his Majesty's message and to deliver to him a true information, as well of the former as of this latter year's, of the business for Virginia, beseeching also, that his Majesty would be pleased not to take from them the privilege of their Letters Patent, but that it might be in their own choice to have free election.

"At a Great and General Quarter Court, held in the afternoon, at Mr. Farrar's house, the 28th of June, 1620, the Earl of Southampton acquainted the Court, that himself with the rest of the Lords and Gentlemen, requested thereunto by the last Quarter Court, had presented their humble desires to his Majesty for the free election of their Treasurer; whereunto his Majesty had most graciously condescended, signifying unto them, that it would be pleasing unto him if they made choice of such an one as might, at all times and occasions, have free access unto his Royal person, *and further declaring that it was the mistaking of the messenger, having not received the message immediately from his own Royal mouth, to exclude them from the liberty of choosing any but the four nominated, whom his majesty's intent was indeed to recommend, but not so as to bar the Company from the choice of any other.*

"Whereupon the whole Court tendered to his Majesty all humble thanks, and ordered that by writing it should be signified to his Majesty.

"The Earl of Southampton was thereupon immediately, with much joy and applause, nominated Treasurer, and elected unanimously, by erection of hands, the ballot box being 'surceased' in honor to him."

of greatness, the disposition and policy of the other, closed all the avenues by which he could achieve it. In addition to the dislike of the King, for these reasons, Cecil, the undoubted enemy of Ralegh, stood next the throne, and his influence was exerted against him. His enmity was greatly increased by certain disclosures which Ralegh made to the King, after Cecil had effected his displacement from the captaincy of the Guard, in which he charged upon the Secretary the whole *onus* of the Essex matter, and revealed his active agency in the execution of the King's mother.*

With this statement of Ralegh's position at Court, we come to the consideration of his connection with "the Spanish, or Lord Cobham's Treason." The principal parties to this plot were George Brooke and Lord Cobham. Their object was to seat the Lady Arabella Stewart on the throne, of which they purposed dispossessing James.† Spain was to furnish the "sinews of war," and send a large invading force to assist the conspirators in carrying out their designs. Coincident with this scheme, in point of time, was the "Plot of the Priests," the object of which was, to seize the king's person, and force him to remodel his Ministry in accordance with their wishes, and grant a full toleration of religion. Besides the Priests, Watson and Clarke; Brooke, the brother of Cobham; Sir Griffin Markham, Copeley and Lord Grey, were, also, engaged in this treason. A

* Beaumont, Depêche, May 2nd and Aug. 13th. Wellwood's notes on Wilson, Comp. Hist. of Eng., vol. 11, pp. 663, 664. 1 Cayley, 355. Heylen's Examen Historicum, p. 170. Oldys, 740.

† Beaumont, Depêche, May 12th, June 13th, July 30th, 1603, quoted in the Edinburg Review, April, 1840.

disclosure, made by Copeley to his wife, and communicated to Cecil,* led him to suspect, says Oldys, that Cobham was concerned in it as well as his brother Brooke; and as Cobham was at that time in frequent communication with Ralegh, who was settling his Lordship's estate, the Minister suspected Ralegh, and had him examined before the Privy Council, touching the "surprising treason," as the plot of the Priests was called, and, particularly, as to Cobham's connection with it. The statements of Ralegh acquitted Cobham, and he closed his examination, by remarking to the Council, that "whatsoever correspondence there was between Cobham and Aremberg, Laurencie could better give an account of it," and therefore advised that an application should be made to him.† This Matthew de Laurencie was a merchant of Antwerp, an attendant on the Count D'Aremberg, at that time, representing at London, the Governor of the Netherlands and the King of Spain; and he was the channel of all Cobham's treasonable communications. When Ralegh left the Council Chamber, he sent a message to Cobham, stating that "he was examined and had cleared him of all;" and Lawrence Keymis, a servant of Ralegh's, who bore the message, seems to have added without authority, "to be of good cheer, for that one witness would not condemn him."‡ Cobham was soon afterward examined in person, and resolutely asserted that neither himself nor Ralegh, were connected with any treasonable practices; yet the Council resorted to

* Hallam's Constitutional History, vol. 1, p. 483. Beaumont, Depéche, December 6th.

† Sherley's Ralegh, p. 110. Oldys, p. 153.

‡ Sherley, p. 140.

a trick, by which Cobham was induced to think that Ralegh had impeached and betrayed him; and in the heat of passion, he declared, "that he had intended to confer with the Arch Duke, and to go from him into Spain, to borrow of the King six hundred thousand crowns, which were to be distributed among the discontented in England, under the advice of Ralegh, who, he affirmed, had instigated him to these courses. This confession he would not even subscribe, but in fact *retracted it entirely, before he had got to the foot of the stairs.**

Upon this flimsy, passionate, and *retracted* charge; the enemies of Ralegh procured his arraignment for treason. The indictment charged him "with conspiring to deprive the king of his government—to raise up sedition in the realm—to alter religion—to bring in the Roman superstition, and to procure foreign enemies to invade the kingdom, and that for his services in this treason, he was to receive eight thousand crowns from Spain.†" The trial of this great man on this indictment, is one of the foulest blots upon the page of English history. Conducted in a manner which cannot fail to excite the warmest indignation, in all who peruse its record; the gross injustice which marked it, has been universally admitted; and, the event itself is so familiar to all, that I would perhaps weary you, by giving its details. Suffice it to say that the whole case against Ralegh rested upon the evidence of the Lord Cobham, a craven accuser,

* See "Arraignment of Ralegh," p. 97. Sir Toby Matthew's Coll. of Letters, Ed. 1660, p. 281. Beaumont. Carte. Overbury.

† Extract from indictment. Oldys, p. 232. For full report of the Trial refer to State Trials. East's Pleas of the Crown. Sir Thos. Overbury's arraignment, and Jardine.

and forsworn witness; who, affirming the truth of his charges "upon his soul's salvation," falsified them so often, by counter statements, that Ralegh might well exclaim in scorn: "Now I wonder how many souls this man hath. He damns one in this letter, and another in that!"* His last declaration in evidence in the case, is a letter addressed by him to Ralegh, which is worth quoting. It runs thus—"Seeing myself so near my end,—for the discharge of my conscience and freeing myself from your blood, which else will cry vengeance against me,—I protest upon my salvation, I never practised with Spain by your procurement. God so comfort me in this my affliction, as you are a true subject, for any thing that I know. I will say with Daniel, "purus sum a sanguine hujus," *so God have mercy on my soul, as I know no treason by you.*"†

This letter, which was evidently wrung from Cobham by the pangs of a conscience which enforced the demand of Ralegh that he should justify him; is certainly entitled to as much weight as his counter declarations, made through constraint, trickery, or passion; especially, when Ralegh, who, throughout the trial, had begged to be confronted with his accuser, said: "that he would acknowledge the whole indictment, if Cobham, once brought before his face, would repeat any one of the matters he had confessed." This legal right, however, was harshly denied, although Cobham was the whole time in an adjoining room.‡ It formed no part of the plans of

* Oldys, p. 249.
† Vide, Oldys, p. 259.
‡ Vide, Appendix to Oldys. Sir Toby Matthew's Letters, p. 283.

those who were laboring to destroy Ralegh, that the dastardly nobleman, whom they knew to be falsifying, should be subjected to the rack of his cross examination:—his various statements were contradictory enough as it was, and sufficiently weakened their case, without confronting him with one whom he was so deeply injuring, and who would have forced from him the truth. The eloquent and ingenious argument of Ralegh, upon his right to be confronted with his accuser, was not refused in consequence of the repealing statutes of Edward III. and VI. as urged by Coke; but, the true reason is embodied in a remark made by the king himself, who, when he heard that the request had been denied by the judges, said: that, "*could Cobham have spoken anything against Ralegh, they would have brought him from Constantinople, to accuse him!*"* The conduct of Coke, the king's attorney, was disgraceful to the position he occupied—to the sovereign he represented—to the profession to which he belonged—the age in which he lived—and the manhood he shamed. He was, throughout the trial, ungenerous and unjust; overbearing and cruel; brutal and insolent. The demeanour of Ralegh, on the contrary, was, in the highest degree, dignified and manly; his bearing, was that of an innocent man—his defence, that of an able lawyer. The ingenuity displayed by him in the conduct of his difficult cause, is very remarkable; and the cogency of his arguments, the quickness of his perception, the dexterity of his management, and the eloquence of his appeal,† would have satisfied

* Observations on Sanderson's History, 4 vol. p. 8. 2d Cayley, p. 28.
† Hardwick's State Papers, vol. 1, p. 379.

an unprejudiced tribunal, of his perfect innocence in view of the evidence adduced. But, unfortunately for him, the fiat had gone forth ; and those whom he addressed were but the ministers selected to register the decree. Venality soiled the ermine of the judge, and power controlled the decision of the jury. The former pronounced his doom with as much alacrity as he had formerly shewn in taking purses on the highway, or bribes upon the bench ;* and the latter in their eagerness to perform their part well, *overdid* it ; so that the malignant Coke, when he heard that they had found him guilty of *treason*, exclaimed to the messenger ; "surely thou art mistaken, *I myself only accused him of misprison of treason!*"†

The only inquiry which is necessary for us to institute in regard to this plot, is the extent of Ralegh's connection with it, and the question of his *moral guilt.* These two matters rest upon the evidence of Cobham, and the declaration of Beaumont, the representative, at that time, of the Court of France. Cobham charged, that Ralegh had instigated the treason, knew of its progress, and was to share in its results. Beaumont, stated his belief in Ralegh's connection with the plot ; a conclusion to which he seems to have arrived, mainly upon the strength of certain conversations which he had with King James, and from documents which that *disinterested* personage had submitted to his inspection.‡ Now as to the

* For several years he addicted himself but little to the study of the law, but to profligate company ; and was wont to take a purse with them. This Judge had a noble house, park and manor, for a bribe to save the life of one condemned for child murder." Vide, Aubrey's Lives, vol. 2, pp. 492, 493.

† Cayley, vol. 2, p. 29.

‡ Beaumont, Depéche, 6th Dec., 1603—Quoted in Edinburg Rev., Ap., 1840.

testimony of Cobham, it is wholly worthless. His vascillation, prevarication, and falsehood have been already alluded to, and we will briefly mention some other reasons for rejecting his declarations altogether.

He was notoriously infirm of character, and easily swayed by others. Upon his trial he behaved in so cowardly a manner—now making assertions, and in the same breath denying them; now trembling in his place with fear, and anon supplicating the Judges with tears; and displaying, throughout, so mean and abject a spirit,—that the writers of the period speak of his trial as "such a fasting-day's piece of work as discredited the place to which he was called," and they treat him with evident contempt.* His conduct upon the scaffold, to which, together with Markham and Grey, he was conducted, as a part of the solemn farce which the "royal humorist," who had beforehand determined to spare their lives, intended them to play, was of a very different character. He ascended with good assurance and contempt of death, bore himself very bravely, and so out-prayed the Minister and the company, that the byestanders, alluding to his different behaviour on the two occasions, said, "he had a good mouth *in a cry*, but was nothing single."† He concluded his performance, by reasserting all the charges he had made against Ralegh, and having thus done the very thing for which, perhaps, he had been placed on the scaffold, his pardon was announced, and he was led away. His courage on this occasion is readily understood, when we learn that he had beforehand been advised

* Hardwick's State Papers, vol. 1, p. 377. Cayley, vol. 11, p. 13.
† Ibid. p. 23.

that his life was perfectly safe. Any importance, however, which might attach to his statements, is disposed of by the declaration, by Mrs. Thomson, of the fact, that several years afterward, at the intercession of Ralegh, he was called out of the Tower and re-examined in the presence of the Queen, when he made a last, solemn, and full recantation and retraction of everything he had uttered against his illustrious victim.*

As to the testimony of Beaumont, it is certainly entitled to weight; but it is nevertheless fair to estimate it with reference to the circumstances under which his opinion was formed. If he had no better authority for believing the charges against Ralegh, than the declarations of James and such documents as he submitted to him, then it is fair to conclude two things: first, that the evidence which influenced his mind was either the same as that brought out at the trial, the character of which we have already considered; and, secondly, that any proof of Ralegh's guilt, which may have been in the possession of the King, *and not used in Court*, must have been, if possible, still more flimsy and unsatisfactory;—for James, as his subsequent conduct will undoubtedly prove, was mean and mendacious enough to adopt any course, calculated to destroy the man whom he hated so bitterly. Besides, the Minister of France lived at Court, moved constantly and familiarly in the circle of royalty, and was very likely to adopt such opinions as were current and popular in that society. On the whole, we cannot believe that Ralegh was connected with the treason, beyond the error which

† Mrs. Thomson's Life of Sir W. R. p. 180.—Am. Ed.

he committed in listening to the first disclosure of Cobham in relation to the proposed pension. This matter, he insists, "was only mentioned to him once; and, for three weeks after, he heard no more of it"—that he did not think that Cobham had any commission to offer it—and that he deemed the conversation of so little account, that he did not even remember it until it was used against him on the trial. In his letter to James, he says: "For my part, I protest before the ever living God, that I never *intended* treason, *consented to* treason, or *performed* treason. Lost am I for *only hearing* a vain man; *for hearing only*—never believing or approving."

A very able writer in the Edinburgh Review for April, 1840, after reviewing the circumstances of this case, and laying much stress upon the testimony of Beaumont, concludes, that "it would be more rational to believe that Ralegh was *wholly guilty* (that is, *a direct participator* in the designs of Cobham and Brooke,) than that he was wholly innocent (that is, wholly uninformed of the nature and objects of his intercourse with Aremberg.")

Now we find it impossible to adopt this conclusion, for several very strong reasons. In the first place, Ralegh had been, all his life, a most strenuous and indefatigable enemy of Spain; he had repeatedly perilled his life against her; he had cut up her commerce, burned her fleets, sacked her towns, written against her policy, humbled her pride, and expended over £40,000 (nearly his whole estate) in enterprises against her King and people. On the accession of James, he addressed him a powerful work, in which he exposed the designs and weakness of Spain;

counselling his Majesty to continue offensive measures against her, and volunteering an army, at his own cost, for his assistance. Although he may have been a discontented man, it does seem to us that the idea of applying *to Spain*, to send an army to invade England—of receiving *from Spain* a beggarly pension, and of uniting with a Nation, in contests *against which* he had won all his laurels,—is a very improbable, if not a preposterous idea. Secondly. Ralegh was a person of keen foresight, great comprehension, singular tact, and thorough knowledge of the men and the times. He was an individual who prided himself "on swaying all men's courses;"—he was a leader even among leaders;—and,—knowing, as he did, the magnitude of such a design as Cobham's—involving a civil war—a foreign alliance—danger to the King, and revolution to the monarchy; knowing as he did, the character, the feelings and power of Cecil, as well as the weakness, cowardice and imbecility of the Lord Cobham;—is it not monstrous to suppose that he would have risked honor, fame, life itself, in a dangerous enterprise with such a coadjutor,—for it must be remembered that he is charged with no interviews with any one but Cobham. Would he have rested during weeks, and allowed such a poor tool as Cobham to work for him?—and, moreover, if he was fully cognizant of all the proceedings, and knew (as he must have known, if "a direct participator,") the number and character of Cobham's communications with D'Aremberg, through Laurencie,—would he,—a guilty man,—in the most gratuitous manner, at a time when the fact was unknown to all but Cobham and himself, and

when his examination before the Council was concluded,—*have suggested to the Council "that they had better send for this very Laurencie, as he could tell them of all Cobham's conferences with D'Aremberg, though, for his part, he knew of nothing improper between them!"*

But, in addition to this, Secretary Cecil, in a letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, written while Ralegh was languishing at Winchester, in ignorance of his fate, and in daily expectation of death, says; "that the king pretended to forbear Sir Walter Ralegh, for the present, *until the Lord Cobham's death had given some light* how far he would make good his accusation." Now, if it was necessary that James should have this additional proof of the truth of Cobham's charges, before he dared execute Ralegh, then, it seems certain, *first*, that there was *not* in his possession any other evidence than that adduced upon the trial, sufficient either to justify him in beheading Ralegh, or to excuse Beaumont in asserting his guilt; secondly, if the king only waited for the confirmatory death speech of Cobham, *why did he not execute the sentence upon Ralegh when that proof was furnished?* "Cobham mounted the scaffold with great assurance, and contempt of death," and, after outpraying the minister and the company, he reasserted the truth of all his accusations against Ralegh." Here was the "light" the king wanted! Why not proceed to execution? Did mercy restrain him? Did fear of the weakness of the proof, and instinctive horror of injustice, induce him to delay the axe of the headsman? Not so,—for, even if in the exercise of a large charity, we can suppose him sincere in his belief of

the evidence of this perjured man, why did he not release Ralegh, when, three years after that same, Cobham, in the presence of his queen, solemnly retracted even the accusations he had made on the scaffold!

The truth of the matter, if it ever be disinterred from the dusty archives of the reign of James, will probably be found in the private correspondence of the King and the scraps and memoranda of his Secretary Cecil, rather than in the despatches of D'Aremberg, or the speculations of Beaumont.

From the presence of the unjust judge, the illustrious prisoner passed into the tower, and, in that stern fortress, with whose every turret and gateway, are linked associations of outrage and tales of blood, the man of action was, for twelve long years, condemned to monotony and gloom. Did not this sudden reverse, this cruel blow, crush him to the earth? Did not the fiery spirit of the soldier, longing for the excitements, the dangers, and the glories of war, break, in the dull routine of the prison-house? Did not the strong mind of the statesman, yearning for the duties and struggles of the hall of legislation, or, the board of council, give way, as year stole after year, eventless and unmarked? Did not the restless fancy of the adventurer, bear him over the western ocean to the flowery isle of Wocoton, and the blue waters of Chessiopek, reveal the splendors of Manoa, and echo the rush of the turbid Amazon, until he sank, despairing, from dreams of the unreal, into the iron arms of the actual? Did not the polished blade rust in the neglected scabbard? the torch go out

in the long darkness? No! brighter and stronger grew the spirit, purer and higher flamed the light; and, instead of vain complaints and idle repining, the intellectual and moral man braced himself for a great task, explored the realms of philosophy, gathered the treasures of history, unravelled the mysteries of science, plucked the flowers of poesy; and, greater, perhaps, in his downfall than his prosperity,—in the dungeon, than in the camp,—tasked all his energies in a work, wonderful for industry and learning, admirable in its style, veracious in its details, and lofty in its sentiment. And thus Sir Walter

"E'en with his prison-hours, enriched the world."

There is one circumstance connected with the long imprisonment of Ralegh, which I cannot refrain from noticing, and that is, the lofty and unshaken devotion of his wife. The biographers of Sir Walter tell us that the Lady Ralegh was exceeding beautiful. Brought up in a brilliant court, surrounded by all the refinements of intellect and the amenities of life, she was, doubtless, elegant and accomplished; but of her character we know nothing until this dark cloud gathered over the fortunes of her husband. In the day of his prosperity, when each succeeding year, invested him with new honors, and clothed him with greater dignity; when admiring friends and obsequious retainers, crowded the princely halls of Sherborne and Durham House, she unquestionably clung to him with affection, and looked up to him in pride. But, when the malice of his enemies and the injustice of his king, stripped him of office and humbled his state, when the victorious soldier be-

came the attainted traitor, and he, who had hitherto lived in the smiles of royalty, languished in the gloom of a prison, then it was that the nobility of her nature and the depth of her love were fully revealed, and the woman who had softened the splendors of his greatness with mild and reflected radiance, became the sun and centre of his hope and solace, sustained his sinking spirit with words of consolation and hope, and sanctified the house of bondage with the ever present divinity of Love! She petitioned the minister, supplicated the favorite, and knelt before the King; and, although neglected, repulsed, and scorned, she strained all the energies of her nature, and exhausted all the resources of her Love, to effect his liberation.

At length, after more than twelve years confinement, the death of Cecil, inspired Ralegh with renewed hope, and a bribe of fifteen hundred pounds to Sir William St. John and Sir Edward Villiers, secured their influence with the King, and threw open the gates of the Tower.* The Guiana project had continued to occupy his mind throughout his long imprisonment, and as soon as he was released, he prepared to prosecute it with unabated vigor. By submitting to great sacrifices, he succeeded in raising the funds necessary to equip a fleet, and upon the 28th March, 1617, he set sail on his last Guiana expedition. Before going into the details of this unfortunate voyage, it is proper to examine very briefly, one of the slanders of the period, which charged that Ralegh himself did not believe in the existence of the mines of Guiana. From this impu-

* Obs. on Sanderson's Hist. of King James, vol. 4, p. 10. Oldys, p. 192.

tation we think he can be fully relieved. The adventures and successes of Columbus, Pizarro and Cortez, had prepared the European mind to believe many of the marvels which were narrated in connection with Guiana; and the previous, and contemporaneous Spanish histories, teemed with accounts of the riches of the country, and of hundreds of cavaliers of rank and consideration, who had adventured life and fortune, in vain efforts to reach the City of Manoa.* The astute Cecil, the intelligent High Admiral, Howard, and the cautious men of trade, who assisted Ralegh in his enterprises, by furnishing both money and ships; seemed to have been impressed by these reports, and thought them worthy of credence.

About this time also, certain documents were laid before the Privy Council, which Captain Popham, had taken from a Spanish vessel. They were letters directed to the Governor of San Lucar, and the King of Spain, giving full accounts of the abundance of gold in Guiana, and urging extensive operations in that country.† The reports of Captains Keymis and Whiddon; the evidence of his own senses, in the mines which he himself saw in Guiana, and the yield of the ore which he brought home, and had assayed in London; sufficiently satisfied the mind of Ralegh, and certainly warranted him in coming to

* See Hakluyt, vol. 3, p. 687, 692. Also Appendix to 2d Cayley, p. 358, in which a summary of these efforts is given, with the names of the most conspicuous of the adventurers.

† Hakluyt, vol. 3, p. 662. Birch, vol. 1, p. 236. App. to 2 Cayley, p. 307, where these letters are given in full.

the conclusions which influenced his subsequent movements.

With these grounds for belief, his after conduct, clearly establishes his sincerity. From the moment the great scheme first possessed his mind, he had despatched successive expeditions to conciliate the natives, explore the country, and collect information. Even in the Tower, his favorite project engaged his attention, and hardly was he released, before we find him devoting all his energies to its prosecution.

In these preparations, he expended the eight thousand pounds which the King had allowed him for Sherbourne, *and sold his service of plate;* while his wife parted with a house at Mitcham, held in her own right, to swell his resources.* In addition to all this, there is a piece of testimony on record in the Harleian MSS., which concludes the question of his sincerity. This is the draft of an agreement between Ralegh and the Government, drawn up by him, while yet a prisoner in the Tower. The principal feature of this instrument is a condition, that, "if

* The conduct of King James in this matter was exceedingly unjust and contemptible. The estate of Sherbourne had been settled by Ralegh on his eldest son, and notwithstanding the attainder, the King allowed his prisoner to enjoy a life interest in it. The King's favorite, Car, better known as the Earl of Somerset, determined to get possession of Sherbourne, and Ralegh's deed of conveyance to his son having been submitted to the examination of Chief Justice Popham, who detected an omission of one or two words, which he owned was caused by the inattention of the clerk who engrossed the deed; advantage was taken of the inaccuracy, and Car obtained Sherbourne of the King. The loss to Ralegh and his family was a severe one, and he addressed a very touching letter to Car, setting forth the hardship and injustice of the act, and the lady Ralegh, accompanied by her children, supplicated the King on her knees, but the only answer of James was: "*I mun have the land; I mun have it for Car.*" He subsequently allowed Ralegh £8000—in full for the estate, *which was worth* £5000 *per annum.* See App. to Cayley, p. 386. Birch's Collections. Cayley, vol. 2, pp. 41—52.

Keymis, after being guarded to the place, [the site of the mines] shall fail to bring to England half a ton, or as much more as he can take up, of that slate gold ore, whereof I have given a sample; *then all the charge of the journey shall be laid upon me, by me to be satisfied: but should half a ton be brought home, I am to have my liberty*, and in the mean time my pardon, under the great seal, is to be lodged in his Majesty's hand, till the end of the journey."* It would have been difficult for Ralegh to have given more conclusive proof of the sincerity of his convictions upon this subject, than is here furnished.

When Ralegh reached the Oronoko, he was too ill to head the expedition to the mines, and was forced to entrust the command to Captain Keymis, to whom he gave very full and cautious instructions. When Keymis landed, he found that a strong Spanish force was posted between him and the mines, and in endeavoring to win his way, a conflict ensued, which resulted in his taking possession of the town of St. Thome. A large body of Spaniards placed themselves in ambuscade on the road, and Keymis, who seems to have been afraid to assume the responsibility of further hostilities, determined to give up the enterprise, and return to the ships. Ralegh, incensed at his failure, bitterly reproached him for his disobedience of orders, and the subordinate, in a fit of mortification, committed suicide. As the time appeared untoward for the further prosecution of his schemes, Ralegh repaired to Newfoundland with his fleet, to refit, purposing, as there is abundant reason to conclude, to make another effort to reach the

* Brit. Mus. Harl. MSS., 39, p. 340.

mines, and close his voyage with success. While at Newfoundland, a portion of his crew became mutinous, and he sailed for England. Prior to his return, however, Don Diego de Sarmientos, better known as the Count Gondomar, had complained to the King of Ralegh's conduct in Guiana, as a breach of the peace with Spain, and denounced him as a pirate; and James, who was ready to do anything, in his eagerness to promote the Spanish match, issued a Proclamation commanding the arrest of Ralegh, and within a month after he reached England, he was once more committed to the Tower.*

The "Declaration" published by the King immediately after the execution of Ralegh, and which was written for the double purpose of blackening his memory and justifying the conduct of James; charges that Ralegh had violated his commission, and made war upon the Spaniards in Guiana, *of whose settlements there the King declares himself to have been entirely ignorant when the commission was granted.* It further accuses him of intending a piratical cruise, and pronounces his propositions in reference to the mines, to be mere subterfuges. As we find the most serious of these charges reiterated in the Edinburg Review, to which we have already alluded; and as that article is calculated to affect injuriously, and we think unjustly, the character of Ralegh; we prefer to examine them in that connection, rather than to review the King's "Declaration," which abounds with mis-statements, and is written throughout in an unfair spirit. It is necessary, how-

* Oldys, pp. 203 to 209. 2 Cayley.

ever, in connection with one or two matters, to refer to this joint production of Bacon and James. The "Declaration" states distinctly, that the King was ignorant of the existence of the Spanish settlements in Guiana, and in fact that he did not know upon what particular portion of the coast, Ralegh intended to land. Now unfortunately for the veracity of the King, it is in evidence, that while Ralegh was still in the Tower; *James was informed by Gondomar, that a relative of his had gone out from Spain, to plant a colony upon the very spot, at which Ralegh intended to operate!* And in addition to this, before the expedition sailed from England, the King had demanded from Ralegh, a letter, called "*a close letter*," which contained the most explicit details, not only of the route which Ralegh meant to take; but also the location of the mines, the precise point at which he proposed to land, and the whole outline of his projected operations in Guiana! This letter, James pledged "his kingly word," should be kept secret; *and yet before Ralegh set sail, it had been handed by the perjured King to Gondomar, and was on its way to the Court of Spain!*"*

The writer in the Edinburg Review maintains that the attack upon the town of St. Thome, was an

* Howell's Letters, p. 369. Thomson, p. 219. 2 Cayley, p. 81. Oldys, 194, 196, 206. It is asserted by some authors, that the *commission* which was published by the King in connection with his "Declaration," differs materially from the original given to Ralegh, and "that *several strong words* are left out." The inference is perfectly fair, that if it suited James to *omit* words, in order to weaken Ralegh's defence; he would have no difficulty in accordance with his views of "kingcraft," in *inserting* others to strengthen the case against him. See Rapin Hist. Eng. Ralegh's Remains, Edition of 1651. Thomson, p. 219. James affirms that the *Privy Seal*, only, was affixed to the commission, but Ralegh speaks of it as being under the *Great Seal!*

unjustifiable act on the part of Ralegh, and while he holds that "it is impossible to justify his insincerity, and preconceived hostilities;" he does not appear to be very fully convinced of Ralegh's guilt in the matter, and urges the peculiar opinions of the day in palliation of his conduct. He further asserts that Ralegh knew, "that if he informed the King that there was a Spanish settlement in the quarter where the mines were situated, he would not have been permitted to approach it, and that he therefore concealed the fact, and deceived the King in this important particular." Now it has been shewn that no deception whatever, was practised in the matter; for in the "close letter" already alluded to, Ralegh had given minutely the details of his enterprise, and the King was fully aware, that the Spaniards had made a settlement upon the very spot where he intended to land, from the communication of Gondomar; even if the letter itself did not apprise him of the fact: and we think that an examination of the authorities will convince any one, that all the "deception" that marked the transaction, is chargeable upon the King, rather than Ralegh. As to the attack upon the town of St. Thome, we think that there is more force in "the peculiar views" of the period, than the Edinburg attaches to them. The doctrine that the peace did not extend beyond the Equator, and that according to the usages of nations at that time, the hostilities in Guiana were no infringement of it; seems to have been regarded as sound, even by Hume, who attempts to excuse the revival of the old sentence against Ralegh, upon the ground that he could not have been condemned for the infrac-

tion of the peace, in consequence of the prevalence and recognized force, of the very views which Ralegh urges in defence of his conduct. Again—the hostilities were commenced by the Spaniards themselves. They were the first infractors of the peace. Ralegh had an undoubted right to land in Guiana. His commission contemplated the working of the mines upon the very spot where the hostilities occurred. His authority to undertake the enterprise was based upon the agreement between the King and himself, which has heretofore been quoted; and from *occupation*, the English had derived as good a title to that portion of Guiana as the Spaniards. The instructions given to Keymis before the expedition left Punta de Gallo, for the Oronoko; shew conclusively, that Ralegh had not, as the Edinburg charges, "a settled design to capture St. Thome," for they were drawn up with great care, and provide as far as it was possible for Ralegh to do so, against collision with any Spanish force which Keymis might meet; and direct him to pursue a distant and circuitous route to the mines, for the very purpose of avoiding conflict. The disobedience of Keymis, was a matter beyond the control of Ralegh, and for the consequences of which we think it is very unfair to hold him responsible; and in addition to this, the collision itself would probably never have occurred, had not James violated his "kingly word," and communicated the plans of Ralegh to the government of Spain.

The next charge which the Edinburgh advances against Ralegh, is, that "piracy was in his immediate view." In order to examine this charge fairly,

it is necessary to refer particularly to the conduct of Ralegh from the moment he left Guiana, until he returned to England. After the failure of the enterprise entrusted to Keymis, the position of affairs was such as to render a renewal of the attempt at that time, unadvisable, if not impossible. The Spaniards were on the alert, guarding the passages to the mines, and prepared for resistance. Their fleet was daily expected upon the coast. The illness under which Ralegh had been laboring from the moment of his arrival, was too violent to allow him to take that active part, which the state of things so imperatively demanded; and to fill the measure of his misfortune, many of his captains, and a large portion of his crew, had become disaffected and turbulent. A council of war was held, and it was determined that the fleet should repair to Newfoundland to refit. When they arrived there, the disaffection reached its height, and broke out into open mutiny. A large number of his men, insisted that Ralegh should take an oath "not to go home but by their allowance," while the other portion were for immediate return. Ralegh put the question to vote, and sided with those who wished to return to England; and his biographer states, that "his voting upon either side was attended with manifest danger of his life."* Let us now examine the charge of "intended piracy." Both from Guiana, and from St. Christophers, Ralegh had been obliged to send home many of his officers and men, on account of their vileness of character and turbulence of conduct. To some of these he had behaved

* Oldys, p. 208.

with great generosity, and yet knowing, as he did, that they were a base set, "good for nothing, neither by sea nor land;" he wrote to his wife from St. Christophers, on the 22nd of March: "*I know they will not spare to wound me.* There is never so base a slave in the fleet, that hath taken the pains and care that I have done; that hath slept so little and travailed so much; my friends will not believe them, and for the rest I care not."

The position in which Ralegh was placed at Newfoundland, and the course of conduct which he decided to adopt, have a very important connection with any theory as to his probable ulterior views. That he was sincere in his belief of the existence of the mines, and the great wealth of Guiana, cannot be doubted. That the successful termination of his enterprise was of paramount importance to him, is equally certain. With it his position at Court, his future career, his private interest, and the gratification of one of the most cherished aspirations of his life were indissolubly connected. A man of indomitable energy, of great personal courage, and unwavering firmness of character; it may safely be assumed that the obstacles which turned him from his path, were insurmountable. The failure of Keymis did not necessarily imply the failure of Ralegh. The spirit of his men, and his own illness precluded him from making any effort while upon the coast, to redeem the error of his subordinate. Who can doubt that when he sailed for Newfoundland, it was with the full assurance in his own mind, that he would return with his ships refitted, and his crews inspired with something of his own spirit, to make

another and a successful effort to reach the mines. Men like Columbus and Ralegh, in such emergencies rely justly upon the suasion of moral and intellectual superiority. The crews which sailed from the Oronoko, dispirited and mutinous, might spread their sails to the returning winds, with brave and willing hearts, and under the guidance of such a leader, win at last their splendid goal. But how did the case stand when he reached Newfoundland? His crews were almost equally divided in opinion. The one portion evidently looked to piracy; the other looked to England; none turned toward Guiana. What could he do under such circumstances? Even if he had succeeded in inducing those who wished to exact an oath "that he would only go home on their allowance," to make another effort in Guiana; what success could he have looked for? His whole force was scarcely sufficient; it would have been madness to have returned with but half, and that, the most abandoned and turbulent. It was evident, that any further attempt upon the mines, was, under such circumstances, impossible. That idea abandoned, two alternatives were presented to Ralegh. If he was indeed a brave and honorable man, dealing in good faith with his Sovereign and his own character, the opportunity was presented to return to England. If on the contrary he was full of disaffection and treasonable thoughts, and intended to become a pirate; it was within his option to begin that career at once, under favorable circumstances. Is not the fact that he decided to return to England, "to put his head under the King's girdle;" a powerful argument against the charge of intended piracy? What

course could he possibly have adopted, better calculated to shew the true greatness of his character and the conscious integrity of his intentions?

With this preliminary statement, we proceed to examine the evidence by which the writer in the Edinburgh Review seeks to substantiate this serious charge. The first piece of evidence which he adduces is a letter which would seem to be now for the first time published, written by Captain Parker, who was one of the captains in the expedition, under Keymis.* After alluding to the landing near St. Thomas, and the conduct of Keymis, whom he grossly abuses, the writer proceeds; "We have divided ourselves already; Captains Whitney and Wollaston are consorted to look for homeward-bound men. The admiral and vice-admiral will for Newfoundland to re-victual, and after, to the Western Islands to look for homeward-bound men. *For my part,* by the permission of God, *I will make a voyage, or bury myself in the sea.*" From this letter, the writer in the Edinburgh, concludes, that, "no one who peruses it, can doubt that Ralegh before he left England had resolved to take forcible possession of St. Thomas; and that the failure as to the mines, was followed by a resolution to which he was a party, to seek indemnification in a piratical onset upon the Spanish colonial shipping." From these conclusions we dissent altogether. That portion of the letter which alludes to the assault "upon the town," gives none of the particulars of the conflict; and we have already shewn upon other, and unquestioned au-

* There is no such name as *Parker* in the list of Ralegh's captains. There was a captain *Barker* however, and we suppose that this is a typographical error.

thority, that the hostilities *originated* with the Spaniards themselves. The statement of Captain Barker, as to the subsequent division of the fleet for piratical purposes, is calculated by its language and tone to excite suspicion, and it is not sustained either by the admitted facts, or by corroborative testimony. If the division which is here spoken of, was indeed made; how does it happen that we immediately afterward find *the whole* of Ralegh's fleet sailing for Newfoundland? a measure so important as a deliberate plan of attack upon the "homeward-bound men," would not have been determined, without full and cautious deliberation; indeed, the division of the force which is so confidently stated to have been made, would seem to have been the result of a council of officers. If this were so, the supplies and wants of the fleet were well known at the moment of the deliberation, and there was no necessity that *all* the ships should repair to Newfoundland. But the great difficulty which we have in the case, consists in the fact; that, *out of thirteen captains, who commanded vessels in the expedition of Ralegh, no single individual, but this Captain Barker, should be cognizant of the important matters stated in his letter!* Can it be conceived, that it should have been determined to attack the Spanish colonial shipping; to sweep the seas, under the flag of an avowed piracy; and to change an enterprize which had been undertaken with lofty motives, and for the national glory, into a marauding cruise; and these twelve captains, who were to be the agents and assistants of the admiral in this design, have known nothing whatever of the matter! Can it be believed, that "Wollaston and Whitney were con-

sorted to look for homeward-bound men," and the vice-admiral appointed to touch first at Newfoundland to re-victual, and "then to the Western Islands to look for homeward-bound men;" and the *fact never have been substantiated by the testimony of these witnesses?* Can it be believed that a matter of such magnitude as this deliberate division of his fleet, for a purpose, in direct violation of existing laws, and entailing the severest penalties; could have been made or acquiesced in, by Ralegh, and but one solitary voice have been raised to expose him? Was not the ear of James quick enough, to catch the murmurs which from discontented crews, and disaffected officers went up against one who knew, "they would not spare to wound him?" Was not the eye of James able to discover a single witness who could testify as to this *conclusive act of guilt* upon the part of the man the king hated, and whom he was so anxious to destroy? Can any mind conceive it possible that this mass of evidence should have been in existence against Ralegh, and nothing have been divulged but the letter of Captain Barker (now for the first time given to the world) and the unexplained statement of the admission made in the presence of St. Leger and Pennington?

With a very brief reference to the evidence brought forward by the Edinburgh to confirm the charge of piracy, we leave the subject. The anecdote which is reported by Wilson, may be characteristic, but we confess that we cannot bring ourselves to attach much importance to anything which comes from so questionable a source. The Reviewer further relies upon passages in certain of Ralegh's letters, as shewing

clearly what were his ulterior designs. The first of these declarations, occurs in a letter from Ralegh to his wife, in which he says, "he trusts that God will send them somewhat before their return." Taken with the context, we are unable to twist this passage into anything piratical, and really suppose it to refer to a renewal of the attempt on the mines, under better auspices. The other extract declares, that he has "four reasonable good ships left, and that, with them he could keep the sea until August." In reference to this statement, we think it necessary simply to say; that it occurs in a letter addressed by Ralegh to *Sir Ralph Winwood, then the Secretary of State*, and is rather an official report of his proceedings, than a private letter; and it is scarcely likely that he would have made a piratical purpose the subject matter of an epistle *evidently meant for the eye of the King.*

The return of Ralegh to England, under circumstances which were certain to involve him in great danger, is a matter which occasioned much surprise among his contemporaries, and has since been a fruitful theme of discussion. The Edinburgh, cannot admit the possibility of its having been a *voluntary* act on the part of Ralegh, and professes to disbelieve the explanation which is adopted by Mr. Jardine. That his return was "voluntary," seems to us quite credible, as there is no evidence whatever of any *coercion* having been employed to bring him home. In fact, we have already shewn that at Newfoundland *he voted for an immediate return.* Besides this, his setting out for London, as soon as he heard of the Proclamation, and in advance of the arrest by Stuckley; the voluntary surrender of his person, and more

than all, his refusing to avail himself of the opportunity of escape to France, which Captain King had provided; shew not only that his return was voluntary, but that some high motive had induced it. But why should he not return to England? True, he had failed in his enterprise. That was attributable more to the conduct of the King and the insubordinate character of his crews, than to any act of his own. His wife and family were in England.—Where else should he go? The Edinburgh intimates, upon the authority of Demarest, that his intention was to have gone over to France and offered his service to that monarch. Ralegh absolutely denies ever having entertained such an idea. *We believe Ralegh.* We cannot think that he who by the toil of a long life had builded up a great reputation, and who was connected with all that was illustrious in the reign of such a monarch as Elizabeth, *could* by an act either of treachery or cowardice, prove recreant to himself, and consent to sully the name he had won. But the statement which is made by Carew in his letter to James Howell, and which Mr. Jardine adopts, throws light upon the matter. It appears, "that when Ralegh sailed from England, the Earls Pembroke and Arundel, made themselves responsible to the King for his return; and his re-appearance is to be attributed to his determination to release them from their obligation."* This is a theory entirely consistent with the view we have endeavored to present of the character of Ralegh, and with it we take our leave of the vexed question.

* See Howell's Familiar Letters.

In his progress from Plymouth to London, Ralegh was in custody, and closely watched by Sir Lewis Stuckley, and a French quack, named Manourie, whom the King attached to his person in the character of spies. While James had fully determined to sacrifice his great subject to the enmity of Spain,* he was very much perplexed as to the manner in which his favorite object could be accomplished, without an act of bold tyranny, from which his timid nature shrank in alarm. He does not appear to have doubted that Ralegh would repair to London, and submit himself to the royal will; but he sent down these agents to accompany him, in order to secure through their instrumentality, a decent pretext for the course which he had determined to pursue. The spies who surrounded Ralegh, noted every look, word and action, of their illustrious prisoner. They persuaded him to attempt an escape; aided him up to the last moment, and then betrayed him. They stood at his bedside in the Tower. The unguarded exclamations of an injured man; the honest indignation of a betrayed subject; the sorrowful reflections of a maligned spirit; the breathings of hope, the accents of despair, and the words of supplication, were repeated to the ears of the eager King. But it was all vain. Ralegh spoke no

* This determination on the part of the King, is made fully apparent from a letter addressed soon after the execution of Ralegh, by one of the officers of state, to an Agent in Spain; in which the Agent is directed to urge upon that Court: "in how many ways of late, the King hath *strained* upon the affections of his people, *and especially in this last concerning Sir Walter Ralegh;* and further to let them know, how able a man Sir Walter Ralegh was to have done his Majesty service, *yet to give them content, he hath not spared him,* when by doing so he might have given great satisfaction to his people, and had at command upon all occasions as useful a man as served any Prince in Christendom." Letter to Mr. Cottington. See Rusworth's Coll. 2 Cayley, 178.

treason. He revealed no secret of his heart, no action of his life, which justified the warrant of his death. It became necessary to resort to other means to entrap him. James was full of expedients. He was just the King for such an emergency. He directed that Lady Ralegh should be confined in her house, and encouraged to communicate freely with her imprisoned husband, and the dastardly monarch gloated over *the intercepted letters*, striving to extract treason from the language of love, and make the confiding wife the instrument of her husband's ruin!* But even this scheme failed, and he was at last forced to throw off the mask, and resort to an act of high handed outrage, which *even Hume*, could not justify. *This was the revival of the old sentence!* A writ of Privy Seal was despatched to the Judges, commanding them to order its execution. They shrank from the flagrant injustice. They declared that neither the writ of Privy Seal, nor even a warrant under the Great Seal, could authorise them, after so long an interval of time, to execute the sentence, without first affording the prisoner an opportunity of pleading in person against it; and they resolved to bring him to the bar by a writ of habeas corpus, to answer why execution should not be awarded against him.† The King approved of this course, and without a pause, Ralegh was borne from a sick bed, with a burning fever raging in his veins, to the bar at Westminster.

"What have you to say why execution should not

* Tytler, p. 350. † 2 Cayley, 147 to 156. Tytler, 352 to 354. Oldys, 225.

be awarded against you," demanded the clerk of the crown.

"My voice hath grown weak, from my late sickness," said Ralegh; "and an ague that I have on me at this instant; I pray you to give me the relief of a pen and ink."

"You speak audibly enough," quoth the Chief Justice; and in tones trembling from his sickness, Ralegh proceeded with his defence.

"He hoped that the Judgment he received to die so long since, would not now be strained to take away his life; since by his majesty's commission for his late voyage, it was implied to be restored, in giving him power as marshal over the lives of others; and since he undertook that voyage to honor his sovereign, and to enrich his country with gold, of the ore whereof, this hand hath found and taken, in Guiana."

A most excellent defence; for before he went upon that expedition, he was offered *a full pardon* for a further bribe of £700, but Sir Francis Bacon, *the Lord Chancellor of the realm,* said: "Sir! the knee timber of your voyage, is money. Spare your purse in this particular, *for upon my life, you have a sufficient pardon for all that is past, already; the king having under his broad seal, made you Admiral of your fleet, and given you power of martial law over your officers and men!"* Vain reasoning! Sir Francis Bacon was a *Lawyer;* but James I. *was a King!*

From the Judgment Hall to the scaffold, was but a stride. The warrant of death was already signed; *the ink had dried upon it, before the execution was awarded,* and the very next day, without even a

decent interval for the settlement of his affairs, the sad farewells of human love, or the supplication for divine mercy ; the fearful tragedy was hurried on to its bloody catastrophe. Ralegh met his fate with the spirit of a soldier, the calm courage of a man, and the lofty faith of a Christian. After addressing those whom the occasion had assembled, in a speech which breathes a *truthful*, as well as a noble spirit, he prepared himself for death. The morning being cold, the sheriff offered to bring him from the scaffold to the fire, that he might warm himself before he said his prayers, but he answered ; "no, good Mr. Sheriff, let us despatch ; for within this quarter of an hour, my ague will come upon me, *and if I be not dead before that, mine enemies will say, I quake with fear!* He then knelt, and was for a long time absorbed in prayer, when rising from his knees, he drew himself up to his full height, and raising his clasped hands toward heaven, exclaimed ; "*now I am going to God!*" After embracing the executioner, and giving him his forgiveness, he entreated him not to strike until he gave him a token, and then, "to strike home." When he laid down, the headsman directed him to turn his face toward the east ; he answered, "no matter how the *head* lie, *so the heart be right.*" For some time he seemed rapt in prayer, and then he gave the sign ; which the headsman not observing, he cried out, "*strike, man ;*" and with these brave words yet trembling on his lips, the head of the noble victim, rolled from the block ! "*

Our sketch of the career of Sir Walter Ralegh is finished. While we confess our high admiration for

* Tytler, 364. 2 Cayley, 171. Oldys, 230.

his character, we have endeavoured to be perfectly fair in our narration, and just in our estimate of his motives and conduct. In regard to some of the actions of his life, a difference of opinion always has, and perhaps always will, exist. The evidence which satisfies one mind, is frequently insufficient to convince another, and while we consider the results to which we have arrived, fully justified by the authorities which we have cited, and the course of argument pursued; others may very probably adopt a different conclusion. All must admit however, that he was an extraordinary man, uniting in a wonderful degree those rare, and various qualities which make up a great character. We are very far from claiming for him, perfection. His occupations and course of life, were calculated to develope prominently, the frailties which are inseparable from our nature; and it is greatly to his praise, that under the circumstances in which he was placed, the finger of censure, can point to so few of the actions of his long and eventful career, which are deserving of reprehension. Educated in the camp; thrown in the flush of his youth into the lap of a luxurious and corrupt court; leading the life of a soldier, a sailor, an adventurer, and a courtier; it was scarcely possible that he should wholly escape the soiling influence of vice, or rise superior to the weakness of humanity. His nobler characteristics however, far outnumber the unworthy, and fairly viewed, his character is as deserving of admiration, as his career is suggestive of interest.

His capacities were large and versatile—his judgment strong—his perception acute, and his fancy vivid and restless. As a soldier, he was skilful,

chivalric and brave. As a statesman, his views were sound, his policy enlightened, and his course dignified and patriotic. As an orator, he was nervous, vehement and effective. As a historian, he was philosophical and laborious. As a scholar, elegant and accomplished; and as a poet, pleasing and graceful. From his letters to his wife, we are justified in attributing to him those qualities of heart, which adorn the intercourse of private life; for while they are models of style, they breathe a delicacy of feeling, and a depth of affection, which prove him to have been a refined gentleman, and a *true man.** In all the traits of his character, and the actions of his life, he compares favorably with the men who dignified the remarkable age in which he lived; and while history has assigned to him an illustrious position in the annals of the past, he will ever enlist the sympathy, and challenge the admiration, of the future.

* See 2 Cayley, pp. 33, 49, 66, 78, 117, 173.

MEMOIR

OF

MAJOR SAMUEL RINGGOLD,

UNITED STATES ARMY:

READ BEFORE

The Maryland Historical Society,

APRIL 1st, 1847.

BY JAMES WYNNE, M. D.

BALTIMORE:
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MDCCCXLVII.

MEMOIR OF MAJ. SAMUEL RINGGOLD.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

It becomes my melancholy, yet pleasing duty, this evening, to revive in your recollection a few of the striking characteristics and generous actions of one who, during life, devoted himself to the service of his country, and finally yielded up that life as a votive offering at her shrine.

In the performance of this duty, I am not actuated by an exalted opinion of military glory or renown; nor by a desire either to flatter or speak condolence to surviving relatives; these are worthy and creditable motives; but mine, on the present occasion, is a still higher one, and aims, by portraying a life full of usefulness and national devotion, so far as my feeble powers will permit, to inculcate the positive necessity for self sacrifice, when the government under which we live requires so much at the hands of either of its citizens.

In the examination of history we too frequently overlook the component parts of a nation. We behold it in its great achievements—in its display of power or weakness—in its advance or decline. The great actions which accomplish the one, or produce the other, stand before us in such bold relief that we lose sight of the less obtrusive, yet not less important agents, on which these great events actually depend. We look at nations in the aggregate, and not as a combination of individuals, like ourselves, and therefore fail to derive many of those salutary lessons which it is the province of history to impart.

Now it requires but a cursory examination into the philosophy of human society (and history is nothing more than a development of the effects of this philosophy on different nations), in order to ascertain that each individual has duties to perform towards society, represented in its government, as high, as imperious, and as binding as those due to himself and his family, and he who is recreant to the former, fails in one of the first and most essential elements of citizenship, no matter how well he may execute the latter. To no form of human association is this position more applicable than to that in which we live, composed, as it avowedly is, of members united together for the purposes of individual protection and advantage, on terms of the most perfect equality, and admitting of the greatest amount of personal liberty compatible with well regulated society. Whenever these obligations, due from the citizen to his government, are cheerfully complied with, and properly performed, they furnish unmistakeable evidence of national prosperity. Whenever these are wanting, and the authority of government is not responded to by those over whom it exercises, or should exercise, an authority, it is doomed to certain and irretrievable decline. History is full of examples in proof of this position, and in the long catalogue of national calamities which it details, it tells of the destruction of no nation in which this element did not contribute a large share to its downfall. Nations have nothing to fear from a formidable exhibition of power from without, but from apathy and dissension within. These are the great sources of national weakness, and therefore those which should be most sedulously guarded against. So thought the ancients when the most gifted and influential among them considered it an honor to die to preserve the

unity of their own government. So thought Nicias—so thought the greatest of Grecian orators, Demosthenes—so, too, thought the wisest of ancient philosophers, Socrates, each of whom was devoted a willing sacrifice at his country's altar. They have died, but their deeds have survived the wreck of time, and are as fresh and potent for good, in the remembrance of those who now live, as when the knowledge of these sacrifices was first proclaimed to their countrymen at Athens. And who can tell how much of the prosperity of Greece, through so many ages, depended on the example of the devotion of these and other illustrious men to their country. Nor was the sunny clime and age of *living* Greece the only one which inspired its inhabitants with this enthusiastic devotion to country. Each nation, whether situated amid the frosts of eternal winter, or parched beneath the ardor of an equatorial sun, cherishes in a guarded spot, within the entablature of its history, the memory of some among her children who, on the tented field, amid the raging pestilence, the desolating famine, or some other national calamity, have parted with life under circumstances calculated to call forth the grateful admiration of those who survived them.

Our own country, in the few short years which have transpired since it first merged from a weak and feeble infancy into a great and prosperous nation, has numbered among its citizens many to whom it points with a proud exultation, and whose memories are preserved as patterns of excellence, worthy of admiration and imitation by their descendants.

In this city, styled, "par excellence," the monumental city, because of the works it has raised to perpetuate the memory of those who deserve to be held in remembrance, one of the first objects that strikes

the eye of the stranger, as he approaches it, rearing its white shaft high toward heaven, and towering in majestic grandeur over every surrounding object, is the noble monument erected to the memory of the father of his country, at the same moment an evidence to all future generations of your patriotism and his exalted character. Passing from antecedent to more modern times in our history, the classic battle monument presents itself, on which are inscribed the names of those who fell in defence of this fair and goodly city, which you claim as your *particular heritage.* Nor can I pass by, in silence, the rustic lodge of old gray stone, where, amid the lull of the waterfall, and the gentle sighing of the graceful elms which overhang and shelter it, the monument of ARMISTEAD, surrounded by appropriate emblems, demands from the passer-by a moment's consideration. When I thus behold myself surrounded by so many instances of the reward of individual merit, need I fear to ask you to enter with me into the field of PALO ALTO—to single out one of those stern warriors who, amid the carnage of battle, was busy in that fearful struggle of life and death—need I fear to ask you to fix your eyes on one who was known by reputation to all, and personally to most of the members of this society—who was a native of Maryland, and a citizen of Baltimore—Major SAMUEL RINGGOLD.

Major Ringgold was the eldest son of Gen. Samuel Ringgold, of Washington county, in this state. The family, both on his father's and mother's side, (which latter was a daughter of Gen. Cadwalader, of Philadelphia,) was highly respectable, and exercised a considerable influence in the section of country in which they resided, where his father filled many offices of trust and honor, the most distinguished of which was a seat in the house of representatives of the U. States.

Major Ringgold was born in the year 1800, and, in 1814, then in his fourteenth year, entered, as a cadet, the West Point Academy. Here he commenced in earnest that course of study which was destined to fit him for the useful life he was afterwards to lead; and here too his mind was left free to enjoy the full scope of those hopes and aspirations which had been the subject of his day dreams in his earlier years. He was by nature a soldier; all his early impressions were associated with this mode of life, and all his hopes were to render himself worthy to discharge well the duties of such a station. His ancestors had performed no mean part in the war of the revolution, and his maternal grandfather not only occupied an important post in that army, but was likewise the warm friend, and confidant of General Washington.

The scenes of that eventful period were yet too fresh in the memory, not to become an almost constant topic of conversation; and if he was not literally nursed amid the clang of armor, the time of his birth was yet so nearly allied to that of the revolution, that the excitement produced by it had then scarcely subsided into the sober routine of ordinary life. It still occupied men's thoughts, and gave a coloring to their actions; it still found its way into the nursery, and furnished the fruitful theme by which the American mother was accustomed to beguile the hours of her wondering child. Under ordinary circumstances, periods of excitement are followed with results somewhat akin to this; but when we consider that the revolution not only gave a direction to the thoughts, but likewise wrought a total change in the whole constitution of society; that it established a form of government, entirely different from that which had preceded it, and exhibited to mankind a practical demonstration of the ability of man to govern himself;

that it led every member of the community to view, with an intensity of interest, the gradual and certain development of that problem, on which his future hopes depended, and around which his warmest affections were clustered, it is not singular that one whose nearest relatives were associated with the administration of public affairs, should have imbibed in a high degree the spirit of the age, and gazed, with all the romantic imagination of youth, on that period so important in the destiny of his country.

Nor was there any thing in the times, when he entered the military academy, calculated to dampen this ardor of his spirit. Our old enemy, Great Britain, had retired from the contest defeated, it is true, yet far from being satisfied with the loss of her rich colonial possessions, and a series of aggressions, of a number of years' continuance, which finally broke out into an open rupture, and was then progressing, kept alive all those feelings of jealousy and distrust, calculated to inflame a youthful mind, and cause it to pant for military renown.

While too many others, therefore, were wasting the precious moments of youth, in idle or frivolous pastimes, he was engaged in the diligent pursuit of his studies, and aimed not merely to know, but to know well every branch of knowledge necessary to accomplish him as an officer. Industry like this seldom goes unrewarded, and after four years of diligent study, he had the gratification to receive the highest honors of the institution, and graduated at the head of his class.

At his entrance into the army he received the appointment of aid to General Scott, and repaired to Philadelphia, at which place that officer held his head quarters. After three years service in this capacity, he was detailed as an engineer under Major Bache, to make an examination of a part of our

southern coast, which service he left to join the third regiment, as a lieutenant. In all these varied capacities he was never unmindful of his duties, and endeavored, by much observation and study, and an ardent application to the business confided to his charge, to extend the sphere of his military usefulness.

At a later period he performed the duties of ordnance officer to the army at the important post of New York. He brought to the discharge of this duty not only great skill as an officer, but a superior inventive genius. Among other evidences of the exhibition of this talent, for the profit and advantage of his country, his improvement on the percussion cannon lock stands pre-eminent. The lock at that time in use, not only in our own country, but elsewhere, was peculiarly liable to injury from the unyielding manner in which the hammer fell upon the cap, at the breech of the gun. The recoil shock was so great as frequently to throw the hammer from its position, and thus disable the piece from active service for the time. This defect proved of such importance in actual service, as in no small degree to do away with the advantages of the percussion lock over the old mode of firing the gun.

Major Ringgold not only perceived, in common with others, this defect, but likewise discovered its remedy, and, after much time and labor expended in the pursuit, succeeded in imparting a lateral motion to the hammer, by means of a spring, which drew it sideways and backward the moment after it gave the blow by which the cap was exploded. This invention, at that time adopted in the service, furnished the basis on which all the more modern improvements have been made.*

* Some appreciation of the value of this discovery may be formed from the circumstance, that the last session of congress awarded Mr. Joseph Shaw, a distinguished landscape painter, twenty thousand dollars for an improvement on

The military saddle, now in general use in the army for dragoons and artillery, is likewise an invention of his, and is said to possess many advantages over the one formerly in use.

When the unfortunate disagreement between the general government and the state of South Carolina assumed so foreboding an aspect in 1831, he was ordered to Charleston, where he remained until the cessation of the difficulties in 1833. The position occupied by the army here was truly an unpleasant one, and attended with perplexities which none but a participant can well imagine. Bound to the performance of orders by a rigid military discipline, they could not forget that they were placed in a hostile attitude towards their own countrymen, who, however deluded they might be, were still sincere in their delusion. Kindness and urbanity were therefore united to a strict observance of discipline, and due compensation was made for the irritated feelings of their opponents. During those troublous times Major, then Lieut. Ringgold, was enabled to pursue such a course as to assist very materially in removing the torch, which seemed ready, in the hand of the incendiary, to light the whole Union into a blaze.

It is no mean praise to the entire corps of army and navy officers, engaged on this truly perilous service, to say, that there was among them but one expression of opinion and mode of action, and that was to quiet

the cannon lock, which flowed, as a consequence, from Major Ringgold's discovery. In this he may truly be said to have acted as a pioneer, but, as too frequently occurs, whilst he shook the tree others collected the fruit. I have no disposition to detract from the value of Mr. Shaw's really meritorious invention, who is not the less entitled to praise, *and reward too*, because a portion of the difficulty was removed from his pathway, but only desire to render the subject of this memoir that meed of praise to which his discovery so justly entitles him, but which has been so long withheld.

The original lock on which Major Ringgold made his experiments, and which was subject to one or two thousand trials, was presented by his brother, Lieut. Cadwalader Ringgold, of the U. S. Navy, to Sir Howard Douglas, a distinguished officer of the British army, and the author of a valuable work on naval gunnery.

and assuage—to treat all with unwonted courtesy and urbanity, and to repay unkind words and hasty expressions with kind and studied politeness. How admirably fitted, by nature and education, the subject of this memoir was, to pursue such a line of conduct with success, you can all bear testimony. These services were so highly appreciated by the general government as to procure for him the rank of captain by brevet, at a later period, when ample time was had to review his conduct, to commence from May, 1832.

In 1836 he received the commission of captain, and was ordered to the command of a company in the third artillery at Savannah, from which post he was shortly after removed, to take part in the Seminole war, then raging in Florida. During the greater part of this vexatious and unprofitable war he remained in Florida, subject, in common with the rest of the army, to a series of privations and physical evils, which lost to the country many a brave and promising officer, in the full glow and vigor of youth, and shattered for life the constitutions of many who survived; among this latter class was Major, then Captain Ringgold. With him and too many others the immense morasses and ever-glades, which stretch along this whole peninsula, united to the ardor of a southern sun, and sending forth, with every breeze, the most pestilential and deadly vapors, proved a much more formidable opponent than the treacherous Indian concealed beneath the luxuriance of their foliage: and when, in the fall of 1838, his company was disbanded, and he received orders to repair to Carlisle, Pa. for the purpose of entering upon a new and untried species of duty, he returned to his friends emaciated in body, haggard in countenance, and but a wreck of his former self.

The pure and invigorating air of the healthy region in which Carlisle is situated served, in some degree,

to repair the injuries he had sustained, and restored him to passable health; but the elasticity of his form was gone, the vigor of his youthful constitution had vanished, and he was destined, during the remainder of his life, to suffer from the consequences of the disease contracted in his Florida campaign. Here too, as in every other position occupied by him, he performed eminent services, and received, in consideration of them, the rank of major by brevet.

But whilst his body was thus debilitated by disease, his mind retained its wonted energy, and he sat himself to the task of organizing a new branch of service, with all the zeal and alacrity which had characterized his more youthful exertions.

Without attempting any disparagement to the other officers of the army, I but repeat what they have frequently declared, when I say, that the government exhibited a just discrimination of character in selecting Major Ringgold as one of its chief agents in organizing a corps of flying artillery, new to our service, but which had been found so formidable in the prosecution of the wars on the continent of Europe.

From this period until the day of his death, his mind was constantly occupied with the desire to give greatest efficiency to the service under his command. His fine and manly corps, admirably accoutred and appointed, constituted his idol; he doated upon it, as a parent upon his first born, and succeeded in inspiring the same enthusiasm in the breast of every individual under his command.

During much of the time he was engaged in developing this system of military tactics, he was a resident of Baltimore, his corps being stationed at Fort McHenry, which place he left, but a few months previous to his death, to join the army under the command of General Taylor, on our south-western frontier.

During his residence here we had all frequent opportunities of witnessing those wonderful military manœuvres executed by his company, in which both man and horse seemed to vie with each other best to execute his part.

The writer first met with Major Ringgold at Washington, when ordered there during the last year of Mr. Van Buren's administration, to exhibit the feats of his company before the president and his cabinet, and so quick and sudden were their movements, so rapid and constant the discharge of their cannon, so soon in harness again, and ready for change of position or flight, that it seemed almost the work of magic art, and all present pronounced it the very excellence of military manœuvring.

But it required sterner times fully to develop its efficiency, and these times, unfortunately, came too soon. The battle of Palo Alto, the first blow struck in the warfare with our Mexican neighbor, which God grant may be of short duration, while it lost to the country its able commander, fully realized the anticipations entertained for the corps of flying artillery, and the heaps of promiscuous dead that lay piled together wherever its formidable cannons pointed their mouths, gave terrible proof of its efficiency in actual warfare.

This battle field, at the same moment the witness of his triumph and of his death, furnishes the closing scene of his life. "Upon reaching the field of Palo Alto," says Powell, "at about three o'clock in the afternoon of the 8th of May, the action commenced by the Mexicans opening their batteries on their right, at a distance of half a mile from our line. The fire was responded to by two eighteen pounders, in charge of Lieut. Churchill; Major Ringgold now took position to the right and front of the eighteen pounders, at a distance of seven hundred yards from

the enemy, subsequently, advancing one hundred yards, and opened his battery with tremendous effect, as was shown the next day by the large number of the enemy's dead found on the field along this line."

"Major Ringgold pointed the guns with his own hand, and, with unerring precision, directing the shot not only to groups and masses of the enemy, but to particular men in their lines. He saw them fall in numbers, their places occupied by others who, in their turn, were shot down. Pointing his guns to the same place, and, to use his own words, 'he felt as confident of hitting his mark as though he had been using a rifle.' The infantry was formed in his rear as his support, and cheered rapturously the brilliant movements and destructive execution of his battery, while they received the enemy's fire with great coolness at a shoulder, impatient only for the order to charge."

"At length a regiment of the enemy's lancers were seen to make a demonstration towards our right, apparently to gain possession of our wagon train, when Lieut. Ridgely was detached with two pieces to check the movement. This left Maj. Ringgold short of men, or rather with a less number than he desired, and considered actually necessary, to execute his movement with celerity, and to supply the places of those who fell, or became disabled. This was a source of regret to him, even in his last moments; but he gallantly and nobly did his duty. Not a shade of incapacity, want of diligence, lack of bravery on the battle field, can rest on his memory or the sunshine of his military character."*

* Powell's Life of Taylor, pp. 52-3.

"In the action of Palo Alto," says a friend of his, who was present, in a letter to me, descriptive of the battle, "the post of honor was assigned to the lamented Ringgold; on the right, where for hours the attention of the whole right wing was riveted on his battery, the most brilliant success attended every manœuvre, and although his services were of short duration, yet long enough to earn for him the highest honors of the day."

For three hours longer he continued, with his two remaining pieces, to do great execution, until shot through the thighs by a cannon ball, passing from right to left, carrying with it a large mass of muscle and integuments, and tearing off the front of the saddle, and withers of the noble charger on which he rode. He fell slowly from his horse, and had scarcely reached the ground, when one of his lieutenants (Shover) came to his assistance, and while he supported him, called for a caisson to carry him to the rear. "*Never mind, sir,*" said Ringgold, "*go ahead with your men; all are wanted in front.*" When, however, finally prevailed upon to be carried from the field, he remarked, with great coolness, to his lieutenant: "*Be careful to get an empty caisson, as you may require all your ammunition.*"

The conduct of his artillery now devolved upon Lieut. Randolph Ridgely, his second in command, who, although inferior in point of cool calculation and consummate caution, was his equal in bravery and daring adventure. It will doubtless be the task of another, and more able pen than mine, to do justice to the memory of this young and meritorious officer. The moment had now arrived when the army was to move forward, and leave the wounded to be carried back to Point Isabelle. Even here the ardor of the soldier did not forsake him. It had been his polar star through life; it continued to exercise its influence over him in his last moments. "*Tell Randolph,*" said he to a friend who, on the eve of starting, tarried for a moment to bid him, what they both knew would be, a final farewell, "*to look well to his pieces, and see that his harness is complete. The smallest defect may destroy the efficiency of a piece.*" On the same day he was carried to Point Isabelle, where, notwithstanding the best application of surgical skill the army could

furnish, he died on the following morning (May 10th, 1846,) at one o'clock, conversing, up to the last moment of his life, with great cheerfulness, upon the movements of the army.

In person Major Ringgold was tall and commanding, and of late years quite spare; his countenance open, frank and pleasing, gave evidence of the generous traits which found repose in his breast. His manners were easy and polite; he was courteous and affable to all, and his heart was full of human sympathy. While he exacted from every individual under his command the strictest observance of duty, he was respected and beloved by them all, and may truly be said to have lived and died without enemies.

He was buried with military honors on the 11th of May, but it was destined that his resting place should not be in that distant spot, and a deputation was sent for the purpose of bringing his remains to his native state. A few months have scarcely elapsed since this deputation returned with their charge; and were other evidence wanting to establish the fame of the lamented dead, it could be found in the generous outpouring of spirit which drew thousands of his fellow citizens, of both sexes, and all ages, to gaze on the coffin which enclosed his mortal remains, or in the impulse which produced, on the day of his final interment, a general suspension of business; or the splendid military cavalcade, collected from all parts of the state, which accompanied his remains to that resting place where his ashes will again commingle with the soil of the state which gave him birth.

Commerce, Literature and Art.

MR. BRANTZ MAYER'S

DISCOURSE

AT THE

DEDICATION OF THE ATHENÆUM,

BALTIMORE, OCTOBER 23, 1848.

Commerce, Literature and Art:

A DISCOURSE

BY

BRANTZ MAYER,

DELIVERED AT THE DEDICATION OF THE

BALTIMORE ATHENÆUM,

OCTOBER 23, 1848.

BALTIMORE:
PRINTED BY JOHN MURPHY.
MDCCCXLVIII.

BALTIMORE, October 26th, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR:

The Joint Committee of the Maryland Historical Society, the Library Company, and the Mercantile Library Association, has requested me to ask of you for publication, a copy of the Address delivered by you before these Societies upon the evening of the 23d inst.

I have much pleasure in carrying the wish of the Committee into effect, and beg, that if not inconsistent with your own views, you will afford us an early opportunity of giving general circulation to the sentiments of your valuable and eloquent address.

Very respectfully and truly,
Your friend and servant,
J. MORRISON HARRIS.

B. C. WARD, S. F. STREETER, J. MORRISON HARRIS,	*Committee of the Maryland Historical Society.*
J. MASON CAMPBELL, JOHN M. GORDON. WILLIAM RODEWALD,	*Committee of the Baltimore Library Company.*
HENRY MACTIER WARFIELD, CHARLES BRADENBAUGH, WILLIAM E. WOODYEAR,	*Committee of the Mercantile Library Association.*

TO BRANTZ MAYER, ESQ.

BALTIMORE, 1st November, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR:

I received, to-day, your note, on behalf of the Historical Society, the Mercantile Library Association, and the Library Company of Baltimore, in which you are pleased, in very flattering terms, to request a copy of my Address for publication. I comply, at once, with your desire, and beg that you will convey to your associates, composing the Committee from the three Societies, my cordial thanks for this mark of their respect.

Very truly, your friend and servant,
BRANTZ MAYER.

TO J. MORRISON HARRIS, ESQ., &c. &c.
Chairman Joint Committee.

DISCOURSE.

There is nothing around which cluster so many agreeable sympathies, as the idea of Home. It is that for which every man of true sensibility craves. We long to be at rest, in perfect security. We desire a retreat whence we are never to be driven, and wherein, our rights will always be respected. This is a natural feeling which every one experiences when he shuts the door of his dwelling and nestles in the familiar chair that stands ready, with its capacious arms, to receive him in the kindly circle gathered around his hearth stone.

Nor is this sentiment of home dearer to man, in social life, than it is to the scholar and artist who seek to shelter the houseless children of the brain. It is to them pleasant to behold these vagrants comfortably lodged and provided for the rest of their lives,—not, indeed, in mendicant asylums where genius is fed with reluctant alms,—but in a respectable home, where they may never suffer the stings of dependence, or, with wounded pride, sink into the degradation of beggary.

Such a Home, and not such an Asylum, for Literature, Art, and History, we have met, to dedicate in the City of Baltimore; and here, forever are the masters of the pen and pencil, to enjoy free quarters and hold their levees in the republic of letters. We design it to be a home in every sense of the word;—a home not only to them, but to us;—a social home, in which fashion and formality are to hold no place or to enjoy no privileges, but where all shall be cordially welcomed when they crave admission or companionship by virtue of talent or taste.

Whilst congratulating this audience that we have, at last, within the limits of our city, such an edifice, we may also indulge the remark, that this is, perhaps, the first unselfish gift that money has ever made to mind in our country. I do not allude to the foundation of professorships, or gifts to charitable institutions,—things done for the sake of Christianity, or for the advancement of education, and flowing from the generosity of wealthy individuals,—but I speak of edifices erected by spontaneous subscriptions for literary purposes, from which the donors expected no revenue in the form of money. This beautiful house has been built by FREE GIFT; so that all classes,—mercantile, professional, mechanical,—have been enabled to bestow their voluntary contributions, and to point to it as an object of personal and exalted pride.

There are, probably, many present who recollect when the first project of erecting this Athenæum was suggested, and how sneeringly the idea was discountenanced by some, that anything but the expectation of revenue could induce subscription to such an enterprize. Indeed, the first sketch comprehended the

scheme of a small income; but there were others who believed that generosity and intellectual justice were possible things, when men are properly addressed;—and, to-night, you have the material fact proved and consecrated in the dedication of this magnificent building. Let it be our boast, as Baltimoreans, when we show the shafts and columns that point heavenward from our city walls, in honor of civil and military glory, that we have now a nobler monument in our midst, to which cupidity has not paid the tribute of a cent,—in which selfishness has not set a single stone,—with which the vanity of the living or the dead has no concern, and to which time, money, intelligence, have been unstintedly devoted as a labor of love. Let it be our honest pride that herein are not to be congregated the trophies of war the spoils of victory, the emblems of mortal strife and ambition; but that the triumphs of the mind, the god-like thoughts and spiritual fancies, the sublime conceptions and achievements of genius in all countries, are to be garnered within our edifice;—that from these walls the noble images of pictured thought are to speak in beauty; that from these pedestals the eloquent marble is to breathe the passionate beauty of Venus, or the spiritual wrath of Apollo;—that from these shelves, the master minds of all ages are to speak to enquiring men, and to hold their solemn conclave of genius and wisdom!

It is a matter of no ordinary satisfaction, that the greater part of the funds with which this edifice has been erected, came from the mercantile community. In a Republic, and, indeed, in all countries, at the

present day, the majority of the people must be engaged either in commerce, agriculture, or the mechanic arts. The great bulk of national wealth, consequently, pertains to this large and influential body, and the lawful patronage of genius must spring from it wherever art and literature can constitutionally receive but little direct encouragement from the government. Science takes care of itself; because science,—the handmaid of the mechanic, the farmer, the manufacturer, and the navigator,—appeals immediately to their necessities for protection. The sailor cannot cross the sea, the merchant trade, the builder raise his dwelling, the miner dig the earth for coal or gold, nor even the distinguished cook prepare his mess of savory viands, without the aid of theoretic and practical science. Mathematics, chemistry, geology, and all that vast field which is covered by the general phrase—Natural Philosophy,—appeal personally, to the wants of every man. We feel and are forced to acknowledge our direct dependence on them, and we know that in proportion as they are developed by modern analysis, so are our means of acquiring fortune and surrounding ourselves with comforts and luxuries multiplied. This, then, is the demand that want makes on science, and the reason why science rarely asks the aid of wealth; for, without it, wealth could not transmute the dross of the desert into the coin that rules the world. But literature and art are differently situated. In such a country as America,—where the press is entirely untrammelled by a censorship or by the stringent enforcement of the law of libel,—in which the direct intercourse between men, and between the sexes, is of the

freest kind,—in which the genius of the people and the national laws have forever destroyed the possibility of perpetuating wealth in families,—the masses must, necessarily, be forced into violent action and continued effort, not only to acquire fortune, but for necessary maintainance. In this constant strife of the people against want or for accumulation, they have but little time to turn aside into the paths that are bordered by flowers, and where the muses dally and revel in perfect liberty. The habit of trade has the direct tendency to make men not only count the cost, but to look for an income from the outlay of their money. The question asked is—will it pay? The feeling that rises in the heart is the same as that with which they make a bargain:—is this a profitable investment?—and, thus, the dollar becomes the metre by which every thing is estimated when it passes under the scrutinizing eye of so prudent and parsimonious a class. The student is regarded as a dreamer. He is looked upon as a useless member of society. He does not immediately produce a profitable result, which tells upon minds that are always listening for echoes. Literature has a multiform duty assigned to it.—It is the recorder of history,—the teacher of truths, moral or scientific,—the vehicle of poetry and amusement. I speak of Literature in its higher offices, for we can scarcely dignify with so august a title that mass of verbiage which suffices for the ordinary conveyance of news, or for political discussion.—Literature, then, addresses a loftier state of the mind. It is not content with mere information, although that is one of its main reliances; but it looks to Philosophy as the analysis of human action,—to Poetry,

as the vehicle of sentiment and experience to the human heart,—to History, as the Recording Angel whose pen lingers over the great deeds and the great thoughts of a virtuous ancestry. Its business is not only with the present but the past. It is the treasurer of intellectual legacies; the diffuser of generous sympathy—the foe of selfishness, the vindicator of mind, the nurse of ideality.

It was remarked by Mr. Legaré,—one of the purest scholars given by America to the world—in advising a young friend, at the outset of his life, that, "nothing is more perilous in America than to be too long learning, or to get the name of bookish." Great, indeed, is the experience contained in this short paragraph! It is a sentence which nearly banishes a man from the fields of wealth, for it seems to deny the possibility of the concurrent lives of thought and action. The "bookish" man cannot be the "business" man! And such, indeed, has been the prevailing tone of public sentiment for the last thirty or forty years, since it became the parental habit to cast our children into the stream of trade to buffet their way to fortune, as soon as they were able either to make their labor pay, or to relieve their parents from a part of the expense of maintainance. Early taught that the duty of life is incompatible with the pursuits of a student, the young man whose school years gave promise of renown, speedily finds himself engaged in the mechanical pursuit of a business upon which his bread depends, and either quits forever the book he loved, or steals to it in night and secrecy, as Numa did to the tangled crypt when he wooed Egeria!

In the old world there are two classes to which

Literature can always directly appeal,—government, and the aristocracy. That which is elegant, entertaining, tasteful, remotely useful, or merely designed for embellishment, may call successfully on men who enjoy money and leisure, and are ever eager in the pursuit of new pleasures. This is particularly the case with individuals whose revenues are the mere alluvium of wealth,—the deposit of the golden tide flowing in with regularity,—but not with those whose fortunes are won from the world in a struggle of enterprize. Such men do not enjoy the refreshing occupation of necessary labor, and consequently, they crave the excitement of the intellect and the senses. Out of this want, in Europe, has sprung the Opera,—that magnificent and refined luxury of extreme wealth—that sublime assemblage of all that is exquisite in dress, decoration, declamation, melody, picture, motion, art,—that marriage of music and harmonious thought, which depends, for its perfect success, on the rarest organ of the human frame. The patrons of the Opera have the time and the money to bestow as rewards for their gratification; and yet, I am still captious enough to be discontented with a patronage, springing, in a majority of cases, from a desire for sensual relaxation, and not offered as a fair recompense in the barter that continually occurs in this world between talent and money. I would level the mind of the mass *up* to such an appreciative position, that, at last, it would regard Literature and Art as wants, not as pastimes,—as the substantial food, and not the frail confectionery of life.

And what is the result, in our country, of this unprotective sentiment towards Literature? The an-

swer is found in the fact that nearly all our young men whose literary tastes and abilities force them to use the pen, are driven to the daily press, where they sell their minds, by retail, in paragraphs;—where they print their crudities without sufficient thought or correction;—where the iron tongue of the engine is forever bellowing for novelty;—where the daily morsel of opinion must be coined into phrases for daily bread,—and where the idea, which an intelligent editor should expand into a volume, must be condensed into an aphoristic sentence.

Public speaking and talk, are also the speediest mediums of plausible conveyance of opinion in a Republic. The value of talk from the pulpit, the bar, the senate, and the street corner, is inappreciable in America. There is no need of its cultivation among us, for fluency seems to be a national gift. From the slow dropping chat of the provoking button holder, to the prolonged and rotund tumidities of the stump orator—every thing can be achieved by a harangue. It is a fearful facility of speech! Men of genius talk the results of their own experience and reflection. Men of talent talk the results of other men's minds; and, thus, in a country where there are few habitual students,—where there are few professed authors,—where all are mere *writers*,—where there is, in fact, scarcely the seedling germ of a national literature, we are in danger of becoming mere telegraphs of opinion, as ignorant of the full meaning of the truths we convey as are the senseless wires of the electric words which thrill and sparkle through their iron veins!

It is not surprising, then, that the mass of American reading consists of newspapers and novels;—that

nearly all our good books are imported and reprinted;—that, with a capacity for research and composition quite equal to that of England, our men become editors instead of authors. No man but a well paid parson, or a millionaire, can indulge in the expensive delights of amateur authorship. Thus it is that Sue is more read than Scott. Thus it is that the *intense* literature of the weekly newspapers is so prosperous, and that the laborer, who longs to mingle cheaply the luxuries of wealth, health and knowledge, purchases, on his way homeward, with his pay in his pocket, on Saturday night, a lottery ticket, a Sunday newspaper, and a dose of quack physic, so that he has the chance of winning a fortune by Monday, whilst he is purifying his body and amusing his mind, without losing a day from his customary toil!

In this way we trace downward from the merchant and the literary man to the mechanic, the prevailing notion in our country of necessary devotion to labor as to a dreary task, without respite or relaxation. This is the expansive illustration of Mr. Legaré's idea, that no man must get, in America, the repute of being "bookish." And yet, what would become of the world without those derided, "bookish" men?—these recorders of history—these developers of science—these philosophers—these writers of fiction—these thousand scholars who are continually adding by almost imperceptible contributions to the knowledge and wealth of the world? Some there are, who, in their day and generation, indeed *appear* to be utterly useless;—men who *seem* to be literary idlers, and, yet, whose works tell upon the world in

the course of ages. Such was the character of the occupations of Atticus, in Rome, and of Horace Walpole, in England. Without Atticus,—the elegant scholar, who stood aloof from the noisy contests of politics, and cultivated letters,—we should never have had the delicious correspondence addressed to him by Cicero. Without the vanity, selfishness, avarice, and dilletantism of Walpole, we should never have enjoyed that exquisite mosaic-work of history, wit, anecdote, character and incident, which he has left us in the letters addressed to his various friends. Too idle for a sustained work,—too gossiping for the serious strain that would have excluded the malice, scandal and small talk of his compositions,—he adopted the easy chat of familiar epistles, and converted his correspondence into an intellectual curiosity shop whose relics are now becoming of inestimable value to a posterity which is greedy for details.

No character is to be found in history that unites in itself so many various and interesting objects as that of the friend of Atticus. Cicero was a student, a scholar, a devoted friend of art, and, withal, an eminent "man of business." He was at home in the Tusculum and the Senate. It was supposed, in his day, that a statesman should be an accomplished man. It was the prevailing sentiment, that polish did not impair strength. It was believed that the highest graces of oratory—the most effective wisdom of speech,—the conscientious advice of patriotic oratory,—could only be expected from a zealous student who had exhausted the experience of the world without the dread of being "bookish." It was the opinion that cultivation and business moved hand in

hand,—and that Cicero could criticise the texture of a papyrus, the grain and chiselling of a statue, or the art of a picture, as well as the foreign and domestic relations of Rome. Taste, architecture, morals, poetry, oratory, gems, rare manuscripts, curious collections, government, popular favor, all, in turn, engaged his attention, and, for all, he displayed a remarkable aptitude. No man thought he was less a "business man" because he filled his dwelling with groups of eloquent marble; because he bought and read the rarest books; because he chose to mingle only with the best and most intellectual society; because he shunned the demagogue and never used his arts even to suppress crime! Cicero would have been Cicero had he never been consul. Place gave nothing to him but the chance to save his country. It can bestow no fame; for fame is won by the qualities that should win place; whilst place is too often won by the tricks that should condemn the practicer. It were well, both on the score of accomplishment and of personal biography, that our own statesmen would recollect the history of a man whose books and orations will endear him to a posterity which will scarcely know that he was a ruler in Rome!

If I thought it needful to enforce the compatibility of scholarship and "business," I might sketch the biography of a patriot who has lately passed from amongst us. Mr. John Quincy Adams was a remarkable proof of the harmonious blending of these qualities; and moreover, he was a signal example of what an individual may acquire or achieve by the steadfast pursuit of a worthy object. He aimed to

be a Christian Gentleman, and his conduct and correspondence attest, that, at the most brilliant court of Europe, he turned joyfully from the fascinations of royal society, to kneel in unaffected humility before his God, and that whilst using his pen, in public, for the international welfare of Russia and America, he devoted it, in secret, to disclose to a beloved son, the musings of a soul penetrated with the truths of Christianity. He strove to be eminent as a rhetorician, and his verse, as well as his prose, proves the extraordinary command he obtained over his native language. Endowed with a mind that mastered every useful or interesting fact and anecdote in national story or personal biography, and remembering all its accumulations at will, he became the most delightful companion in our country. Knowing all the distinguished men of both continents, either personally or by correspondence,—having witnessed, in the old and new worlds, most of the great events of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,—and enjoying the dialectic skill of a prompt debater,—he labored to acquire the fame of an orator who could convince or crush his opponents, and delighted Senates held their breath while the "old man eloquent" poured forth his wisdom, his wit, his sarcasm and his experience. Tempted onward and upward, he became the master-spirit of the American cabinet; and, at last, crowned his eminent career of industry and public virtue, by occupying the presidential chair, from which, with true democratic simplicity, he descended to the popular arena of Congress, which witnessed the most brilliant triumphs of his political life and the still more august glories of his Christian death!

This is an example of what may be done by an encouraged and supported ordinary mind; for the intellect of Mr. Adams, when critically judged, must be regarded as rather more capacious for acquirement than creation. He was not a man of genius; yet he mingled the useful and the agreeable with more skill, perhaps, than any of the distinguished statesmen of America during the last two decades of our history.

I can readily sympathize, nevertheless, with persons who fear devoting their children to the pursuits of Literature. Scholarship is a great privilege or a great danger. It must not become an absorbing, essential, or exclusive purpose. Its relation to life must never become anything more than that of a graceful handmaid. The danger of excessive scholarship is to make a man unfit for any thing but a schoolmaster,—and, properly speaking, not even for that, because schoolmasters usually teach more of language than of idea,—more of the vehicle than the substance it bears. This is the glaring error of modern teaching, which feeds and disgust pupils with the husk of language,—tasking their memory instead of enlightening their understanding, wearying their ears instead of filling their minds with divine and eternal echoes of principle, truth, art, right, and the liberal Christianity that flows from them.

There are two kinds of great acquisition which have always appeared to me to be properly classed among the humbugs of the age, both of which, nevertheless, have their valuable uses when judiciously applied. I mean the acquisition of great wealth and of great learning,—the hoarding of dimes and dollars, and the miserly thrift of Greek roots, Hebrew ac-

cents, and Latin quantities. These deposits of mental and monetary riches may become intellectual banks which discount their treasures to the needy; but, personally considered, the great Parr and the greater Porson, are very little better than the door-keepers of such corporations. The great scholar is often an intellectual miser, who expends the spiritual energy that might make him a hero, upon the detection of a wrong dot, a false syllable, or an inaccurate word!

These are some of the real and imaginary dangers of scholarship or student life. Like all pursuits, it may run into extremes and make men solitary, moody, inactive and exclusive;—but, if we consider the other side of the picture, and study the immense benefits it is likely to bestow on those who pursue it with a judicious spirit, we shall, in time, learn to appreciate such merchants as Solon,* Roscoe, and Hope. In Europe,—especially on the Continent,—it is the pleasure of Governments to appreciate and foster men of genius whose position or means are incompatible with their tastes. They bestow pensions or personal honors which make such men conspicuous. This is especially needful for the maintainance of those who occupy themselves in entertaining or instructive literature, in works of fiction, or with the fine arts. Politics,—as the occupation of a mere literary class,—has not been hitherto permitted, except in France, and, even there, under restrictions of a formidable character.

This pension system, however, is one that is not to be approved. Men who think and write well, should

* It will be remembered that Solon began life as a supercargo.

not be supported by Government but by the PEOPLE. Pensions are apt to buy men. We do not willingly speak ill of the man who is disposed to afford us competence and leisure. We are not directly bribed,—yet, our sense of decency keeps us quiet; and, thus, there are in Continental Europe hosts of authors, painters, sculptors, poets, and statesmen, who receive the money and the decorations of princes whose thrones they surround with a brilliant cordon of genius, but who are dumb forever in the cause of the people and of progress. They think a pension and a star better than a prison and darkness, and the author, by compulsion, wanders off to the realms of fancy and art from the political realities of the dreary present.

England is free from this, because in that country talent is made available in other shapes. The press is free. There is no censorship. Men think, write and speak what they please; and, if they are personally false, the law makes them responsible. But the English author is recompensed for what he writes by his publisher,—whilst the American author is *not* recompensed by his publisher, because copy-right in this country can have no value as long as our printers may appropriate all the literature of England without a corresponding compensation to its authors. I have always regarded the appeal to our Congress for an international copy-right law as extremely just;—not, however, for the *protection* of the English author, but for the *creation* of an American copy-right. The British author writes for the British nation, not for the English tongue;—he addresses himself to his country, not to his language, for his recompense, and

the money he obtains for his book is not a dollar more nor less than he would receive if no such country as America existed. Our printers, therefore, do *him* no wrong, whilst *he*, unwillingly and indirectly, does infinite harm to American authors by employing himself in literary composition.

An international copy-right law, therefore, should be passed,—not in the spirit of an exclusive or protective tariff, but as a law under the shield of which a truly national literature might grow up; because American authors would then really possess rights they could sell, and might fairly enter into competition with the British. As the law now operates, there is neither *protection to the foreign*, or *value* to *American* copy-right.

A literature thus founded, and sustained by the liberal spirit of men of wealth and by proper legislation, will soon develop its peculiar national features. It will reflect the daily life and the political history of our country and its intellect. It will speak more from present influences than past records. It will disclose principles, habits and institutions, kindred with our own. It will restrain that mawkish imitation of the worst features of European fashion and civilization. It will be straightforward, manly, free, critical, pure, republican. It will extinguish the intense school of sensual literature, and raise gradually the moral and Christian tone of society. It will make us judge for ourselves, and save us from the credulous adoption of English prejudices in regard to men and nations. We shall have no second-hand opinions; but will adopt our own criticism. This may be a work of time; but its progress will be as sure as it is beneficial.

Such are some of the vast benefits to be derived from the mingling and mutual appreciation of the scholar, the student, and the merchant. Such are the results which the vast wealth deposited in the mercantile class is to produce, when liberally directed. Such is to be the effective operation of the admirable institution of noble-hearted clerks, within whose walls I address you to-night, and around which are spread the testimonials of their devotion to the intellectual progress of their class. Wiser than those who went before them, they perceive the true dignity of commerce and the advantage the merchant properly derives from enlightment. They discern that the meanest of mankind may trade and traffic;—that the most uneducated may deal in merchandize, and by trick, contrivance, lucky speculation, the fortunate position of a store, or the alliance of an influential and wealthy family, may acquire money, or increase enormously what they already possess. They see that commerce is a nobler sphere than this. They perceive that to plan a great voyage, or to conduct it to a successful issue, requires a kind of generalship in this campaign against the seasons, elements and wants of the earth. A good merchant should be a good geographer, something of a statesman, philosopher and historian. He should know the character, habits, tastes, fancies and wants of every nation, so as to shape his ventures with wisdom. There was a time, during the last century, when wars were more common in the world, when the tonnage was less, and when colonial enterprise had not thrown the dense population of the old world on every island that studs the surface of distant seas. Then it was that

the merchant was a king, when he sent forth his gallant fleets on their long voyages to trade in the Indian oceans. The enterprises of Mr. Astor, so beautifully sketched by Washington Irving, display this feature of mercantile history and knowledge. The means of accurate information, disclosed by statistics and geographical science, have somewhat modified these risks and required less mature deliberation in modern commerce; yet the history of trade attests that the well informed merchant is always the safest and happiest, if not the richest of his class.

Of all the pursuits to which Literature invokes us, none are more attractive or useful than those of History. History is the biography of nations. It contains the germ of the future sown in the soil of the past. It is a solemn lesson of political, personal and national experience. It surveys the world from an eminence. It grasps and gathers the frail records of the past, and gleans the field of human action after the great mower—Time—has swept it with his relentless scythe. And it is a sad reflection that the gleaner has, so often, nothing for his pains but a few straws from which the grain has been trampled! History comprehends all styles of literature; and, thus, becomes the most interesting species of composition. It deals with scenery, narrative of action, dialogue, dress, decoration, geography, climate, national character, individual biography;—and, from the whole, extracts the philosophy of human action.

It is a small and selfish spirit which teaches us that we are only creatures of the present hour, and that

we perform our parts best when we attend to our personal tasks without reference either to the past or the future. There is no philosophy in such a course. It is one which would altogether shut out the lights of experience, because it would not contemplate the aspect of what had gone by,—and, would discard a wise adaptation of means to success, because it would have no hope for what was to come. "We are beings with affinities. Neither the point of time, nor the spot of earth, in which we physically live, bounds our rational and intellectual enjoyments. There may be and there often is, indeed, a regard for ancestry which nourishes a weak pride; as there is, also, a care for posterity which only disguises habitual avarice or hides the working of a low and grovelling vanity. But there is also a moral and philosophical respect for our ancestry, which elevates the character and improves the heart."*

I would not inculcate this loyal respect for ancestry in consequence of the renown it casts upon our own persons; but a disregard of our forefathers seems to be an actual courting of oblivion for ourselves,—a clear intimation to those who come after, that they are neither to reverence our example nor to be warned by our errors. Indeed, it is astonishing, when we reflect how little we truly live for ourselves, whilst how much that we do, affects our successors. Life is too short to reach the absolute results of any man's thoughts or deeds whose existence is not merely animal.

* Webster's Plymouth Oration, p. 7.

The scheme of this Athenæum includes a Society devoted to History; and, in the four years of its existence, it has wrought zealously in the arduous task of gathering a valuable library of reference, in collecting the scattered fragments of our Colonial and State history, in uniting a series of publications illustrative of national history, and in corresponding with distinguished men or affiliated societies in other States, who have been engaged for longer periods in similar pursuits.

The idea of a Historical Society does not necessarily include the composition of complete works relative to individuals or epochs. Being formed by the association of numerous persons, the Society is devoted to the humbler duty of assembling facts, and preserving those minute particles of biography and story which might easily escape the notice of future authors. The history of Maryland, and, indeed, of all the States of this Union, is pregnant with such examples of loss. Time, the moth, neglect, voluntary destruction, and the fashionable rage for autograph hunting, have destroyed immense quantities of colonial and revolutionary documents, so that there are periods in our history, which are dim for the want of the materials that would have been preserved had such conservatories been instituted immediately after the independence of our Union.

"It is pleasing to perceive,"—said Mr. Adams in a letter written in 1845—"the growing interest taken by the rising generation in the collection and preservation of the historical details of the revolutionary conflict of our fathers. The institution of Historical Societies in so many States of our Union promises to

our posterity a pledge contradictory of the misanthropic declaration of Sir Robert Walpole, that all history is and must be false. It is, indeed, conformable to all experience that the history of periods, and events, pregnant with consequences affecting the condition of the human race, can be but imperfectly known to the actors and contemporaries of them. There is a French work, entitled, 'History of Great Events from Little Causes,' and there are perhaps very few of the great events in the history of mankind to which little causes have not largely contributed. I think it is a remark of Voltaire, that posterity is always eager for details; and among the incidents of that convulsion of the family of civilized man,—which began with the writs of assistants and the stamp act, and ended in the foundation of the proudest empire that the world has ever known,—the relations of the colonies of England swelling into sovereign States, with the conquered colony of France ineffectually sought to be united with them in the struggle for freedom and independence,—there are causes of detail so widely different from those which operated on the mass, that they will require the keenest perception and profoundest meditation of the future philosophical historian to assign to them their proper station and weight as elements in the composition of the complicated and wondrous tale."

It is precisely for the purpose of preserving these details of incident, character and adventure, that Historical Societies are chiefly useful. They become receptacles of fact, into which the honest and industrious student may freely come and carefully collate

the discordant materials that have been accumulated, with commendable industry, for future use.

The more we read of history, the more we must be convinced of the comparative worthlessness of what has been frequently written and regarded as authentic. Governments carefully lock up their archives and diplomatic correspondence from contemporary historians, until a century or two elapses after the events they seek to describe. Writing from a party, national, or religious view of the question or period, they disclose whatever suits their prejudices or interests. Let an Englishman take up the cause of the quarrel with Ireland, or the motives of the late war with China, and, will he be able to prepare a reliable history from the general statements that are commonly circulated? I will not dare to say that the narrator designs wilfully to falsify; but such must ever be the effect of political partialities, such the vehement animosity of bigoted sects, that even the purest citizens may be blinded to the truth. Alison's History of Europe,—the work of an English tory, upon the Napoleonic period,—became a text book as soon as it issued from the press, and yet, what American can observe the ignorance displayed in the chapter on the war between Great Britain and the United States, and not be convinced that an author who has been so false in regard to the history with which we are acquainted, must, needs, be equally faithless as to that with which we are less familiar? Read Lingard's history of the reigns of Elizabeth and Mary, and then turn to the pages of Hume wherein the same period is discussed. Both of these authors ex-

pected and courted the criticism of posterity; yet their motives and deductions are as distant as the poles,—and who shall decide between them? Read the Catholic and Protestant histories of the Inquisition, of the Knights-Templar, of the Reformation, of the Sicilian Vespers, of the massacre of St. Bartholomew,—and who shall extract a veracious story from the earnest narratives of either?

The great leading facts,—the palpable events,—those things which are known to all the world because they passed under the world's eye,—may, in most cases, be admitted;—but the secret policy of Governments or Courts,—the unseen springs of human action,—the impulses that have driven nations to grandeur or ruin,—these are but rarely disclosed with candour to the generation in which they occur, or, not until the world has, for centuries, been filled with error in regard to them. At last, time and truth, like the bones of the Prophet, revivify the dust which they touch in the grave!

There are few greater mistakes than to take for granted the great mass of documents which are the common materials for history annually published, even by free Governments. They are often designed to conceal rather than to manifest the truth. Fine phrases, patriotic speeches, mutual compliments, general principles addressed to the universal comprehension, form but a deceptive surface, beneath which rolls the dark and turbid tide of personal ambition, rank with meanness and the most absorbing selfishness.

If the history of our own times, then, is so grossly or diversely represented by party motives, how far more difficult is it for us to search the dreary vista of antiquity in order to find the details of the obscure past? Amid all the fluctuations of time, but one thing has remained steadfast. The heart of man has continued the same through all ages. The same passions, the same reasons, have governed him on the shores of the Euphrates and on the banks of the Sacramento. Contending with his fellows in the career of love, avarice or ambition,—the same partizanship has controlled his spirit and inspired him when he wrote the story of his time. He hated the successful, if his enemy;—he lauded and magnified the victor, if his friend. Who, then, shall verify the purity of that success which has made so many names immortal, or tell us whether victory, alone, was not all that sanctified a life of baseness or crime? It required two centuries to unmask the saintship of Charles the first and to destroy the bloody garments with which toryism had invested Cromwell!

Thus, there are two histories, as well as two parties, constantly running in parallel lines, in every country,—the secret and the apparent. One, evident, with all the show of honest disinterestedness and public faith; the other marked with the reverse of all these characteristics, but suppressed by those who have the skill to hide truth, or the adroitness to make victory always virtuous.

What, then, are the credible things of history? Well, perhaps, did Walpole exclaim, in the bitterness of his heart:—"as for history—I know it to be a lie!" State papers diplomatically false, memoirs notoriously

mendacious, correspondence systematically and maliciously misrepresenting,—newspapers, ignorant, deceived or the vehicles of political hatred,—reports, which are the revelations or suppressions of party,—bulletins that announce falsehoods by supreme authority,—legends that become the great traditionary lies of ages,—these are some of the authorities that are condensed by the perverted talent of a partizan into history!

In contemplating such a picture of historic materials, I have been led to believe that one of the greatest benefits of our age has been conferred in the establishment of properly conducted Historical Societies. A corporation escapes the errors of an individual. It decides upon evidence, like a jury composed of men of all creeds, classes, and parties. It necessarily brings forth a vast quantity of crudities; yet it discloses, or, may disclose all the facts; and thus the individual who, hereafter, seeks to write the story of our age, will find around him, preserved with impartial care, every thing that we had the ability to rescue during the epoch in which we live.

This aggregation of the labors of many minds; this blending the views of all parties and all religions; this officious zeal in the detection of all motives; will be the means of leaving to our successors the legacy of a mass of documents and papers, for which posterity will thank us. To ourselves, perhaps, it is a thankless office; to many it seems a trifling, gossiping, or useless one;—but we enjoy the consciousness of doing a service for those who are to fill our places, because we feel the neglect of similar pursuits by those who have preceded us.

The importance then of Historical Societies, as the means of associating gentlemen in the pursuit of truth, and of inducing them to devote themselves, individually, to the composition of historical works, will be evident, I trust, to all who hear me. It should be their duty to reverse the law of nature, in relation to sound. The tones of human voices are ever loudest where they are first uttered. The echoes of true fame should be most distinct as they recede from their object in the vast vista of time.

A mere student ought never write the biography of a man of action,—for they lack sympathy. Sympathy, regulated by a just mind, is the soul of true appreciation, and, without it, a writer is naturally led to condemn motives and conduct which he cannot comprehend or approve. Thus it is by no means singular to discover in modern literature such variant criticism of the most distinguished personages. The critical sketch of Napoleon, by Dr. Channing, in American literature, is an excellent illustration of this subject. A meek Christian minister should not have undertaken to review the life of such a man as the Emperor. Jove might as well have made a dove the bearer of his thunderbolts.

High and holy are the lessons of true and philosophic history. Profound and solemn is its wisdom. It immortalizes the good—it gibbets the bad. It records the progress of worth—it denounces the wretchedness of wrong. It holds up to scorn the mean motive, the bloody crime, the desolating example of ambition. Teaching truth,—it teaches, also, the wisest

economy of individuals, who, banded in legislative bodies,—create the glory or shame of their epoch. It shows that every age is but a step in the vast scheme of eternity, and that new empires are built out of the ruins of those that are lost. But its lessons do not stop with the material decay or amalgamation of races. It has a current of philosophy winding, like a thread, through its mazes of fact; and this philosophy leads the wise and patriotic political student to direct his country into the path that conducts her to industrial prosperity, moral grandeur, and national dignity. The great and true historian deserves to rank by the side of the great prophet, for his lessons direct the destinies of humanity.

It is a matter of just pride, that the uses of this edifice do not stop even here. The subjects we have already treated embrace what are perhaps usually regarded as the most prominent interests of mankind; but there is another branch of human pursuits which I crave permission to consider of equal importance. We have devoted a portion of this building to ART;—we design to familiarize the public mind with beauty and grandeur, and, by the influence of pictures and statues, to create new standards of tasteful and enlightened opinion.

The mere ability to delineate known forms; to exhibit them with anatomical accuracy; to clothe them in graceful costume; to perpetuate the memory of men by copying their faces; to spread color on canvass with method, skill, and just relation; to talk of chiaro-oscuro with learned emphasis; to condemn painters and sculptors because their works do not

correspond with the rules that are laid down by academies and professors,—these do not constitute ART in that exalted sense which true analysis has found it to possess. They are, indeed, some of the means of artistic success, but they no more form the essential element of delineative science than does language suffice to convince unless it is impregnated with meaning. Language is the plumage of thought. Music is the interpretation of sentiment by melody. Art is the vehicle of idea by form and color. The mere servile limner of features has a talent which is not superior to the monkey, the looking glass, or the mechanical daguerreotype. It is that of imitation or reflection, alone. But the Artist forgets, for a while, that his subject possesses a body, and looking through the fleshy exterior, into the mind of his subject, he penetrates individual character, and thus, by a spiritual process, transfers to canvass the very soul of man. His pictures become biographies. We do not gaze on them to assist memory; but every look puts us in direct intellectual communication with the man or the scene, and even the dead come from their graves to *speak* to us again from the senseless wood!

Art, then, does not deal with what is immediately obvious, but catches and discloses the hidden sentiment. The Egyptians turned this principle to account when they made pictures language. It was this that made painting and sculpture such valuable adjuncts of religion. The art which springs from Idolatry creates the statue, and makes divinity palpable. The art which springs from Christianity makes the picture. The one demands embodiment; the other is content with idea. The one exacts con-

centration,—the other expansion. The one freezes into stone,—the other expands in oil.

The effect which the Roman Catholic religion has had upon the arts is notorious. The church sought to appeal to man by his senses as well as by his intellect, and thus the really great masters of the brush, the chisel, and the lyre, were induced to devote their lives to the adornment of the sanctuary and the celebration of its august services. Priest, Prelate and Pope were the great patrons of art; and thus the minds of sensitive people were constantly furnished with eloquent symbols of love, hope, fear and immortality. In Italy, Art is therefore dignified as one of the powerful coadjutors of Religion, and painters are a hieroglyphic priesthood, inspired by Heaven and divine by that inspiration. The monk preaches from the pulpit with temporary unction, but the painter preaches, forever, from the walls of church or chapel. The one is a temporal teacher, whose ministry ceases with his life; the other is an orator, eloquent through all time. The one is a minister, with all the frailties of humanity; the other a spiritual voice, reaching the soul, and embodied in the instructive forms and colors which genius has conceived in its wrapt meditations upon the spirit and story of Christianity. The priest and the painter are thus indissolubly united in Italy, and art exalts the character of the man who practices it.

Yet, it will be granted, in order to attain so distinguished a position, something more is required than the mere pictorial image of that which occurs to an ordinary imagination when it endeavors to realize an event by grouping the figures of its actors.

The great Artist must be the great inventor,—the great POET! Beauty of form and idea must keep beauty of color and effect in due subordination. But these, combined in harmonious union, produce the great poetic, religious, or historic picture. And yet, the majority of thriving painters or sculptors, subsist on but one, alone, of these elements of artistic power! None can be truly great without the great *idea*;—all others paint mere lay figures, or copy the ordinary features of landscapes.

Exclusive devotion to portrait painting, in this country, (where the fortunes of individuals are not sufficiently large to justify the encouragement of the very highest school of art,) has been one of the causes why the artist has not ranked higher in the intellectual scale and attained loftier objects in his pursuit. Affection or vanity prompts the brush. The multiplication of loved or pretty faces satisfies the mind and fills the walls, and when the tact of copying faithfully, combined with a good style of pictorial treatment, has been attained, the painter becomes "the fashion" for a season, and his fortune is secured.

There is an exceedingly vicious school of modern art, which, starting from art and not from the soul or nature, makes its disciples mannerists and the merest imitators. There is another fashionable class, which is corrupted into the vilest and most transparent mediocrity by the French lithographs that adorn the shop windows and typify the theatrical exaggeration of the country that produces them. It is a school which represents the violent passions in dramatic shapes;—which exhibits sentimental rob-

bers peering over picturesque rocks, while the bandit bride, clad in fantastic costume, crouches behind the concealing precipice and presses convulsively to her bosom the infant scoundrel in her arms. This is the demoniac school of Painters,—delighting in cut-throats, herdsmen of the Campagña, castles on crags, and all the Radcliffe clap trap of exaggerated fantasy which frightened our grandmothers out of a sound night's rest in the last century. Their pictures of the crucifixion make Christ more of a felon than a God. They imitate the dying agony of a malefactor, and immortalize the quivering fear of a villainous culprit by transferring it to the lip of Jesus!

Now, much of this false taste or false principle in art, has sprung from the fact that it has not, in recent periods, enjoyed sufficient patronage and respectability to elevate the social condition of artists, who, instead of painting their own conceptions or creations, have been engaged in delineating the ideas of other persons;—*illustrating* things instead of *creating* things;—converting themselves into *copyists* instead of *poets.* In the gallery which we open to you in Baltimore, to-day, you will find at least two pictures which are magnificent poems.—I allude to a Sunset, by Durand, and to the Progress of Civilization, by Cole. The first is the embodiment of the idea of silence and solitude.—It is a picture which mellows and droops the heart of the gazer like the solemn tones of an organ, stealing, in the dim twilight, through the long and darkling aisles of a cathedral. The other is the dawn of human action,—in which heaven and earth are meeting in their first rude embrace;—in which man and nature stand face to face

with ferocious resolution, and hunger teaches the savage to barb his arrow, to bend his bow, and to drive his shaft to the heart of his victim. He who looks upon these pictures beholds at once *their* meaning and *my* illustration. He may have beheld scenes like those depicted; but he knows they had no copy, save in the teeming brain of the poetic artist.

Such were some of the high characteristics of art when art was in its palmiest days, and when artists were the friends and companions of princes, statesmen, and scholars. We cannot suppose that genius is geographical, or that it can be limited by oceans. Yet I have sometimes been tempted to believe that America was not a congenial soil in which the highest Art could flourish. Life is here, perhaps, too real and too little ideal;—we are concerned, too much, with the actual and too little with the imagination in its best pursuits. Greece and Italy have always been renowned for the expression of idea by form and sound,—by painting, statuary, or music. Their synthesis of idea was æsthetically manifested by shape, color and sound. Germany, on the contrary, has been equally renowned for analysis of idea—the spiritual dissection of thought. May it not be hoped that the Anglo-Saxon race is destined to unite the two, and ultimately to produce the highest artistic results?

This, however, will require leisure, taste, high cultivation, riches, and liberality. The mere dilletanti will never do any thing for art. The essence of true patronage lies in the exalted understanding of the patron, and in the criticism which starts from the true point of *idea* instead of *form*. England has

done little, with all her wealth; she wants the fervor, the enthusiasm, the imagination of the Italian and German stocks; but here, where the blood of all the world is blent and refreshed by continual immigration, I cherish the hope of ultimate progress. Do we not perceive the feeling for art growing up slowly around us? The art, or the capacity for high art, is here; all it claims is the discriminating patronage of the rich;—and, where are we to find riches but among the merchants?

In the desire of accomplished men and women to furnish their dwellings with objects of art,—especially with a few richly framed pictures,—I think I discern a willingness to expend money upon articles of household luxury. I think I perceive a growing disposition to loosen the purse strings for the gratification of a taste which is supposed to be good. And yet, the queer, the curious and the antique, seem to be more the objects of especial desire than the grand, the beautiful, the chaste and the intellectual. It is more the fashion to assemble forms than ideas,—to gratify or amuse the eye than the mind.

We have had ages of gold and ages of silver, ages of brass and ages of iron; but, in point of taste, I think we may characterize this as the age of the *odd*. The poet who said that "a thing of beauty is a joy forever" would not repeat his line in most of our parlors. A guest is sometimes bewildered in the labyrinth of things through which he is compelled to pass on his way to a seat in the house he visits, and may reasonably doubt whether he has wrongly stumbled into a museum, a curiosity shop, or a Jew's garret!

A few years since there was a passion for autographs. There was a rage to possess the hand-writing of those who had done, said, or written great things. Every scrap, scrawled by genius, was enshrined in Russia-binding, or encased in dainty albums clasped with silver latchets. Next came the revived taste for old china. "Monsters" were at a premium! Every "ancient family" in which one could be discovered, was hunted up, whilst every cupboard was ransacked for the vases and punch bowls, the soup plates and dinner plates, the cracked saucers and porcelain prodigies, that had become too old-fashioned for use or exhibition during the last century. A fractured cup was a thing for female diplomacy. Wits were put together to discover the lucky possessor, and all the genius of wily negotiation was exercised to out-general one another in obtaining the precious porcelain! It was borne home in state, and the neglected utensil which had lain for half a century among the dust and spiders, or served as the receptacle for some favorite salve, shone, at once, in all the splendor of polish, through the plate glass and rosewood of a magnificent *étagère.*

It was rare, indeed, that any of this cracked crockery,—this fragmentary finery of the last age,—was beautiful in shape, painting or texture. But it was old;—it had the relish of antiquity;—and, what was better still, no one else possessed it, or had any thing precisely like it. If these collections contained even a series of works of various countries, or of any period, or illustrated beauty of design,—they might be valuable. But the spirit they manifest is merely that of acquiring the *odd* with the most ridiculous and even false *dilletantism.*

To the rage for ancient china succeeded the rage for old furniture. What a rummaging of garrets that passion produced! It was the doom and death of spiders. Entailed estates that had been established for generations, by the "long leg'd spinners," among the feet and arms of many a chair and table, were destroyed by this ruthless invasion of antique taste. Crooked legs, carved elbows, perpendicular backs, and quaint carving, were in extraordinary demand. A bow-leg'd table, whose claw feet made ready to roll the ball they clutched, was a rare relic that must be acquired at any price that might be demanded. A looking-glass frame, whose mysterious and inextricable labyrinth of carved lines resembled the convolutions of a thousand tendrils, was a gem! An inlaid cabinet, with huge, brazen hinges and massive handles, was invaluable! Second-hand men were converted into cabinet counsellors or spies. It was dangerous to be suspected of a pedigree. You were doomed if you had a grandfather!

Such is the spirit of collecting the odd in furniture, which is a graft of Chinese fancy on the taste of the ages of Louis the XIV and XV. It is the school of "*renaissance.*" Arising, originally, from the ancestral vanity of having old things, as indicating "family antiquity" or pretensions, it has been aped by the promiscuous crowd, until our parlors are filled with the hieroglyphic relics of departed races which are quite as ugly, but not half so useful, as the hieroglyphics of Egypt.

Am I unjust in condemning the cultivation of this quaint and barbarous taste? Am I wrong in claiming a share of our love for the simple, the beautiful,

the elegant? Am I unfair in censuring the folly and vanity that would create a resurrection of birth out of the mahogany, the walnut, and the china, that we inherit or buy? Am I unwise in censuring the spirit that would make these either valuable as memorials of other men, or the credentials of personal respectability and descent. The nobleman, of many generations, in Europe, shows his ancestral star,—the aristocrat of few generations in America points to his ancestral tea-pot or his genealogical chair!

These, indeed, are as yet, few; but their imitators are many; and the false taste and vicious principle, unless abruptly checked, are in danger of becoming perpetual and characteristic. The better views of education, art, and the uses of wealth, will produce a higher standard of the uses of existence and taste in furniture!

Do I err, then, in seeking to drive these night-mare phantoms of the past, these ugly and distorted witches, from our saloons, to the congenial gloom of garrets, and to substitute in their stead the true, the beautiful, the grand, the ideal? It requires, indeed, a lofty appreciation of what art actually is, and what are its ultimate purposes;—it exacts social and intellectual refinement of high degree;—but recollect, that the accomplished man reads the character of those he visits in their surroundings. Taste is very eloquent,—it is never dumb,—it is an audible praise to the polished observer. The jumbled and gaudy brain reveals itself in conceits. The wholesome mind discloses itself in frank, beautiful, and honest simplicity.

Good taste may easily be cultivated by avoiding imitations or cultivating originality and self-reliance

in selection. As we have few or no ancestors, we have no long leniage of "family portraits," unless we go back,—which is not our wont,—to the modest artizan who gave us birth. But books, statues, and excellent pictures, are at our command, and they may be purchased cheaper than the grotesque combinations of wood and velvet, or the golden and gorgeous mirrors in which we behold nothing but perpetual repetitions of personal vanity. Let us cover our floors with those simple implements which are needful for comfort or repose, and let us hide our walls and corners with statuary and painting of the best character of modern art. It is not necessary to buy the cracked and dim Rafaels or Murillos, which are counterfeited to pamper our taste for the antique; but, by patronizing the modest genius of *our own artists*, we encourage their growing talent, we create a new race of professional men, we elevate their character, and we make them personal or pictorial friends;—for, if the painted thoughts of the artist are proper as our continual domestic companions, the artist, who conceives and delineates them, is equally fit for the enjoyment of our social intercourse. "The artist depends upon the amateur of his century,—the amateur upon his contemporary artist;"*—and, thus, a mutual reaction of taste and capacity develops the acquirements and genius of both.

And thus we will be surrounded, in our homes, by objects of a purely intellectual character which continually speak to the inner man—to the heart—to the soul. A child, brought up in the familiar contempla-

* Goethe.

tion of grand or lovely forms, good deeds, nature, and grace, has a surrounding atmosphere of the most benignant character. The possession of a beautiful object is an eternal lesson. An eye, gazing forever from a wall, is a reproof that is not mute. The magnificent head of the Saviour, by Guido, hung constantly in a room, is a spiritual presence, which only escapes idolatry because its teaching is of God; and the effect of this high appreciation of the purposes of true Art, will soon manifest itself in everything relative to the dress, demeanour, manners, and character of an individual.

In speaking of that domain of Art which comprehends Design, we should not be forgetful of Architecture. Architecture is the physiognomy of cities. It is the public exhibition of private and individual taste. But this taste is too often made palpable by proxy; for the man who constructs a dwelling and the corporation that erects a church, generally resign their privilege of selection to an Architect who is more of a Builder than an Artist. Hence the grotesque crudities which fill our capitals with such startling admixtures of style. Architects should be accomplished men. The power of construction and the genius for design are, by no means, identical. The carpenter rarely expands into the poet; for a fine edifice is, indeed, a poem in plaster. Forms, without *fitness*, easily seduce copyists, in consequence of the ease with which they are adopted from the works of other men. We do not sufficiently consider the purpose, the character, the nature, of the edificé we erect. There is too much devotion to external effect,

and, too little, to internal comfort, or general suitableness; and thus we find ourselves inappropriately lodged in Greek temples, or worshiping in the cryptic gloom of Norman dens.

The facility of collecting architectural bits, and blending them in unseemly masses, corrupts the public taste, for it familiarizes the public eye with vicious principles. A French author has declared that "architecture is frozen music." If such is the case, many of our Architects petrify the slipshod strains of the banjo and the jewsharp rather than the delicious melodies of the lyre or the sublime symphonies of the organ. Ugly things in Architecture as well as furniture, are eagerly seized in consequence of their age. There is an affectation of returning to "first principles" which dwindle into rudimental simplicity. Architects fall in love with antiquity becausc it is ancient, not because it is beautiful, and adopt the early and imperfect periods of particular styles, rather than the consummate order which was attained either in the Greek, the Roman or the Gothic, when national taste had reached its point of culmination. Thus it is that we have in our churches more of Gothic quotations than of Gothic completeness, and that the bare and barn-like skeletons of a barbaric age are revived in the midst of the abundant civilization of our century. This should be corrected. Men should build as they dress or as they bear themselves. They should endeavor to make their towns beautiful rather than odd. Individual eccentricity should not destroy general effect. The Greek, the Egyptian, the Goth, the Moor, the Roman, and the Norman, should not go abroad masquerading in a promiscuous mob.

A man's intellect should look out from his doors, his windows and his walls. His house should have as much external expression as his face, whilst its interior should be as perfectly fitted for the dwelling of his spirit as the cells of his skull are appropriate and comfortable for the working of his brain. A great city, filled with houses and temples erected upon such principles, would, perhaps, be a miracle of modern art; yet we should, strive to approach, if we cannot reach, so desirable, so permanent, and so magnificent a manifestation of the highest national taste. Egypt, Hindustan, Greece, and Rome, have done so in the ages that are past, and why should no privilege remain to the nineteenth century save to copy, combine, distort and jumble the architectural relics left us from the wreck of these glorious empires!

I believe that the establishment of a permanent gallery in our Athenæum, will essentially contribute to produce the beneficial results I have attempted to expound, and I crave its generous patronage by the liberal persons who have erected this edifice.

I designed in these remarks to exhibit the true uses of wealth in social life. We do not live to make money. We do not live to buy food and raiment and dwellings with the money we make. We do not live for sensual enjoyments. We do not exist to perpetuate ourselves or our time. We are creatures of progress, beings of more exalted purposes than those which may be cramped in the compass of a life time. There is a higher existence of sympathy and love which should pervade society and fill it with unselfish

meaning. That kind of life produces simplicity, directness, purity. It is the essence of Christianity. It *lives* religion. This higher life finds one of its most beautiful expressions in the lofty triumphs of Literature and Art; and, for their expansive diffusion, a commercial community has built this edifice and established a perpetual emblem of its duty. Homer and Cleomenes outlast a thousand Royalties. Individual wealth melts and disappears like a drop in the ocean of general riches; labor crumbles with the muscle that is its instrument; but true Literature and Art partake the eternity of the soul that creates them. The great author, the great sculptor, the great painter, the great musician, enjoy the meed of a double immortality, for whilst their genius "rules us from their urns," their memory is as fresh on earth as their spirits are eternal in heaven.

Were I asked to design a group to be carved in marble and placed over the portal of our Athenæum, I would link, hand in hand, Commerce, Art and Literature, as the Christian Graces of the nineteenth century. Sustaining each other in mutual interdependence of love and respect, they should look aloft. Bound together, face to face and not back to back, their pedestal should be the same massive block, and, from their divine eyes, lifted forever from the toils of life, should beam the expression of spiritual blessedness and intellectual repose.

APPENDIX.

SKETCH OF THE BALTIMORE ATHENÆUM.

THE lot and edifice of the Baltimore Athenæum are held in perpetuity, by trustees, under a charter granted by the Legislature of Maryland at its December session of 1845, chapter 122.

The project of erecting such an establishment in our city had often been spoken of; but the first practical effort to realize the matter was made by the presentation of a plan to the Maryland Historical Society and to the Board of the Library Company of Baltimore, by Mr. William Rodewald, early in the month of February, 1845.

The scheme proposed by this gentleman was not entirely adopted; but, as it was the active initiatory step in the proceeding, it deserves to be recorded as part of the history of the building. The two societies deemed the project of great importance, and appointed a joint committee of five, from each institution, to consider it. The members on the part of the Library Company were, Brantz Mayer, its President at that period; Robert Leslie; William Rodewald; F. W. Brune, Jr.; and Dr. J. R. W. Dunbar;—and, on the part of the Maryland Historical Society:—John Spear Smith, President of the Society; George W. Brown; B. C. Ward; William McKim; and Robert Cary Long.

On the 15th of February, 1845, the joint committee met; and, in a few days, a plan of operations, founded on public subscription, AS A FREE GIFT, was adopted. An address, setting forth the objects of the building, signed by numbers of our leading citizens, was published in circulars as well as in the papers of the day, and the following gentlemen were requested by the joint committee to conduct the scheme to successful completion:

WILLIAM E. MAYHEW, TREASURER. R. CARY LONG, ARCHITECT.

BUILDING COMMITTEE.

R. GILMOR, JOHNS HOPKINS, J. SPEAR SMITH, B. C. WARD, J. McHENRY BOYD, BRANTZ MAYER, WM. STEVENSON, S. W. SMITH, G. W. DOBBIN, C. J. M. EATON,

COMMITTEE ON TITLE.

GEORGE W. BROWN, H. DAVEY EVANS.

COMMITTEE ON COLLECTIONS.

GEORGE BROWN, O. C. TIFFANY, WM. McKIM, J. MASON CAMPBELL, F. B. GRAF, CHARLES TIERNAN, DR. J. J. GRAVES, WM. P. LEMMON, WM. FREDERICK FRICK, EDWARD JENKINS, C. J. M. EATON, J. B. MORRIS, JAMES GEORGE, C. C. JAMESON, W. WITHINGTON, JNO. GLENN, F. W. BRUNE, JR. DR. CHEW, WM. STEVENSON, EDWD. HINKLEY.

On the 7th of April, 1845, Mr. George Brown, who was about to visit Europe, resigned his place as chairman of the collecting committee, and was succeeded by Mr. O. C. Tiffany, who immediately entered upon his task with the greatest zeal. Aided in his personal solicitations by several gentlemen, but especially by Mr. C. J. M. Eaton, he soon discovered that the plan would prove successful. Twenty of our liberal citizens subscribed $500 each, and the munificent sum of $1000 was added by another. Smaller amounts flowed in with great rapidity; and finally, near $35,000 were contributed for the laudable enterprize of building and *furnishing* the edifice, AS A GIFT FROM WHICH NO PECUNIARY RETURN WHATEVER WAS TO BE DERIVED.

Meanwhile, the joint committee obtained a charter and digested the scheme. The building committee, having ascertained that it might safely commence its operations, made contracts for a lot and for the erection of the edifice, according to a plan and specifications prepared by Mr. Robert Cary Long, the Architect.

On the 12th of January, 1846, at a meeting of the original joint committee, it was suggested that there was a great desire, on the part of the commercial community to accommodate the Mercantile Library Association, if possible, in the building;—and, accordingly, (under the provisions of the charter,) a portion of the edifice was set aside for that Institution. After the completion of the house, the ground floor was leased to it, on the 12th of February, 1848, at a nominal rent, forever.

On the 31st of January, 1848, a code of laws was framed by the original joint committee: 1st, for the apportionment of the apartments among the Societies; 2d, for the establishment of rules for mutual comfort in their occupancy; and 3d, for the creation of a Council of Government, whose members are annually elected by the three institutions in order to control the general police of the edifice.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ATHENÆUM, *Prepared by the Architect.*

The building is designed in the Italian palazzo style, having a frontage on St. Paul street of 50 feet, by 112 feet on Saratoga street—the height from the front footway to the top of the cornice being 66 feet. The ground floor, which is 17 feet high in the clear, presents externally, a rusticated ashlar, covered with a marble band course extending around the fronts, and ranging with the cornice of the main entrance frontispiece. The entrance to this floor is on St. Paul's street, the frontispiece being of white marble, with arched doorway. The windows to this floor are square headed, the frame shewing a recessed architrave. The main and second floors present, externally, stories of 20 feet each, marked by band courses, the former having semi-arched window heads. The window dressings to main floor are composed of projecting pilasters, supporting pediment heads, with recessed architraves around the window openings. The dressings terminate in projecting balconies with pedestal ends and fancy scroll work between the balconies resting on consoles and projecting from the wall so as to allow standing in them. A court yard, screened from Saratoga street by an iron railing, with gates, affords an entrance to this floor, by a slight elevation of steps, owing to the rapid rise of Saratoga street, towards this end of the building. This court is 20 feet wide by 50 feet deep, a portion of it being sunk to provide concealed water closets. The windows to the second floor are square

headed, trimmed with architraves and level cornice, supported by end trusses. These windows are also provided with projecting balconies, of lighter design than those to the main floor below. The cornice surmounting the building is enriched with cantilevers and dentils, and its whole depth is over three feet, with a projection of nearly four feet to the extreme mouldings. The roof being hipped, the cornice extends around the building, and to the boldness of this feature, as shown by the dimensions just given, the building is mainly indebted for its effect. The walls are of brick, the exterior facing being of the steam prepared bricks, laid with smooth joint, and painted in oil. The cornice and window dressings are of wood, the balconies of cast iron.

The whole of the exterior is painted in a uniform color of warm drab, relieved only by the white marble band-courses, balcony consoles, and entrance frontispiece. The roof is of tin, painted; the gutters and down spouts being of copper. The interior arrangement is nearly alike in all the stories, the north-east and north-west angles being occupied by circular stairways ascending in a regular spiral line to the floors.

The Ground Floor has an Entrance Hall, adjoining the stairway, of 14 by 16 feet; the stairway occupies a circular space of 14 feet diameter, and a small Meeting Room of 14 by 14 feet is opposite the stairway. A Reading Room of 26 by 39 feet opens upon the Entrance Hall, adjoining which is the Library Room of 47 by 53 feet, embracing the whole width of the building; and beyond this is the Director's room, of 14 by 32 feet.

This range of apartments is devoted to the Mercantile Library Association, and fitted up appropriately for that purpose, in the same style as the Rooms of the Mercantile Library Association in Philadelphia, which were taken as a model best suited for the purposes and means of the Association. The arrangement and effect are excellent and beautiful, doing credit to Mr. Johnson, of Philadelphia, by whom these and the fittings up of the Association rooms in that city were planned. The Library Room is provided with a gallery, extending entirely around the room, with cases above and below, glazed in diamond lights and grained to imitate oak. The gallery is supported on cast iron brackets, and has an iron guard railing. The reading room is fitted up with octagon tables, at the sides of the room.

The Main Floor is appropriated to the Baltimore Library Company, (one of the oldest and most valuable literary institutions in Maryland,) and to the Public Reading Rooms connected therewith. The Library Room has been magnificently fitted up, with a gallery extending around the room, with ornamental glazed book-cases below and above—a spiral wreathed staircase leading to the gallery at one angle of the room. This room is of the same dimensions as that of the Library of the Mercantile Association below, viz: 47 by 53 feet, with a height of 20 feet. The area of the floor is divided by four Corinthian columns, supporting cross entablatures which break the ceiling into three long panelled compartments. The fittings up of this room are all of solid oak, and the chairs, Librarians' table, reading table and other furniture are all of the same material, and in a similar style of design to the cases. The room is richly carpeted, and the *tout ensemble* of its oaken furniture, its sienna marbled pillars, its stately array of books, and its noble dimensions, is not excelled by any public Library in the country.

Adjoining the Library are the Reading Rooms—one 26 by 47, the other 14 by 32 feet, furnished with oak furniture in keeping with that in the Library. A Director's room, 14 by 16, communicates at the west end with the Library.

The SECOND FLOOR, devoted to the Maryland Historical Society, contains the meeting room of the Society, 26 by 47, with a ceiling 23 feet high, cored at the angles and panelled in large panels—the President's room communicating therewith, 14 by 23, and the GALLERY OF FINE ARTS, which joins the meeting room, and can also be reached by the stairway entrance from the court-yard end. This noble room is 47 by 53 feet, with a ceiling 23 feet high at the apex, and sloping to 20 feet at the walls. It is lighted by a skylight in the roof, affording 400 superficial feet of glazed surface. The walls are all lined with boards, so as to attach pictures at any desired point, and the boarding is canvassed and papered over to obtain a uniform surface. Beyond the Gallery is a room 14 by 23 feet for Sculpture and Casts from the Antique, with high ceiling, and boarded in a like manner with the Gallery. This Gallery is under the management of the Historical Society, and was added to the scheme of the Athenæum at an early period, chiefly by the advice of the President, Gen. J. Spear Smith. The Rooms of the Historical Society have been fitted up in a chaste and elegant manner, with solid oak glazed cases, tables and chairs, the President's room having beautiful and appropriate furniture to suit. All the fittings up and carpetings have been designed to correspond with the style of the building, and this uniformity of style throughout adds greatly to the effect of the apartments.

Each Association is provided with fire-proof closets, built in the wall. The building is warmed by hot-air furnaces in the cellar, and is lighted throughout by gas.

The contract for the building was entered into between the Building Committee and the contractors on the 8th day of August, 1846, for the sum of $25,900. It was afterwards agreed to add other needful work to the building, such as boarding the walls of the Gallery of the Fine Arts, putting up the Gallery for the Baltimore Library Room and other items, amounting to $2,282. The building, completed, therefore, has cost the sum of $28,182. The furniture is valued at about $8,000. The Athenæum was commenced on the 16th day of August, 1846, and delivered for occupation on the 1st day of May, 1848. It is entirely free of debt.

The First Annual Exhibition of the Gallery of the Fine Arts was opened, and the edifice inaugurated, by the Address of Mr. Brantz Mayer, on the 23d of October, 1848.

American Colonial History:

AN ADDRESS

MADE BY

THOMAS DONALDSON, Esq.

BEFORE

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

BALTIMORE, MARCH 29, 1849,

BEING THE FOURTH ANNUAL ADDRESS TO THAT ASSOCIATION

BALTIMORE:
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY JOHN MURPHY & CO.
No. 178 MARKET STREET.
MDCCCXLIX.

ADDRESS.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN
OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

Two hundred and fifteen years ago, "the Ark" and "the Dove," after a voyage of long duration, in which they were beset with many dangers and but narrowly escaped disaster, at last entered together the waters of the broad and peaceful Chesapeake, and steering their course for the Potomac, sailed up between the beautiful groves that crowned its shores. On the 25th of March, 1634, being the feast of the Annunciation, with great pomp, and solemn and religious rites, Leonard Calvert, and the two hundred choice men who had come with him to build their homes in this land of promise, formally took possession of the territories of Maryland, and consecrated the soil to the cause of Christianity, and to the principles of religious liberty. They were peaceful, unambitious men, not led away from their former homes by the love of gold, nor by the desire of power, but anxious alone to find a retreat, where they might quietly reap the fruits of their industry, beyond the reach of the storms of persecution. More than this, they were men ready to act upon principles of the most enlarged charity; since they offered to all denominations of Christians the freedom they claimed for themselves. In this respect, they were far in advance of their age; and on their account our State well deserves the name so happily bestowed upon her of "The Land of the Sanctuary." Mindful of the great event to which I have alluded, and of its importance as an historical fact of the greatest

significance in the progress of the human race; considering that this season is associated with feelings of affectionate pride in us who are politically the immediate descendants of that little band of settlers; and desiring to commemorate what may be called the joyful birth-day of our commonwealth; you have most appropriately fixed upon the anniversary week of the landing of the Maryland Pilgrims for the annual address which is provided for by the constitution of your Society.

That all citizens of Maryland should entertain the pride which led to the selection of this day is natural, and deserving of commendation. It tends greatly towards keeping up that interest in the history of our State which led to the foundation of our Society, and on the diffusion and strengthening of which we must mainly depend for our future progress. And here let me congratulate you on what you have already accomplished, in the short period which has elapsed since your undertaking commenced. Owing to some extraordinary apathy, years upon years had passed away, and the sons of Maryland seemed regardless of her fame, utterly indifferent to the preservation of her annals, and to the collection of facts bearing upon her history. In most of the other original States of our Union, societies had been for a long time formed, and by their labors had saved from oblivion most valuable materials for history, and had given rise to investigations attended with important results, both local and national. Not only had they exerted themselves successfully to bring to light much that lay scattered in private collections, in the hands of individuals, who in many cases did not appreciate the treasures they held; but the command of means acquired by association had enabled them to procure from the archives of foreign governments, documents of the greatest interest and value. About six years ago, however, certain citizens of Maryland determined that her sons should no longer be under the reproach of such want of reverence, and such ingratitude toward the founders and benefactors of the State. They resolved to search out, and preserve with sacred care whatsoever memorials of our ancestors still

remained undestroyed. As a means of accomplishing these purposes, they established this Society, which has already done something toward elevating the character of the State; and the constantly increasing number of its members promises a much more extended usefulness hereafter. I may be permitted to say, however, that the importance of the Society is not yet sufficiently appreciated in our community, and that there still exists wide-spread indifference and consequent ignorance, in regard to the early history, not only of our own State, but of all the States in our national confederacy. Such is in a great degree the case through our country generally, but I fear that in Maryland we are especially subject to this reproach. It would seem, therefore, not inappropriate, on an occasion like the present, that I should endeavor to combat this indifference, by showing the fallacy of the excuses sometimes urged for its justification, and by calling attention to the sources of varied interest and rational delight, which are developed to the researches of the student of the early colonial history of North America.

It is true, there are a number who are even enthusiastically engaged in this field of inquiry, as the institution of such societies as this show clearly enough; but can there be a doubt that among our educated men generally, this indifference, and this ignorance in regard to our early history do in fact prevail? It is certainly a mortifying admission, but it must be made. The American school-boy is well-instructed in the annals of ancient Greece and Rome; he dwells with animated delight on the exploits, the eloquence, and the wisdom of their heroes, orators, and sages, and discusses with enthusiasm the campaigns of Alexander, of Hannibal, and of Cæsar; yet, in general, he knows but little of the founders of our American States, of their arduous and persevering efforts to establish civilized communities upon the shores of a new world, and but little, I fear, of those brave, wise, and good men who presided in our councils, and fought in our battles, during that great contest for liberty which followed. Every day in society, among what are called well-informed men, we find those who would be

ashamed to appear ignorant of the facts and characters which distinguished any important epoch in modern European history, and who yet admit, without a blush, their want of knowledge in relation to the American Colonies. All that Cromwell or Napoleon did, or spoke, or fought, is familiar to them; but with the military and civil career even of our Washington, they have but a general and uncertain acquaintance. They are conversant with the minute details of all the various stages in the eventful progress of the great English and French revolutions, but of the long struggle of our patriot forefathers, which was attended with such painful vicissitudes, they know little more than the vague outlines.

Is there, then, no patriotism among Americans, that they take so little interest in their own history? Certainly, if we listen to the turgid strains of hundreds of Fourth of July orations, we would suppose, that never was there so enthusiastic a love of country in the hearts of any people upon earth. But after all, on what must all true patriotism be founded, if not on a thorough and familiar acquaintance with our country's history, and the nature and growth of her institutions? That which seems to accompany ignorance, and makes vaunting comparisons, in which the institutions of other countries are depreciated with contemptuous expressions, cannot be other than spurious—a mere vain-glory, which can lead to no beneficial result, but will render us ridiculous in the eyes of the world. In individual men, nothing can be more fatal to all.improvement of character than an overweening self-estimation, and that, in all cases, arises from a want of self-knowledge. The same thing holds in regard to nations, and he who would be of true service to his country must not nourish a bigotted pride, which blinds men to all distinctions of good or bad in its object; but he should study thoroughly her institutions, and her history, and in that way ascertain the characteristic tendencies, which should be either encouraged or depressed, in order to exalt her to the highest attainable point of excellence. The love and admiration engendered by so intimate a knowledge would be

much more sincere, and much more efficient for good, than any degree of pride fostered by ignorance.

Yet it would not be just to say that the neglect of our early history complained of, has arisen from a deficiency of local attachment, or from any undervaluing of our own institutions, as compared with those of other nations. How then, is the neglect accounted for? If the question were directed individually to those most liable to the charge, the answer would probably be, as it has been in numberless cases, that American History, especially American Colonial History, is uninteresting. If then the enquiry were pushed still further, to ascertain why it was considered uninteresting, some might be at a loss for an explanation, and others would give answers so partial and inadequate, that we should be obliged from our own reflection to supply the reasons, which have unconsciously influenced their opinions, or rather feelings, on the subject.

We should perhaps be told, that the history of the several American Colonies, before they became united in a national confederacy, is uninteresting, because all the transactions related were necessarily on a small scale, and whatever, either of success or disaster, befel those communities, could affect but an insignificant portion of the human race. In each case, they were composed of but a few hundred, or at most, a few thousand men, clearing for themselves a settlement in the wilderness; at one time, quietly cultivating the earth and striving to surround themselves with some of the comforts of their former homes; at another, uniting with their neighbors to repel the attacks of savage tribes; sometimes, contending among themselves about the management of their common interests, and sometimes, complaining of the inefficiency or the tyranny of those who had been sent to rule over them. But where the labors of the statesman, or the intrigues of the politician, affect, for good or evil, the welfare of millions; where hundreds of thousands are ranged on the field in bloody opposition, and the fate of great empires hangs upon the doubtful issue of a single battle; where the elements of a powerful nation are thrown into confusion, and civil conflict threatens to destroy the

very foundations of society;—where the historian, it may be said, portrays such exciting scenes, and treats of such momentous events, the magnitude of his theme lends to his narrative a surpassing interest, and the political lessons to be derived from it are of the utmost importance. Even if we should be disposed to acquiesce in this estimate of the importance of a grand scale to give interest and usefulness to the pages of history, the views, which could give rise to a comparison so disparaging to our own colonial history, seem to me narrow, and founded on entirely erroneous principles. He that looks upon the history of our early settlements barely as the record of individual adventures, and of the struggles of various small communities with the difficulties growing out of their situation in the wilds of a new country, and does not connect it with the past and future, has yet to learn its vast significance; and he that is struck with the result of wars, on however large a scale, and with the external or internal changes of empires, yet does not consider of even greater consequence the progress and development of those ideas on which depend the advancement of the whole human race, is ignorant of the true moral proportion of things. The settlement of North America was the beginning of a new era in the progress of mankind. By it a field was opened, in which the principles of civil and religious liberty might have a free growth, unchecked by the fixed habits and traditional institutions of the Old World. The growth of these principles, and the spirit of national independence which was their natural consequence, can be distinctly traced through the annals of all the American Colonies, to which they give a grand unity of meaning and interest. If the effect of that great awakening of the human mind, which immediately preceded, and was the principal cause of the emigration to our shores, has not been very much overrated, and if the practical exhibition of a free government on the largest scale, in our own Republic, is a fact of the highest importance, not only to ourselves, but to mankind in general, then, surely the steps which led from one to the other must be traced by all thinking men, with feelings of the

deepest interest. Considered in this light, as they should be, the events of our early history cannot be passed over as of limited effect, merely because the immediate results are not striking; and whoever slights them on that account, shows that the range of his vision is confined to a narrow sphere.

Even apart, however, from this view, I cannot help thinking, that by far too much importance is generally attached to the magnitude of space and numbers,—to what may be called the physical extent of the transactions recorded in history. Men are constantly deceived by false distinctions made between what is called large and small. The philosophical naturalist recognises in the minutest pebble, and in the most delicate specimens of vegetable and animal life, the same wonderful principles of organization, and the same exhibition of creative power, which strike the superficial observer in the largest forms of nature, in the majestic oaks of the forest, and the unquarried Alpine peaks. Surely it ought not to require much consideration to convince us, that the lessons of history, also, are as well taught where the transactions are on a small as where they are on a large scale. Both large and small communities are composed of men. In both, there exist the same motives to harmony, and the same causes of strife. In both, the contests of men with each other, or with the circumstances in which they are placed, bring into active exercise the same high qualities of mind, and equally excite the various passions of the heart. The operations of these qualities and passions in men as individuals, and as associated masses, and their influence upon the course of events, constitute the proper theme and the true interest of history. The greatest living poet of our mother country, found among the rustic habitations of England's most secluded glens the same materials for tragedy as are commonly looked for only in the highest ranks of power and splendor. "Exchange,' he says:—

> "Exchange the shepherd's frock of native grey
> For robes with regal purple tinged; convert
> The crook into a sceptre;—give the pomp

Of circumstance, and here the tragic Muse
Shall find apt subjects for her highest art.
—Amid the groves, beneath the shadowy hills,
The generations are prepared ; the pangs,
The internal pangs are ready ; the dread strife
Of poor humanity's afflicted will
Struggling in vain with ruthless destiny."

A celebrated living artist, also, commends a certain class of painters, because, to use his own language, "they have shown us that, in the humblest sphere in life, and amid the homeliest scenery, the grandeur, the beauty, and the sublimity of Nature, may be found, for that she visits all these with the same splendid phenomena of light and shade, with which she looks on the palace, or on her own more favorite haunts."*

So the Historic Muse, led by the light of a philosophic spirit, will find the same grand elements of political principle and action in all organized communities of people. And, as those best perform their part in life, who consider of paramount importance the duties that fall to their lot, and the events they are called upon to deal with, so no historian that deserves the name can well overvalue the particular theme he has chosen. Indeed, it seems to be a common fault with those who have undertaken to write history, that they distrust their own power to give interest to the narration of events which they fear will be considered insignificant; and thus long tracts of years, in the infancy of States, or during which no great agitation took place, are despatched in meagre outlines, which afford no delight, and leave no impression upon the mind. Yet there is reason to think, that the faithful record of a small, and even peaceful community, if written in an earnest and appreciating spirit, would be nearly, if not quite, as interesting as a history of the vicissitudes of a large empire; for such a narration could be brought more entirely within the ordinary range of our sympathies. An analogy drawn from works of fiction would seem to demonstrate this. The tales which meet with

* C. R. Leslie.

most favor, and are read with the greatest and most enduring interest, are not those whose characters are chosen from the most exalted positions, and whose incidents affect the largest number of persons; but such as deal with the every-day occurrences of domestic life, depicting scenes which come within the sphere of our personal experience, and exhibiting the operation of those very qualities of heart and mind, which we see most constantly called into exercise around us. It is unnecessary to allude to such works particularly, because they will suggest themselves to the recollection of all. There is one, however, which from the nature of its details, seems more than ordinarily applicable to the subject in hand:—I refer to the great work of Defoe. For what reason is it the delight of young and old? Its hero was endowed with no more than ordinary capacity of mind, and possessed no higher moral qualities than are found in the average of men. The incidents of his story for the long term, during which he lived upon his island, are in general, of the most common-place character, such as must have occurred to any one in the same situation. To devise shifts for supplying himself with food, lodging, and some of the commoner comforts of civilized life, to plan and execute a system of defences for his protection against the incursions of savages, and to provide the means of escape from his solitude—such is a summary of the hero's action; while his reflections, and the hopes and fears which agitate him, are such as would arise in the mind of the commonest man placed in the same desolate seclusion. Even afterwards, when the accession of numbers placed a little colony under his charge, no narrower scale could well be devised, on which to show the trials and progress of an infant community in the wilds of a new country. Yet why is every part of this narrative of such absorbing interest? The answer of every one would be, because it is so true to nature—so real—so exactly what we suppose would have taken place under the circumstances. Does it not follow, that an exact relation of what actually did take place in similar circumstances must also be interesting? And would not a true account of the

progress and vicissitudes of almost any of our early colonial settlements affect us in the same manner? I believe that it would. The misfortune is, however, that a great deal which is presented to us as history, is wanting in reality—is not indeed true. I do not mean that it is false, but that it is deficient. It is not possible to ascertain all the minute facts which the imagination of a man of genius could supply in the composition of a work of fiction; but yet there is reason to complain of the meagreness of detail to which we are generally treated, and the comparison just instituted may serve as a hint in regard to the manner in which historic writings should be composed. But on this topic of the historic mode of treatment I propose to say something more before concluding.

Want of grandeur and want of variety in the incidents themselves, may also be urged as additional and distinct reasons for considering our early history uninteresting. Both these objections, however, will be found on analysis nearly identical with that of which I have just spoken. The grandeur of events in the estimation of these objectors depends upon the number of persons immediately engaged in, or affected by them; and perhaps by the want of variety, is meant a deficiency of such grand events. The occurrences which are recorded in our colonial annals are in themselves sufficiently numerous and clearly discriminated, but by those who regard them as insignificant they are not deemed worthy of the name of incidents in history, though they would be honored by that name, and pronounced deeply exciting, if found in the pages of a domestic novel. But the true grandeur of all events is derived from the mind and heart of man, and not from the "sphere, the scale of circumstance" which has been well said to be "all which makes the wonder of the many." Neither will any true history be wanting in variety; for whatever resemblances may be traced in the transactions of men, and in the providential disposition of human affairs, and however the same eternal principles are constantly illustrated by them, there is yet

in the current of events nothing that can be called monotonous repetition.

Without relying, however, upon principles like these, which to some may appear to border upon subtlety, I am convinced that all who are really familiar with the subject would agree, that few portions of history exceed in varied and absorbing interest that which tells of the settlement of the American Colonies, and their progress, until they became united in a common cause, and under a general central government. In whatever aspect it is viewed, it has the strongest claims upon our attention. In the first place, the settlement of North America is connected with the most important political and social developments of modern Europe, and was the immediate result of great causes there in operation. The progress of the human mind toward greater freedom of action was at that time displaying itself in various forms. It was first exhibited in the increased boldness of commercial enterprise. Spain was at the very height of her glory, when the discoveries of Columbus opened a new field to her ambition for extended dominion, and to that headlong pursuit of riches which was a passion with her people. The same spirit spread to France and England, and the foremost men of the time embarked in the numerous adventures to the New World, which held out the most flattering promises, both of wealth and honor. Soon after, the principles of religious liberty were rapidly developed, civil war agitated the States of Europe, persecution abounded, and the oppressed of every sect sought refuge on our shores from the fury of intolerance. From the attempt to secure freedom in religious doctrine and worship, arose what then seemed daring notions of civil liberty; for the civil power was used to enforce ecclesiastical tyranny, and the mind once unchained resents all limitation of thought or opinion. But in this respect there were some, who, by the force of peculiar circumstances, and, perhaps, by the natural vigor of their minds, were far in advance of the mass of those among whom they lived; it was impossible to approach the realization of their views at home; they therefore looked with prophetic

hopes to America as the land destined by Providence for the establishment of their principles, and themselves undertook to lay the foundation of free governments in the wilderness. Thus all the interest that attaches to these great movements in the Old World, necessarily follows their results in the New.

But consider further, how various were the original characteristics of the several colonies which constitute the elements of our great Republic. Massachusetts and Connecticut were established by strong-minded English puritans, men of stern religious views, and earnest advocates of the principles of civil liberty; eager to encounter every hardship that a strange and inclement climate and an inhospitable soil could inflict, rather than live where they were obliged to conform to modes of worship of which they did not approve.—In Maryland, the English Roman Catholics took refuge from the mortifying disabilities and the severe persecutions under which they labored in their native land, and with a liberality before unknown, and which reflects immortal honor on the name of Calvert, proclaimed the most absolute freedom of religious opinion, and toleration of every form of Christian worship.—Shortly after, Rhode Island, an offshoot from Massachusetts, was offered by Roger Williams "as a shelter for all who were oppressed for conscience," and gathered within her limits a strange medley of sects and opinions.—In Pennsylvania, its great founder and his company of Friends, (of the people called Quakers), who had been so long the special marks for the severest penalties, and the most insulting indignities, were bent on illustrating in combination the principles of unresisting peace, of perfect liberty, and of the most fraternal equality, both in matters of religion and civil government.—The settlements of Virginia and New York were made by commercial associations, but of different nations; and the marked distinction in the character of the emigration to each was scarcely greater than that which separated them both from most of the other colonies.—The Carolinas were founded as a great land speculation, by a company of nobles, statesmen, and philosophers, who framed for their colonists, on the most scientific theo-

retical principles, a system of government, which a short experience showed to be utterly unfit for practical use.—Georgia, the last in order of time of the thirteen original States, was founded on the purest principles of philanthropy and charity, as an asylum where the poor might regain the comforts of home "without money, and without price," and the persecuted find rest and security.—But besides the colonies of the English and Dutch, the French and the Spaniards established themselves on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, and in the valley of the Mississippi, and joined to their commercial enterprise a missionary zeal for the conversion of the Indian tribes.

From this hurried recapitulation, it will at once be seen what great variety there is in the subject of our early history, and that to each of the Colonies is attached a distinct and peculiar interest. Yet, however different were the motives which led to the establishment of the several Colonies, and however dissimilar were the materials of which they were originally composed, whether in race, in habits, or in the shade of their political and religious opinions, there are observable in all, certain important points of resemblance arising from the circumstances that surrounded them. In all, became soon apparent tendencies which led to a constant assimilation. In all, there was the same rapid development of the principles of liberty, the same impatience of external control, and the same instinct toward union with each other. Thus, in the midst of great diversity, there is found that unity which makes of the whole, one grand historic subject; and it is this unity in diversity which gives to every great work, either in literature or art, its highest interest and perfection.

On these points of resemblance it is not my purpose to dwell, for the subject pursued in detail would carry me beyond the bounds of your patience; but I will merely remind you of one striking general characteristic, the source of many others, which gives to the early history of America, a peculiar interest, and distinguishes it remarkably from the history of all the great nations

of the Old World. I refer to the deliberate formation of societies, and the institution of governments by men already civilized, in a wild and uncultivated country, fresh as it came from the hands of the Creator. In the Old World, the race of man became civilized, and the earth yielded to cultivation simultaneously. There, amid the savage landscape stood savage men, but one grade above the beasts which they hunted, and with whose skins they were clothed. By and by, they framed dwellings for themselves, and tilled the ground for their supply of food. Then followed the association of families for the purposes of mutual protection; agriculture improved; arts arose to add to the comforts of life; and some ideas of government began to develop themselves, but generally in the rude and simple forms of despotism. At length, nations grew up, with their systems of policy, which were variously modified by circumstances of friendly intercourse, of mutual conflict, of external conquest, and internal commotion; and from such causes, added to the force of custom, institutions were moulded into certain almost inflexible shapes by the time that the height of civilization was attained. Thus, when the minds of men had become ripe for the comprehension of great political questions, and able to adjust the general forms and particular details of government on well-considered principles, the strong barriers of prescription stood in the way, and made the adoption of the wisest theories, not only dangerous, but impossible. Far other was the case of our North American Colonists. They abandoned a densely inhabited and highly cultivated country, in which all the arts of civilized life had reached a high degree of advancement, and came to regions yet untouched by the hand of labor, and rich in all the untamed luxuriance of nature. Imagine the impression that must have been made on the minds of those bold adventurers by the wildness of the scenery, the mighty rivers and bays, the widespread savannas, and the majestic unthinned growth of our forests, so strongly contrasting with the trimly cultivated fields of their former home. Here then was civilized man, placed in immediate communion with the grand original forms of nature, set free,

also, by the force of circumstances, from most of the habits and prejudices acquired in his native country, and deriving independence and vigor of thought from the very necessity of arousing all his energies into contest with the difficulties of his new situation. The hardships, too, which men of all ranks had to suffer together, brought out sympathies which had previously been unexercised, and tended to break down merely artificial distinctions. It was a natural consequence, that the principles of government adopted by these men should partake of the influences that surrounded them, and be more in accordance with the theoretic views of enlightened minds than any that had been in practical operation in the Old World. Indeed, the rapid growth of sentiments and principles, which are generally of most tardy development, and fortunately so, perhaps, did, in North America, get in advance of philosophical thinkers and writers; and our history has been almost taken out of the line of ordinary precedents, so that much of Old World experience has been made unavailable for our example. Could there, then, be presented to our consideration a subject of deeper interest or of more weighty importance?

But to ascertain the true principles of government, and trace their development, although the highest of merely human studies, is not equally attractive to all, and even the most philosophical readers are dissatisfied if there is not something of a more exciting nature, something of what may be called the interest of personal adventure. In this respect our colonial history is certainly not deficient. On the contrary, it is particularly rich in materials for every variety of attractive narrative, and there are some characters which figure prominently in its records, whose heroic adventures are scarcely less romantic than those of the knights errant of old. I have already spoken of the distinguishing characteristics of the different colonies, and of the various great motives which in each case first prompted their establishment. But it may well be imagined that the motives and designs which in each colony led to the emigration of the individuals and families of which it was composed, must have been still more various. Some men of bold and

independent minds, and devout hearts, embarked with their families, leaving all the comforts and delightful associations of their well-provided homes, that they might find in a new country, a place where they could worship God, unmolested, in the form most agreeable to their conscience; and among these, a part had already suffered persecution, and a part fled from that which seemed to be impending. There were others, whose bitter experience of political tyranny had led them to adopt liberal opinions, of which they otherwise would scarcely have dreamed, and who hastened to escape the oppression which they knew awaited them. Many, whose fortunes were decayed by extravagance, or swept away by inevitable disaster, sought to retrieve their position, or hide the mortification of humbled pride at a distance from the sphere in which they had formerly moved. There were some, whom a kind of romantic avarice had led away from ease and competence to search for the golden treasures which were supposed to abound in every part of America; there were ambitious spirits who coveted the glory of discovering new countries, and founding new empires; and souls of still loftier aim, who, urged by the noblest impulses of humanity and religion, had determined to devote their lives to spreading civilization and Christianity among the savage tribes of this continent. Besides all these, there were men of ardent dispositions, carried away by the mere love of adventure, which spread at that time with a rapid contagion, and they crowded to these shores, high in hope, but with uncertain aims, and full of extravagant and undefined expectations. The ideal, which was mingled with even the most sordid of these motives, aroused enthusiasm, and produced the most romantic displays of boldness, of energy, and of all the highest qualities of human nature.

Let us call to mind that time, when in almost every harbor in Europe, ships were spreading their sails to transport the numerous emigrants for America, all of whom, sad as they may have been at tearing themselves away from long-endeared associations, yet carried with them a rich freight of imaginative hopes. What

would we not give for the true history of the humblest of these little bands, and of the individuals that composed them? How much of romance would such a narrative reveal to us, and with what a warm sympathy should we follow them in the voyage which was then so hazardous, and after their arrival at their destined homes, through all their struggles with the dangers, difficulties, and even inconveniences of their new situation. Merely in what may be called the simple domestic incidents of such a story, independently of any extraordinary display of personal qualities, would be found an interest generally attractive. It is true, that much of this minute and private history is now out of our reach, but the materials for such narratives are far more abundant and accessible than is generally supposed, and from them a most animated picture might be produced of the state of society in the early days of our several colonies. But if we go a step higher, and from the mass, select those who were the great leaders in these various enterprises, we shall find that some of the most remarkable men whose names are recorded in history, were connected with the settlement of our country, and that in regard to the career of many of them, copious details are preserved, in which are exhibited the most extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune, the most romantic personal adventures, the greatest qualities of mind, and the loftiest heroism of character.

I refer merely to such as were engaged in the discovery and settlement of that part of our continent now occupied by the States of our confederacy. Among the first of these was Ponce de Leon, the discoverer of Florida. In his youth he had distinguished himself in the famous wars with Granada, of which Irving has given us so vivid a picture; in his manhood, prompted by avarice, ambition, and an extravagant love of adventure, he accompanied Columbus in his second voyage to the New World; he was engaged in the wars of Hispaniola; and after passing through various vicissitudes, and when age would have tamed the spirit of most men, he organized a band of superstitious enthusiasts like himself, and landed them on the coast of Florida, in search of

precious ores, and jewels, of whose abundance there they did not entertain a doubt, and in search of that fountain of life, in the existence of which they had implicit faith, that stream which was to bestow upon them all, the health, vigor, and beauty of perpetual youth.

Not many years afterward De Soto came to the same shores with his troop of gallant and high-born Spaniards, who, richly and gaily equipped, as if they were part of a royal pageant, marched through forests and everglades, through fertile valleys, and over barren plains and wooded mountains, as they proceeded from Florida through Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, to the great Father of Waters, then through Arkansas and Missouri, and down again to Louisiana. In the course of this wonderful expedition, which occupied the space of three years, these daring adventurers encountered the severest hardships, and had sharp and bloody conflicts with the various tribes of Indians that occupied the country; but they found not the darling gold which was one great object of their enterprise, nor those magnificent cities from whose plunder they hoped to be enriched, nor those great empires which they had aspired to make their own by conquest. The career of De Soto, and the traits of his personal character, were extraordinary. He fought with Pizarro, in Peru, and beside the glory he there acquired by feats of arms, he shared largely in the wealthy spoils of that ravaged empire. Having returned to Spain, his restless and ambitious spirit could not be contented with what he had already accomplished; he summoned around him six hundred chosen men, bold, ardent, and imaginative, like himself, and with these he proposed to achieve still greater wealth and fame, and attain a height of power which all his contemporaries might envy. But his ambition, and his avarice, and the courage, energy, and perseverance, which were always ready to second them, were doomed to sleep for ever beneath the waves of the Mississippi, which mighty stream, he was the first of Europeans to discover. Such were some of the men with whose names the early history of one part of our country is associated, and what exciting inter-

est can be given to their adventures may be easily understood by all who are acquainted with the brilliant pages, in which Prescott has described the career and exploits of the conquerers of Mexico and Peru, their kindred in race, and almost identical with them in personal characteristics.

Resembling these in all their better qualities, in fearless enterprise, in chivalric bravery, in undaunted perseverance and hardihood, but without their ferocity and unscrupulous cupidity, far superior to them indeed, in all the higher moral attributes, as well as in strength and clearness of intellect, were those great English men, who first of their nation attempted to colonise our shores. The mere mention of Sir Walter Ralegh recalls to our minds, everything that is noble in character and action, and the simplest narrative of his life has charms which could scarcely be enhanced by the most powerful writer of fiction. We may claim, however, as more peculiarly belonging to American Annals, the name of Captain John Smith, one of the most remarkable, and I hesitate not to say, one of the greatest men that ever lived. His career was full of the most singular vicissitudes. When scarcely more than a youth, he had distinguished himself as a soldier in various countries,—like a knight errant, always fighting against oppression and barbarity. He was taken and enslaved by the Turks. After his escape, and when he had enriched his mind by foreign travel, while yet in his early manhood, he engaged with characteristic ardor in the establishment of colonies in North America, not cheated by any delusive dreams, born of avarice or the low ambition for conquest, but eager to found happy and prosperous commonwealths. He was a hardy, adventurous, and skilful navigator, a sagacious, and strong-willed leader of men, a statesman of comprehensive and liberal views, full of resources for every emergency, and administering government with the utmost wisdom, firmness, and justice. He was, besides, in his private character, upright and disinterested. There are few in whom all the elements which form the highest style of man have been mingled in such due proportion; and though some may regard his sphere of action

limited, because he never commanded great armies, nor swayed with immediate power the destiny of a large empire, I know not upon what true principles of judgment the name of Captain John Smith can be excluded from the roll of the greatest and best men whom the world has produced.

The early history of New England is crowded with names of men remarkable in their characters and actions, concerning whom, too, there exist the most ample and varied materials of biographical interest. It is sufficient barely to remind you, of the two Winthrops, men whose minds combind in a rare degree both strength and refinement, and whose benevolence and moderation of spirit were allied to an unshrinking firmness; of the younger Vane,—"young in years, but in sage counsel old;" of the learned and devout, but somewhat bigotted Cotton; the pious, energetic, and enthusiastic Hooker; and of Eliot, the devoted "Apostle of the Indians."

Turning now to our own State, we shall find among the leading men who projected and carried on the colonization of Maryland, little of the wild spirit of adventure so common in some of the States, and little, perhaps, of that deep intellectual agitation which so strikingly characterized the settlers of New England. But such men as the Calverts are rarely met with in history, and there are few, indeed, whose characters are more thoroughly deserving of our admiration and study. That they, who at home belonged to a persecuted sect, did establish in their proprietary dominions, and maintain there as long as they held a controlling influence, the most perfect toleration that the world at that time had ever known, is a fact sufficient in itself to give assurance, that they possessed a rare combination of the highest personal qualities.

How different from all whom I have mentioned was William Penn; yet how interesting are the particulars of his life, and how singular a study does his character present? Many causes have made his history more generally familiar than that of many of the founders of the American colonies; and the revival of certain

charges against him in the recent work of Macaulay will probably lead to a still further discussion of his acts and motives.

I might thus proceed, were it necessary, to demonstrate by many more examples, the richness and variety of the materials for attractive narratives furnished by our early annals, even when viewing them apart from the political interest of the events recorded. Indeed, it is the biographical portion of history which is most captivating, and perhaps, too, most profitable, to the majority of readers. I fear I have already taxed your patience too far, but I cannot refrain from reminding you of the history of the French settlements in the valley of the Mississippi. There cannot, I believe, be a more romantic and exciting story than that which tells of the fortunes of La Salle, and his companions and successors, in the western wilds, and of the devoted Jesuits, who scorned all difficulties, and braved all dangers, to spread among savage tribes those doctrines of Christianity, for which many of them so joyfully suffered martyrdom.

It cannot, then, be truly said, that our early history is uninteresting, because it wants variety. On the contrary, the great difficulty seems to be, that there is too much variety. The historian is bewildered in the midst of his abundant stores, embarrassed with his riches; there are so many States, with each its separate current of events, which must yet be made to turn into a common channel. Those, who have attempted to write the history of the North American colonies, have in general been so intent on bringing the whole subject into what they think will be considered a reasonable compass, that they have compressed the parts so as in a great measure to destroy their vitality. They have presented us with meagre outlines merely, almost as bare as a sexton's chronicle. There are certainly portions of Grahame's and Bancroft's volumes which are noble exceptions to this remark, but for the most part, like the first explorers of California, we pass over what seem desert tracts, with but little idea of the treasures they hide; whence many have doubtless been led to suppose, that there was some inherent deficiency in the subject itself. To be interesting or to be

useful, history must be written in detail, and I believe that there is wanting a much more extended and copious narrative of our colonial times than any we yet possess.

How then can the study of American Colonial History be now pursued satisfactorily? Only by taking it in detail ourselves, and mastering the history of the separate colonies. For this the large number of works now published in the different States supply us with ample resources. Does the field seem extensive, and do we shrink from the labor? The time required for the purpose would not exceed what many among us spend during the course of several years in reading the works of fiction, with which the press has so long teemed from week to week. The reading public, however, is becoming satiated, it would seem, with the unsubstantial fare on which it has so long fed. There are strong indications of the development of a more healthy appetite, and it is of great importance that attention should now be particularly directed to the history of our own country, that its capabilities may be generally understood and fully appreciated. What neglect there has heretofore been, is apparent from the fact, that of our ante-Revolutionary period, there exists no complete history, of any reputation, by an American author, unless Bancroft's, which stops at 1748, may be so considered; and concerning the Revolution itself, we are entirely destitute of any thorough and accurate work, which is destined to live.

The dry manner, in which much of our history has been written, has naturally enough confirmed the idea entertained by too many, that it is in itself uninteresting. False notions were for a long time prevalent in regard to what was required by the dignity of history. But these have now been happily dispelled. Many of those familiar particulars which serve to connect us with the past, which are the common points of sympathy between men of all ages, which in fact give us the liveliest idea of the form and pressure of the time described,—these are no longer discarded as unworthy the pen of a serious writer, nor are they even pushed aside into the notes, or packed away in an appendix. The new

school of historians must combine the most thorough accuracy of fact with an imaginative transposition into the period depicted, joining the familiar and romantic occurrences with the graver detail, so that the narrative may present the same varied scene of life which daily passes before us. We must be made to feel, that men like ourselves, are acting and speaking, and that the facts related are only so much added to our own personal experience. Thus Arnold, whose scrupulous love of truth was his ruling passion, has added new glories to the annals of ancient Rome, even while correcting the careless blunders of her own historians, and has brought out, in the most life-like reality, the transactions of those remote times, making the career of Hannibal, and of Scipio, as personally interesting, and the relation of their exploits as stirring to the blood as the modern story of Napoleon's battles and fortunes. But while the dry stiff style of the old school is to be condemned, nothing should be more carefully avoided than that anxiety to produce pictorial effect, which, by the various disposition of lights and shades, by the skilful heightening of color, and by well-managed suppressions and exaggerations, destroys the relative proportions of events and characters, and leaves a false impression on the mind of the reader, even where there is no literal mis-statement of fact. The historian, who resorts to such arts, may secure a large circle of delighted readers; but, as the vanity of authorship, rather than the love of truth, has inspired his composition, he can never be considered a wise teacher or a safe guide.

But there is one cause of the neglect of American history among us, which is, I doubt not, more powerful, and yet less generally recognised than any other. It is the want of a national literature. I do not mean to join in the reproaches which have been so often vented on this subject, nor do I mean to say, that we have not as copious and as national a literature as any other people would have had under the same circumstances, and in the short period which has passed since we achieved our independence. I believe the contrary to be the fact. But literary works

of a high order are in all countries the accumulation of time. We have claimed, and do still claim, Bacon and Hooker, and Shakespeare and Milton, and the other great names in English literature as a common heritage with those who live in the land of our forefathers. And so, indeed, they are. Yet they do in fact lead us away unconsciously from our own history, and they also lead away our literary men from the home subjects to which they would otherwise naturally tend. The standard works in divinity, in philosophy, in prose fiction, and in poetry, which are upon all our shelves, which have been our delight from childhood, and which minister comfort to our age, are for the greater part, necessarily from the Old World. Their subjects are of the Old World, and from its history are chiefly drawn their illustrations, and their allusions to events and to characters. To understand and appreciate them, we must be acquainted with that history. If in this respect we are ignorant, we are continually shamed until our ignorance is repaired.

This is not only the case with those who are merely readers, but even with most of our authors. Those very works of genius, to which I have referred, are the models on which they form their style; and thus a constant influence is exercised on their choice of subject, their tone of thought, and range of illustration. This is especially observable in our poetry; and it is therefore, that in almost all the verse which is yearly published amongst us, and the quantity is really surprising, we seem to hear an echo, more or less distinct, of some foreign song. There is some truth, perhaps, in the remark of De Tocqueville, that from many of the resources of original poetry the Americans are cut off, by the want of those thousand delicate associations with the past, round which the imagination loves to cling; but that we possess a new element of sublimity in the grand future that is opening before us, and which points to a national destiny which might enflame with enthusiasm the highest order of genius. In all nations, however, great poets are rare, and when Providence bestows so great a blessing upon us,—when an American Milton shall at last rise, and

in self-dependent strength give utterance to a strain in unison with that grandeur, which is everywhere impressed on the natural features of our fortunate land,—a strain which will be forever associated with our great inland seas, with the sweep and volume of our mighty rivers, the wild sublimity of our mountains, the expanse of our prairies, and the majestic growth and boundless extent of our forests, and with the great hopes of the American heart—then, and not before, will the chain of our intellectual dependence be broken.

I would not be understood to say, that we should give up this heritage which we have received from our English forefathers. It would be folly, indeed, if we should deny ourselves all the advan tage and all the pleasures, which may be received, from the literature of England. But it is well to be on our guard, that it may not withdraw us too much from the study of our own history, and that it may not divert the talents of American writers from the subjects on which they would be most congenially employed.

I have presented to you, gentlemen of the Historical Society, such considerations as have suggested themselves to my mind in relation to the capabilities of our own Colonial History, as a subject for interesting narrative particularly deserving the attention both of authors and readers. I am painfully conscious that I have said nothing which has not often been said before, and with far greater force; but it may be useful to repeat truths, which, however trite they may seem in the enunciation, have not yet been recognised in practical effects.

I have spoken of our colonial history with regard to a single view,—I have sought only to combat the prevalent notion that it is uninteresting. Its great importance as a subject of political study, it would scarcely be necessary to enforce. But I cannot resist quoting the opinions expressed on both these points by Grahame, a Scotchman, whose history of our colonies, in spite of certain faults and deficiencies sufficiently apparent, is perhaps the best which has yet been published. He says, that "American history is the noblest in dignity, the most comprehensive in utility,

and the most interesting in progress and event, of all the subjects of thought and investigation." Again, he calls it, "the most interesting historical subject a human pen ever undertook." If such are the feelings, which our history inspired in the bosom of a foreigner, what should be the feelings of those who are the children of the soil?

You are engaged, then, gentlemen of the Historical Society, in a noble work. You have associated yourselves for the purpose of searching out and preserving every record, every fact, and every illustration, which may have a bearing on the history of our own State, and of our own Continent. Persevere in your useful industry, and gather into your magazine every fragment of truth, however insignificant it may at first appear. Regard not the scoffs, which are sometimes directed against the spirit of antiquarianism. Exactness in investigating the smallest matters will prove useful in the end, although we do not at once see the connexions, which really exist between minute facts and events of importance. In our reverence for truth it is impossible that there ever can be anything superstitious. The scattered bones, which seemed to their various collectors to bear no relation to each other, and gave rise only to indefinite wonder, the genius and learning of a Cuvier united with perfect certainty into ante-diluvian monsters, whose nature and habits he has accurately revealed to us. It was, in a great measure, by the combination of minute particulars, scattered statements or allusions in ancient authors, inscriptions and monuments, coins and relics, that the great Niehbuhr was able to demonstrate the numerous and gross errors of ancient Roman historians, and to fix a great part of the history of that nation on a basis of well proved facts. How great, then, is our encouragement, living as near as we do to the fountain heads of our own history. It is our duty, and let it be our pleasure, as lovers of our country, and as servants of truth, to see that from those fountain heads the stream of our history shall flow on to the future time unstained with the slightest admixture of falsehood.

A PAPER

UPON

CALIFORNIA;

READ BEFORE

The Maryland Historical Society,

BY

J. MORRISON HARRIS,

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MDCCCXLIX.

CALIFORNIA.

THE general interest which is felt in regard to this recently acquired territory, the dazzling accounts of its mineral wealth, the stream of emigration pouring into it, and the boundless field which it offers to the commercial enterprise of our age, combine to make California an important subject of investigation. The elements of greatness which are found within its borders, enforce the conviction that in a short time this remarkable country is destined to attain pre-eminence among the commercial emporiums of the world. It is a Hercules even in the cradle; and while other nations through well defined stages of progress rise slowly into power and significance, this ocean-colony, like the vapour which the Arabian fisherman freed from the magic casket, will swell at once into form and grandeur. To the Christian, who recognises, in all the events of time, the presence and wisdom of God, there is much in connection with its development, which seems to mark it as a distinct link in the chain of providential interference.

This interesting country lies upon the edge of that great ocean whose depths are filled with wealth, and whose countless islands offer in their abundant drugs and spices almost inexhaustible inducements to profitable commerce. Its climate is salubrious and delightful, its soil is singularly fertile, its rivers navigable, and its harbors capacious and secure. It is within easy reach of eastern Asia, and is filling up with a hardy and energetic population of Anglo-Saxons, whose feet press for the first time the sands of the Pacific, and who will soon develope those resources of wealth and power which have so long tempted the enterprise of the past. Bound by the affinities of homogeneous population,

political union, and common interest to this Republic,—with the iron pathways of trade extending, as they soon will, from ocean to ocean through our own territory, and the long line of the magnetic wire thrilling with communicated thought,—it will grow into a great central station between Europe and Asia, and powerfully influence the interests and institutions of the Old World, while at the same time, it expands the resources and builds up the greatness of our own country.

It is not my design to review fully the history of California from the period of its earliest settlement, but only to embody such facts as are essential to the connection of this narrative, and tend to explain points which it may be necessary briefly to discuss.

The country known under the name of California, stretches upon the Eastern edge of the Pacific Ocean, from the parallel of 22° 48′ to the 42d degree of North latitude, and is divided into upper and lower California. OLD or LOWER CALIFORNIA is the name applied to the Peninsula which trends to the South-East, between the Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of California, to the 22d parallel.

It was discovered in the year 1534 by one of the captains of Cortéz, and for the succeeding century and a half occupied largely the attention of the Government of New Spain.* Numerous expeditions were sent out both by the Vice Royal Government and by private individuals, for the purpose of exploration and settlement; and the current reports of the wealth of the country in gold and pearls kept the spirit of adventure alive up to the year 1683, when the Government, believing the settlement of the country to be impracticable, determined that no further attempts should be made at the public cost. The expeditions resulted unfavorably in almost every case. The navigation was hazardous,—the coast of the Peninsula which the discoverers skirted, was barren and desolate. Much difficulty was experienced in obtaining food, and some of the native tribes manifested a hostile spirit. Under such circumstances, the settlement of the country would probably have been long postponed, had not other influences brought to its accomplishment a few devoted men, whose labors have invested the early history of California with a peculiar interest.†

In all the important enterprises of that adventurous age, religion went hand in hand with discovery; and when in this instance the secular power shrank from the difficulties connected with the settle-

* Forbes's California, p. 7. † Forbes. Vanegas.

ment of California, the missionary priesthood of the Catholic church entered upon the field, and accomplished the *spiritual conquest* of the country.

The undertaking was a formidable one. Numerous expeditions, backed by the power of the Government, or sustained by individual wealth, had attempted it during a century without success; and we cannot withhold our astonishment and admiration, when we find that a few priests, almost destitute of resources, and strong only in faith, encountered all the difficulties incident to the undertaking, and finally achieved the settlement of the country. The success of this enterprise was chiefly owing to the labors of Fathers Kino and Salvatierra, who were worthy followers of Loyola; and those who wish to appreciate the life of the Catholic missionary, will find the record of their labors in California an interesting history of privation and danger.*

They obtained a foothold in the country with great difficulty. By undeviating kindness, they slowly overcame the hostile feeling which the conduct of previous adventurers had excited, and were enabled to establish mission houses in different parts of the Peninsula, each of which became the nucleus of a settlement. At these establishments they concentrated as large an Indian population as possible, and by ingenious artifices and constant kindness, induced them to assist in the cultivation of the land, while, at the same time, they instructed them in the first principles of Christianity. One of the greatest difficulties which they had to contend with was the invincible sloth of the natives, and the establishment of a mission was a task of slow and laborious accomplishment.

After the selection of a suitable location, the priests by gentle treatment and liberal presents, gained the good will of the Indians. During this interval, their lodging was in the open air, or under a rude hut of *mesquit* branches. The next step in the progress of civilization was the erection of small houses of *adobies* or sun-baked bricks; and finally the chapel and numerous outbuildings of the mission were constructed. In the labor of these erections, the Fathers themselves participated largely. Their first assistants were the Indian boys, whose aid they secured by donations of sweetmeats or by innocent wagers, as to who could destroy most *mesquit* bushes, carry away most earth, or mould the largest number of *adobies*, in a given time. Thus by degrees the Indians were slowly humanised, the religious establishments became numerous and thriving, the power of the Fathers was

* Vanegas.

consolidated, and the spiritual conquest of Lower California was accomplished.*

Apart however from the partial conversion of the Indians, these severe labors had no very important results. The country proved to be unattractive and barren. Seven or eight hundred miles in length, and varying from thirty to a hundred miles in breadth, it was found to consist of broken groups of bare rocks, with tracts of sandy soil, interspersed with narrow strips of cultivable land. There were only two or three streams in the whole country, and springs of good water were very rare. The only wealth of the peninsula was in minerals and pearls, and the policy of the Fathers forbade the development of these resources, fearing that they would attract a class of population which would have thwarted their plans for the conversion of the natives. The severe restrictions which they imposed with the approbation of the Government of New Spain, account for the long interval which has elapsed before the greater attractions and singular wealth of the main land were opened to enterprise. Through the arteries of an encouraged commerce alone, beats the great heart of national progress. The pearls of the gulf, and the quicksilver and gold of the Peninsula, would have led Trade with her thousand energies, into the valley of the Sacramento centuries ago, and made the treasures of the El Dorado a tale of the past, instead of a marvel of the present.

New or Alta California was discovered about 1542, by Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, who explored the coast as far north as the 43d degree. Portions of the coast were visited by Sir Francis Drake in 1578; by Francisco Galli in 1582, and by Sebastian Vescayna in 1603. Vescayna discovered the ports of San Diego and Monterey, and closed the career of northern exploration which had originated with Cortéz.† In 1767, the Jesuits, by whom the settlement of Lower California had been accomplished, fell under the displeasure of the Government of Spain, and were expelled from the Peninsula.‡ The Marqués de Croix, who was at that time viceroy of New Spain, replaced them by the rival order of the Franciscans, upon whom he strongly urged the *spiritual conquest* of the Upper Province. This enterprise the Government considered more important than the settlement of the peninsula. The accounts which were current of the wealth of the country were very flattering, and political reasons induced them to lend efficient assistance to the

* Vanegas. Forbes's California, p. 33. † Forbes's California, 79, 80.
‡ Greenhow's Oregon and California, p. 106.

adventure. Both France and England at that time evinced considerable interest in the islands of the Pacific, and the countries upon its coast; and the explorations of Bourgainville and Cook, had begun to excite alarm. Russia also, with noiseless, but certain advance, was stretching her gigantic empire along the western coast, and Spain recognised the necessity of preventing these dangerous intruders from obtaining a foothold in her American possessions.*

Under these circumstances, the spiritual subjugation of Upper California was accomplished in a comparatively short time. The same career of privation and toil was run by the priestly pioneers as marked the settlement of the Peninsula, but the missions grew up more rapidly, and the difficulties were, on the whole, fewer. The results were equally unimportant. Neither Mexico nor the colony was much benefited. The country offered great inducements to a profitable trade, and was believed to possess large deposits of quicksilver and gold; but the narrow and unwise policy of Mexico, both when an appendage of Spain, and an independent State, rendered the development of its resources impossible. The Government fettered commerce. It imposed restrictions instead of granting facilities; levied onerous taxes, and stretched a barrier of custom houses across ports which a liberal policy would have crowded with profitable trade. The interests of the country were wholly disregarded; and California became a refuge for invalid soldiers, indolent priests, and pampered officials.†

The missions, however, aided by large donations from the pious in Mexico, which were consolidated into what was styled "the California Pious Fund," rapidly grew in importance. They brought the mass of the native population into a condition of comparative vassalage, and gradually absorbed the valuable lands, almost to the exclusion of the white settlers. They existed in a state of almost total independence of Mexico; and although ordinary government establishments were kept up, as in the other provinces of the Vice Royalty, the priests were virtually the owners of the soil, and the masters of the country. Affairs remained in this position until the occurrence of the Mexican revolution in 1824. The Californias were then erected into territories, not having sufficient population to entitle them to be federative States, and were each allowed to send one member to the general Congress, who was privileged to take part in the debates of that body, but had no voice in

* Greenhow's Oregon and California, pp. 104, 105. † Forbes, 289. Revere, 28.

its decisions. As territories, they were under the government of an agent styled the Commandant General, whose powers were very extensive.*

In the year 1827, the changes which had occured in affairs in Mexico in consequence of the revolution of 1824, began to affect Upper California, and measures were adopted by the Government which opened the country to the influence of progress. The most serious of these was the secularization of the missions. As this mission system is the most important feature in the history of California, it is necessary to understand its character and operations. The spiritual conquerors of Upper California obtained a foothold in the country in 1769, and between that period and 1835, twenty-one missions were established. The missionaries having, by the settlement of the country, carried out the policy of the Government of New Spain, they were left to accomplish the task of converting the native population, which was their great object, unmolested by the Government, for more than half a century. With the first monks who went into the country, small detachments of soldiers were sent as guards, but as the establishments became important, the country was divided into four military districts, the head-quarters of which were termed Presidences or Presidios. The buildings at these consisted of quarters for the troops, a house for the commandant, a church, and warehouses. At a short distance was erected a fort, and to each Presidio was assigned two hundred and fifty mounted soldiers. These soldiers, the refuse of the army, were mostly deserters, mutineers and felons. The garrisons were intended for the protection of the missions, and the chief occupation of the troops was to recapture absconding converts. Connected with each Presidio were "Ranchos," or national farms, which were set apart for the use and support of the soldiers. After a certain term, the troops became exempted from further service, and grants of land were given to such as desired to settle in the country. This class founded three free "Pueblos" or Towns: Los Angelos, San José and Branciforte. So jealous were the missionaries of intrusion, that no grants of land could be obtained without their assent, which was given only to their own adherents; and as the soldiers were not allowed to marry, except by special permission, the free settlers were small in number. In 1835, the whole population of white and mixed castes in these towns, exclusive of Indians bound to the missions, did not exceed five thousand.

* Forbes, 132, 133.

The mission establishments to which both the Presidios and Pueblos were subsidiary, were all formed on the same plan, and varied only in their extent, standing and population. Each mission was governed by a Friar, styled the prefect, who corresponded with the Government at Mexico, and ruled with absolute power over all the concerns of the establishment. The tillage of the ground, the gathering of the harvest, the slaughtering of the cattle, the weaving, and the spiritual and physical interests of the resident Indians, were all directed by him. To each mission, a tract of about fifteen acres of land was originally allotted, but they gradually extended their boundaries from one establishment to another, and absorbed nearly all the valuable land on the coast. The edifices consisted of houses for the priests, storehouses, the dwellings of the Indians, and a church. The wealth of a mission depended largely upon its converted Indians, whose condition was little better than absolute slavery; and the number of these was increased by persuasion, purchase, and in some cases, force. Their religious education was attended to, they were clothed and fed, instructed in some useful arts, and performed all the labor of these extensive establishments. On the whole, it may be supposed that they were benefited by the working of the system. In 1832, the whole native population connected with the missions amounted to eighteen thousand six hundred and eighty-three. It, however, was not equally distributed. The mission of San Luis Rey possessed at that period three thousand dependant Indians. The number of domesticated animals belonging to this establishment exceeded sixty thousand, and its domain yielded annually about thirteen thousand bushels of grain.*

From these details, an opinion may be formed of the character and importance of the mission system. It concentrated power and wealth in the hands of a small body of monks, and while this power was doubtless sometimes abused, all the writers upon California bear concurrent testimony to the eminent zeal, virtuous conduct, self-denial, and kindness of these missionary rulers.

A spirit of opposition to the missions had long been gathering strength in Mexico, and in 1833, under the administration of Gomez Farias, an act passed the Mexican Congress, decreeing their secularization. This was followed by other acts, suspending the salaries of the monks,

* Greenhow's Oregon and California, p. 113. Thornton's Oregon and California, p. 92. Forbes's California, pp. 201 to 228. Bryant's California, 279 to 286. Robinson's Life in California, 1846, pp. 24, 33.

directing them to liberate the Indians from their servitude to the mission establishments, and to provide them with districts of land for their maintenance. The "Pious Fund" was confiscated; the removal of the missionaries, and the division of their property among the Indians and settlers was decreed, and an extensive plan adopted for the settlement of the country by emigration.'

With these measures the history of the missions closes. They were deserted and speedily decayed;—and now, dilapidated walls and neglected fields alone bear witness to their former importance and extent.

In the year 1845 the population of Upper California amounted to about ten thousand, exclusive of Indians.* Of this number two thousand were Americans, and it became evident to the more intelligent Californians that the increase of this class of population placed in jeopardy the government and institutions of the country. This apprehension led to the adoption of measures which hastened the event they dreaded. The revolution of 1845, headed by Don José Castro, Alvarado, Pio Pico and others, and in which the foreigners in California participated, resulted in the deposition of the Mexican governor, General Micheltorena; and the assumption of the gubernatorial functions by Pio Pico; and of the military command by General Castro.

General Castro at once adopted a policy highly offensive to the foreign population. Among other acts was the promulgation of a decree re-

* Bryant, 286.

Emigration to California.—According to the lists made out in the New York Herald, the number of vessels which have, up to the present moment, (March, 1849,) cleared in the ports of the United States for California, is 270, carrying, passengers and crews together, 17,341 souls. The following exhibits the number of vessels and emigrants, including crews, that have sailed by the different routes:

By Cape Horn,	198	vessels.	12,323	souls.
Chargres,	45	"	3,229	"
Vera Cruz,	8	"	594	"
Brazos,	11	"	765	"
Corpus Christi,	3	"	103	"
San Juan,	2	"	118	"
Tampico,	2	"	87	"
Lavaca,	1	"	122	"
	270	"	17,341	"

This estimate, from the general accuracy of this paper, is probably nearly correct as far as the emigration from the Atlantic ports; but the population has been immensely increased up to this time by the thousands who have gone to California from this country by the overland routes, from the western coast of South America, from Mexico, the Pacific Islands and Europe.

quiring all Americans to leave the country. No immediate attempt was made to enforce this decree, but it excited the determined hostility of those against whom it was directed, and they at once prepared to resist its execution. Soon after its promulgation, a detachment of soldiers was sent by General Castro to remove some government horses from the mission at San Raphael to his head-quarters at Santa Clara. They were obliged, in the performance of this duty, to cross the Rio Sacramento at Nueva Helvetia, in the neighborhood of which a large American population had concentrated. Intelligence of their approach was given to the settlers by an Indian, and also to Capt. Frémont who was at that time in the valley; and a Mr. Knight who had encountered them, communicated the important information, that these horses had been sent for to mount a battalion of two hundred men, to be used by General Castro in the expulsion of the Americans from the valley. It was also stated that Castro intended to fortify the Bear River Pass, and shut out emigration from the United States.

A meeting of the Americans was at once held, and a volunteer party started after the Californians, took the horses from them, and sent word to Castro by the soldiers that "if he wanted his horses he must come and get them." The movement, thus commenced, was prosecuted in the manner peculiar to the parties. The Mexicans fulminated ridiculous proclamations; the Americans came off victorious in all the encounters which occurred; had taken Sonoma, driven Castro out of the Northern Valley, in seventeen days after the issue of his order, and were seriously meditating the policy of raising the banner of the "Bear and Star," and planting a Republic on the shores of the Pacific.*

The opportune appearance of the United States as an actor in the affairs of California prevented the consummation of this scheme. On the 2d of July, 1846, Commodore Sloat, in the frigate Savannah, entered the harbor of Monterey, and in view of the difficulties between Mexico and the United States, determined to take possession of the place. The American flag was raised by him at this point on the 7th instant, and soon after at San Francisco and Sonoma. On the 15th, Commodore Stockton arrived at Monterey, and on the 17th of the following month issued a proclamation, declaring California to be in the full and peaceable possession of the United States. In September a revolution broke out, and some hard fighting became necessary to the retention of the territory thus easily acquired; and the Americans, under the commands respectively

* Bryant, 286. Hughes's California, 81.

of Commodore Stockton, General Kearney, and Captain Frémont, convinced their opponents that it was vain to hope the forcible expulsion of the intruders who had raised the flag of the United States upon the soil of California. The revolution of Flores was effectually crushed, and Commodore Stockton (General Kearney protesting against his power to do so) appointed Lieut. Col. Frémont Governor of California. Commodore Stockton was soon afterward superseded by Commodore Shubrick, and in March, 1847, General Kearney assumed the reins of government. In May, he returned to the United States, leaving Colonel Mason, who had been sent out for that purpose, Acting-Governor of California.*

The space within which I am obliged to confine my paper, makes it necessary to sketch rapidly these important events. I have said nothing of the premature occupation of Monterey by Commodore Jones in 1842, only glanced at the revolution headed by General Flores, and given no extended view of the movement of the American settlers under Mr. Ide, which was called the "Bear Revolution."† Among other matters thus hastily alluded to, is the unfortunate collision between General Kearney and Commodore Stockton. It is greatly to be regretted that this difficulty should have occurred, especially as its result has been to deprive the Government, for the present at least, of the invaluable services of Lieutenant Colonel Frémont, one of the boldest and most scientific explorers that has ever served the Republic. To his untiring energy, indomitable perseverance, extended research and graphic pen we are indebted for the most reliable and interesting details which have been furnished in connection with our far western possessions; and it is a matter of national moment that such a man should speedily be restored to the position which his high qualities so well fit him to adorn.

After the expulsion of the last Mexican Governor, General Micheltorena, and before the occupation of the country by the American forces, a Junta was convened at Monterey, and the question of a foreign

* Bryant, 287 to 405. Documents accompanying the President's message of December, 1848, pp. 1037 to 1054.

† The corps of volunteers consisting of American emigrants to California, commanded by Mr. Ide and Captain Grigsby, raised the flag of the "Bear and Star" in the settlements on the Sacramento, and held that part of the province in quiet possession. Their intention was to establish an independent government in case the United States forces did not co-operate in wresting the country from the hands of the Mexicans. These were styled the Bear Men. The number of grizzly bears in the country and the single star of the Texan flag, probably suggested the device of their own banner.—*Hughes's California, p.* 82

alliance argued with great earnestness, and no inconsiderable ability. The most prominent members of this body were General José Castro, Don Pio Pico, and Don Mariana Gaudalupe Vallejo. The two first were earnest in their advocacy of immediate annexation to France or England, and Vallejo was in favor of a union with the United States. I quote the speeches of Señors Pico and Vallejo, because they show what were the feelings of the better informed Californians at this crisis, and allude, in forcible language, to the resources of their country and the characteristic results of Mexican domination.*

"Excellent Sirs!" argued Pio Pico, "to what a deplorable condition is our country reduced! Mexico, professing to be our mother and our protectress, has given us neither arms, nor money, nor the material of war for our defence. She is not likely to do any thing in our behalf, although she is quite willing to afflict us with her extortionate minions, who come hither in the guise of soldiers and civil officers, to harrass and oppress our people. We possess a glorious country, capable of attaining a physical and moral greatness corresponding with the grandeur and beauty which an Almighty hand has stamped upon the face of our beloved California. But although nature has been prodigal, it cannot be denied that we are not in a position to avail ourselves of her bounty. Our population is not large, and it is sparsely scattered over valley and mountain, covering an immense era of virgin soil, destitute of roads, and traversed with difficulty; hence it is hardly possible to collect an army of any considerable force. Our people are poor, as well as few, and cannot well govern themselves and maintain a decent show of sovereign power. Although we live in the midst of plenty, we lay up nothing; but, tilling the earth in an imperfect manner, all our time is required to provide proper subsistence for ourselves and our families. Thus circumstanced, we find ourselves suddenly threatened by hordes of Yankee emigrants, who have already begun to flock into our country, and whose progress we cannot arrest. Already have the wagons of that perfidious people scaled the almost inaccessible summits of the Sierra Nevada, crossed the entire continent, and penetrated the fruitful valley of the Sacramento. What that astonishing people will next undertake, I cannot say; but in whatever enterprise they embark they will be sure to prove successful. Already are these adventurous land-voyagers

* Mr. Revere, from whose work these speeches are taken, intimates that the remarks attributed to Pio Pico, may have been in fact delivered by Señor Antonio Varillo, who was a member prominent in the Junta. See Revere, pp. 24 to 30.

spreading themselves far and wide over a country which seems suited to their tastes. They are cultivating farms, establishing vineyards, erecting mills, sawing up lumber, building workshops, and doing a thousand other things which seem natural to them, but which Californians neglect or despise. What then are we to do? Shall we remain supine, while these daring strangers are overrunning our fertile plains, and gradually outnumbering and displacing us? Shall these incursions go on unchecked, until we shall become strangers in our own land? We cannot successfully oppose them by our own unaided power, and the swelling tide of emigration renders the odds against us more formidable every day. We cannot stand alone against them, nor can we creditably maintain our independence even against Mexico; but there is something which we can do which will elevate our country, strengthen her at all points, and yet enable us to preserve our identity and remain masters of our own soil. Perhaps what I am about to suggest may seem to some, faint-hearted and dishonorable. * * *

"There are two great powers in Europe which seem destined to divide between them the unappropriated countries of the world. They have large fleets and armies not unpracticed in the art of war. Is it not better to connect ourselves with one of these powerful nations, than to struggle on without hope, as we are doing now? Is it not better that one of them should be invited to send a fleet and an army, to defend and protect California, rather than we should fall an easy prey to the lawless adventurers who are overrunning our beautiful country? I pronounce for annexation to France or England, and the people of California will never regret having taken my advice. They will no longer be subjected to the trouble and grievous expense of governing themselves; and their beef and their grain, which they produce in such abundance, would find a ready market among the new comers. But I hear some one say, "No monarchy!" But is not monarchy better than anarchy? Is not existence in some shape, better than annihilation? No monarchy! and what is there so terrible in a monarchy? Have we not all lived under a monarchy far more despotic than that of France, or England, and were not our people happy under it? Have not the leading men among our agriculturists been bred beneath the royal rule of Spain, and have they been happier since the mock republic of Mexico has supplied its place? Nay, does not every man abhor the miserable abortion christened the Republic of Mexico, and look back with regret to the golden days of the Spanish monarchy? Let us restore

that glorious era. Then may our people go quietly to their ranchos, and live there as of yore, leading a merry and thoughtless life, untroubled by politics or cares of State, sure of what is their own, and safe from the incursions of the Yankees, who would soon be forced to retreat into their own country."

Señor Vallejo, a native Californian, of high position and character, replied in substance as follows:

"I cannot, gentlemen, coincide in opinion with the military and civil functionaries who have advocated the cession of our country to France or England. It is most true that to rely any longer upon Mexico to govern and defend us, would be idle and absurd. To this extent I fully agree with my distinguished colleagues. It is also true that we possess a noble country, every way calculated, from position and resources, to become great and powerful. For that very reason I would not have her a mere dependency upon a foreign monarchy, naturally alien, or at least indifferent to our interests and our welfare. * * *

"Even could we tolerate the idea of dependence, ought we to go to distant Europe for a master? What possible sympathy could exist between us and a nation separated from us by two vast oceans? But waiving this insuperable objection, how could we endure to come under the dominion of a monarchy?—for although others speak lightly of a form of government, as a freeman, I cannot do so. We are republicans—badly governed and badly situated as we are—still we are all, in sentiment, republicans. So far as we are governed at all, we at least profess to be self-governed. Who then, that possesses true patriotism will consent to subject himself and his children to the caprices of a foreign king and his official minions? But it is asked, If we do not throw ourselves upon the protection of France or England, what *shall* we do? I do not come here to support the existing order of things, but I come prepared to propose instant and effective action to extricate our country from her present forlorn condition. My opinion is made up that we must persevere in throwing off the galling yoke of Mexico, and proclaim our independence of her forever. We have endured her official cormorants and her villainous soldiery until we can endure no longer. All will probably agree with me that we ought at once to rid ourselves of what may remain of Mexican domination. But some profess to doubt our ability to maintain our position. To my mind, there comes no doubt. Look at Texas, and see how long she withstood the power of united Mexico. The resources of Texas were not to be

compared with ours, and she was much nearer to her enemy than we are. Our position is so remote, either by land or sea, that we are in no danger from a Mexican invasion. Why then, should we hesitate, still to assert our independence? We have indeed taken the first step, by electing our own governor, but another remains to be taken. I will mention it plain and distinctly: it is annexation to the United States. In contemplating this consummation of our destiny, I feel nothing but pleasure, and I ask you to share it. Discard old prejudices, disregard old customs, and prepare for the glorious change which awaits our country. Why should we shrink from incorporating ourselves with the happiest and freest nation in the world, destined soon to be the most wealthy and powerful? Why should we go abroad for protection when this great nation is our adjoining neighbor? When we join our fortunes to hers, we shall not become subjects, but fellow-citizens, possessing all the rights of the people of the United States, and choosing our own federal and local rulers. We shall have a stable government and just laws. California will grow strong and flourish, and her people will be prosperous, happy and free. Look not, therefore, with jealousy upon the hardy pioneers who scale our mountains and cultivate our unoccupied plains; but rather welcome them as brothers, who come to share with us a common destiny."

These sound views of Señor Vallejo were not adopted by the Junta, but the stand he took, led to its sudden adjournment; and the arrival soon afterward of the American squadron, settled the question of French or English annexation.

At the close of the war with Mexico, the territory of Alta California was ceded to the United States by the treaty of Gaudalupe Hidalgo, which was ratified in May 1848. The magnificent domain thus formally transferred to us, lies between the parallels of 32° 50′ and 42° north latitude, and 106° and 124° west longitude. The western coast for nine hundred and seventy miles is washed by the Pacific ocean. The majestic range of the Sierra Madre forms its eastern boundary. On the south runs the river Gila; and western Missouri, and the Oregon Territory, shut it in on the north. It has an area of four hundred and forty-eight thousand six hundred and ninety-one square miles, or two hundred and eighty-seven million one hundred and sixty-two thousand

two hundred and forty acres of land. In other words, our territory of Upper California contains twelve hundred and two square miles more than the States of Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa and Wisconsin, all combined.*

In continuing the description of this empire, the natural configuration of which is proportionate to its vast extent, it becomes necessary to treat of it in two divisions. Between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada, lies an immense tract only partially explored, which has received the name of the Great Basin. It is some five hundred miles in diameter every way, and between four and five thousand feet above the level of the sea. Shut in upon all sides by mountains, and having a perfect system of lakes and rivers entirely unconnected with the ocean, its general character is that of desert but with great exceptions, there being many parts of it very fit for the residence of a civilized people.† Its interior mountains, abrupt and wooded, rise suddenly from a base of ten or twenty miles, to an elevation of seven to ten thousand feet above the level of the sea. In its bosom are a great number of lakes. The most important yet discovered are the Great Salt Lake, and the Utah Lake. The first of these is about seventy miles in length, and is remarkable for its saline qualities. The rocky shores of its islands are whitened by the spray which deposits salt upon every thing it touches. The shallow arms of the lake during the dry season, under a slight covering of water, present beds of salt extending for miles, and

* Accompanying the President's Message of December, 1848, is a map shewing the estimated surface of the Territories north and west of the organized States, and the portions of Territories thereof, north and south of the parallel of 39° 30′ north latitude; with a table exhibiting the areas of the States and Territories in square miles and acres. In the table of Territory, exclusive of old Territory east of the Rocky Mountains, the area of California is estimated at four hundred and forty-eight thousand six hundred and ninety-one square miles; or two hundred and eighty-seven million one hundred and sixty-two thousand two hundred and forty acres. The whole area of the States enumerated in the text, is stated to be four hundred and forty-seven thousand four hundred and eighty-nine square miles, which leaves a surplus in favor of California of twelve hundred and two square miles. See President's Message, pp. 8 and 72 and map. Bryant, 275. See also California and Oregon, by Com. Wilkes, p. 19.

† I quote freely from Col. Frémont's Memoir in this description of the Great Basin; and avail myself throughout my paper of his graphic and reliable publication. The bold and scientific manner in which he conducts his explorations, and the forcible and elegant style in which he records the results of them, are equally remarkable.

resembling softened ice, in which the horses sink to the fetlock. No fish or animal life of any kind, is found in its waters, and the larvæ upon the shores belong wholly to winged insects. The Utah is a fresh water lake, about thirty-five miles in length, nearly five thousand feet above the level of the sea, and fed by numerous streams from the neighboring mountains. Upon the western side of the Basin is the Pyramid Lake, also thirty-five miles in length, shut in by mountains and remarkable for its depth and clearness. To the southward along the base of the Sierra Nevada, is a long range of lakes, some of which are of considerable size.

The most important river of the Basin is Humboldt River, laid down upon some maps as Mary's or Ogden River. It rises in the mountains west of the Great Salt Lake, and runs westwardly along the northern side of the Basin, towards the Sierra Nevada. Bordered with a rich alluvial valley of its own creation, covered with beautiful grasses, and fringed with willow and cotton wood trees,—it sweeps through an otherwise sterile plain for three hundred miles without any affluents, until its waters, lessened by evaporation and absorption, lose themselves in a marshy lake within fifty miles of the Sierra Nevada. This river is likely to become very important in connection with the development of our commerce with the Pacific. It rises near the Great Salt Lake, in the vicinity of which is the Mormon settlement, daily growing in importance. It runs nearly east and west, in the direct line of travel to Oregon and California, and furnishes a level and unobstructed road, well supplied with wood and water, for three hundred miles. Its termination is opposite to the Pass of the Salmon Trout River, which at an elevation of less than three thousand six hundred feet above the level of the Basin, opens directly into the rich valley of the Sacramento, only forty miles north of Nueva Helvetia. The other principal rivers of the Basin are the Bear, Utah, Nicollett, and Salmon Trout Rivers, which are from one to two hundred miles in length. The Great Basin has not been sufficiently explored to justify any theory of climate, applicable to it in its whole extent. High above the sea, surrounded by snow-capped mountains, swept by the winds from the Pacific, which after depositing their moisture upon the slopes of the Sierra, blow piercing and cold over its plains; and with an immense evaporation constantly going on from its peculiar system of lakes, rivers and marshes, its dominant characteristics are cold and moisture. Notwithstanding these traits of climate, and its general desert character,

Frémont believes that it may be made the home of civilized men, who will find in its arable parts, sufficient resources of subsistence and comfort.

West of the Sierra Nevada, and lying between it and the Pacific, is the division of California with which we are most familiar, and to which the attention of the civilized world has lately been so forcibly attracted. The contrast which it presents to the region just described is very striking. The westward traveller, wearied with the sterility of the Great Basin, winds up some Pass, piercing the wall of seperation, and from the heights of the Sierra Nevada looks down upon a scene of blended magnificence and beauty. The slopes of the mountain range, with a breadth of forty to seventy miles, and five hundred miles in length; heavily wooded with oak, pine, cypress and cedar; watered by innumerable streams, and opening into broad glens, stretch down into the valley with gradual and easy descent. At the base of the Sierra spread the fertile and picturesque valleys of the Sacramento and San Joaquin, watered by the confluent rivers which give them name, and rendered beautiful by diversified and luxuriant vegetation. Beyond these to the west, rises a mountain range two thousand feet in elevation, covered with lofty cypress, and sheltering between its ridges and the lower hills upon the coast, the lovely valley of San Juan, which is the garden spot of California. To the north-west, distinctly seen at a distance of one hundred and forty miles, the Shastle Peak rises fourteen thousand feet above the level of the sea. In the foreground is Monte Diavolo, beyond which the broad bay of San Francisco opens by a narrow pass into the Pacific.

One of the most important features of this division of California, is the Bay of San Francisco. It was discovered about 1768 by a party of Franciscan monks, who bestowed upon it the name of their patron saint. All writers unite in pronouncing it one of most splendid harbors in the world. It is completely land-locked, and sufficiently capacious to meet the requirements of the most extended commerce. Approaching from the sea, the coast presents a bold outline. On the south the bordering mountains come down in a narrow range of hills, against which the sea breaks heavily. On the northern side the ridge presents a bold promontory, rising in a few miles to a height of three thousand feet. Between these two points, with abrupt and lofty cliffs upon each side, is a narrow strait about one mile wide and five in length, with a depth of water in mid-channel of forty to forty-five fathoms, which forms the entrance into the bay. This is called Chrysopolæ, or the Golden Gate.

Beyond this gate the Bay of San Francisco opens to the right and left, extending in each direction about thirty-five miles, having a total length of more than seventy miles, and an inland coast of two hundred and seventy-five in extent. Within, the view presented is of an interior lake of deep water lying between parallel ranges of mountains. Islands, some of them mere masses of rock, and others covered with grasses, and three to eight hundred feet in height, give its surface a picturesque appearance. It is divided, by projecting points and straits, into three separate bays. At its northern extremity is Whaler's Harbor, which communicates by a strait two miles in length, with the Bay of San Pablo, a circular basin ten miles in diameter; and this again at its north-eastern extremity by another strait of greater length connects with Suissun Bay, which is of nearly equal magnitude and form as that of San Pablo. Into Suissun Bay the confluent waters of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers empty. By these rivers a direct communication is opened with the productive valleys which bear their names. The main Bay of San Francisco lies to the southward.*

The town of San Francisco, or Yerba Buena, is situated on the west side of the bay, and on the northern point of the Peninsula which lies between the southern portion of the bay and the Pacific ocean. It is about four miles from the narrows or straits by which the bay is entered from the sea. The immediate site of the present town is an indentation or cove in the western shore of the bay, directly in front of which, and at a distance of about two miles, lies a large Island called Yerba Buena. From the water's edge the land rises gradually for more than half a mile, to the west and south-west, until it terminates in a range of hills five hundred feet in height at the back of the town. To the north of the town is an immense bluff (or rather three in one) more than five hundred feet high, which comes down to the water's edge, with precipitous sides of from twenty to one hundred feet in height. In front of this bluff is the best anchorage ground, the bottom being good and the high lands protecting vessels from the force of the westerly winds. Between this bluff and the above mentioned hill, there is a small and nearly level valley which connects with a smaller cove about a mile nearer the ocean. The bluff forms the north-western boundary of the

* Bryant, 323, 439. Forbes, 166. Life in Cal. 60, 215. Thornton's Oregon and California, 67, 68, 69. Frémont, 32. There are two other harbors upon the coast, Monterey and San Diego. San Diego is much less capacious than San Francisco, but is large enough to accommodate a considerable trade; and is esteemed a good and secure harbor. Monterey is an open roadstead, but is protected from the prevalent winds, and has heretofore been the chief resort of foreign shipping.—*Forbes*, 167.

cove, whilst the eastern boundary is another bluff, called the Rincon, near fifty feet in height. To the south and south-west of this last mentioned point there is a succession of low sand hills, covered with a dense growth of stunted trees peculiar to the country.*

In the development of California San Francisco will doubtless become a large and important city. Its position immediately upon the bay, will make it the port of the country. The direct communication with the interior valley, already open by the Carquinez Straits and the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers, furnishes a natural channel, through which supplies will flow into it. The surface of the country will admit of the construction at a moderate cost of rail roads into the interior, and an immense commerce will find in it a point of concentration. The increase of population, the presence of capital and the facilities offered for its profitable investment in agriculture and trade, combined with the attractions of a more uniform and delicious climate, will soon direct attention to other points which present many advantages as the sites of future cities. One of these is at the head of the Suissun Bay, at the debouchment of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers; another is at or near the settlement of Captain Sutter, called Nueva Helvetia, and a third and most desirable location will be found in the rich valley south of San Francisco, in the vicinity of the Pueblo of San José.†

The most important rivers of Maratime California are the Sacramento and San Joaquin.‡ The San Joaquin rises in the Sierra Nevada, near the southern extremity of the valley. It is fed by many larger tributaries from the Sierra, and empties into the Bay of San Francisco after a course of about two hundred miles. It is navigable in some seasons during eight months of the year, and for a greater part of its length.‖ The

*Thornton's Oregon and California, p. 72. The "California Star" of April 1, 1848, gives eight hundred as the white population of the town of San Francisco. The population, in February, 1849, was nearly 6,000.

† Since this paragraph was written, a friend has placed in my hands a California newspaper, in which I find an account of a city already laid out at the Straits of Carquinez. It is called Benecia city. These straits unite the bays of Suissun and San Pablo.

‡ Bryant, p. 276. Frémont, p. 21. There are one or more lakes of considerable size in the southern part of the valley, with which this river connects at high water. They are variously named and described as the Tulare Lake, Buena Vista, Chintache, and Tula Lake.—Wilkes and Dr. Marsh speak of two lakes—Frémont of *the* Tulare Lakes. Bryant, 276. Wilkes, 29. Frémont, 15, 18, 21.

‖ The largest river in Upper California is the Colorado, or Red River, which, after a course of a thousand miles, empties into the Gulf of California about 32° north. It rises in and flows through a region very little known. Green, Grand, Sevier and Virgin Rivers are its chief known tributaries. The Gila is its main branch, and pours into it near its mouth.

chief tributaries of the San Joaquin are the Reyes, the Stanislaus, the Javalones, the Merced, and the Cosumnes Rivers. The Sacramento River rises above latitude 42° north, and runs from north to south, nearly parallel with the coast of the Pacific until it empties, after a course of about two hundred miles, into the Bay of San Francisco, in latitude 38½° north. It runs through an inclined alluvial prairie, and is described by all writers as a deep, broad and beautiful stream. This river is destined to become a very important feature in the development of the country. It communicates directly with the bay, flows through a very fertile region, and is already navigable for vessels of considerable draught, as high up as the settlements at Nueva Helvetia. Its principal tributaries are the Rio de los Americanos and the Rio de las Plumas.*

The belt of country lying between the Sierra Nevada and the sea, is called Maratime California. It extends north and south, ten degrees of latitude, from the Peninsula to Oregon. Its average breadth is from one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles; and its superficial area is one hundred thousand square miles, or sixty-four million acres, which is equal to the area in square miles of the States of New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts combined.†

The valley of the Sacramento, although discriminated by the names of the two principal rivers, is a single geographical formation, about five hundred miles in length, and sixty broad, lying at the western base of the Sierra and the coast range of mountains, and stretching across the head of the Bay of San Francisco, with which it is connected by a delta of twenty-five miles.‡ Opposite the head of the Bay of San Francisco and at the point where the Sacramento and San Joaquin River debouche, occurs the only break or gap in the range of mountains which forms the western boundary of the great valley, and (according to Frémont's map,) run from the Oregon line to the 34th parallel, at an average elevation of two thousand feet.‖ The portion of the valley which lies south-east of this point is called the valley of the San Joaquin. It is about three hundred miles long, and sixty broad, and presents a variety of soil, from dry and unproductive to well watered and luxuriantly fer-

* Bryant, 271, 344. Wilkes, 27. Mr. Revere, p. 69, says that it is navigable for steamboats at all seasons, as high as the Buttes, an isolated mountain ridge a little above the 39th parallel. Revere, 69. Frémont's Memoir, 27.

† See the table of estimated areas of Territories and States, accompanying the President's Message of December 5, 1848. Frémont's Memoir, p. 13.

‡ Frémont's Memoir, p. 15.

‖ See Revere, p. 52, for a theory of the volcanic origin of this gap, stated upon the authority of General Vallejo.

tile. Upon the eastern side, it is intersected by numerous streams from the Sierra which form large and beautiful bottoms of rich land, wooded principally with white oak in open groves of trees, often six feet in diameter and sixty to eighty high. The larger streams only pass entirely across the valley.* The low, or foot hills, of the Sierra Nevada, which limit the valley, make a woodland country, well watered and diversified. This section of the valley is well adapted to the cultivation of the grape, and will probably become the principal vine growing region of California. The rolling surface of the hills presents many sunny exposures, sheltered from the winds, and having a soil and climate highly favorable to this purpose. The vine thrives in California in an extraordinary manner. It is already cultivated to a considerable extent, and the wine produced is of very excellent quality. Intelligent cultivation alone seems needed to make both wine and brandy in quantities sufficient both for consumption and exportation.† The uplands bordering the valleys of the larger streams are wooded with evergreen oaks, and the intervening plains are timbered with the same tree, among prairie and open land. The surface is level, plain and undulating or rolling ground. The soil is rich, and admirably adapted to the cultivation of wheat, which yields enormous crops. The grasses are various and luxuriant; and oats grow wild, covering large tracts with a dense growth frequently as high as the head of a man mounted upon horseback.

Around the southern arm of the Bay of San Francisco, a low alluvial bottom land, with occasional woods of oak, borders the western foot of the mountain ranges, terminating on a breadth of thirty miles in the valley of San José. This valley, in connection with that of San Juan, forms a continuous plain fifty-five miles in length, and one mile to twenty in breadth, opening into smaller valleys among the hills. Shut in between the coast range and the lower hills upon the sea—with a soil of singular fertility, a pure and dry atmosphere, and a soft and delicious climate;—this valley, opening directly upon the Bay of San Francisco, appears to unite more inducements to settlement than any other portion of California. It is wooded with majestic trees, covered with the richest grasses, brilliant with an endless variety of wild flowers, produces in profusion the fruits of the temperate and tropical zones, and breaks into secluded glens and wild recesses among the hills. All the tourists speak of it as a most attractive and beautiful spot.‡

* Frémont's Memoir, pp. 15, 16.
† Frémont's Memoir, 16. Bryant, 277, 412. Forbes, 264. Revere, 282.
‡ Frémont's Memoir, 33, 34. Bryant, 316.

North of the Bay of San Francisco, between the Sacramento valley and the coast, the country is cut into mountain ridges and rolling hills, with many fertile and watered valleys. In the interior it is generally well wooded with oak; and, immediately along the coast, it presents open prairie land lying among heavily timbered forests, and frequently covered for miles with a dense growth of wild oats. To the eastward of this tract, and intermediate between the coast range and the Sierra Nevada, stretches from the head of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers to the mountains upon the forty-first parallel, that division of the country which is called the valley of the Sacramento. It is about two hundred miles long and sixty wide, watered by the Rio Sacramento and its affluents. It presents a diversity of heavily wooded plateax, rich prairie land, fertile slopes, alluvial bottoms and strips of yellow gravelly soil. Many parts of it are well adapted to grazing, and its general character fits it in an eminent degree for the cultivation of wheat.*

Upon the forty-first parallel, in a fork of the Sierra Nevada, is a tract of high table land, about one hundred miles in length, surrounded on all sides by mountains, which is called by Frémont the Upper Valley of the Sacramento. It is heavily timbered, and its climate and productions are greatly modified by its altitude and more northern position. The Sacramento River which rises in the mountains at its northern extremity, reaches the lower valley through a *cañon* on the line of Shastle Peak, falling two thousand feet in twenty miles.†

The climate of California, as a necessary result of the configuration and extent of the country, presents marked contrasts in the different divisions which have been described. With reference to the whole country, the year may be divided into the wet season and the dry. The wet season begins in November, and terminates in April. During this period the rain does not fall continuously, and frequent intervals of clear and beautiful weather occur for many days in succession. Rain sometimes falls without intermission for eight or ten days, followed by spells of sunshine; and frequently the weather is fine until the afternoon, when the clouds gather. The rain during this season is not continuously steady and violent, but warm and often drizzling. Usually from May until November no rain falls. There are exceptions, however, for rain sometimes descends in August. Apart from the mere physical discomfort, the sense of which is soon lost, the wet season is healthy and delightful, and during its continuance the country wears its most beau-

* Frémont's Memoir, 25. † Frémont's Memoir, 25, 26, and accompanying map.

tiful aspect. With the first rains in November, the grass, clover and wild oats spring up spontaneously; the trees are clothed with fresh foliage, the flowers display their rich colors, the comparatively arid soil is covered with diversified vegetation, and by Christmas the land in its broad extent is green and beautiful. Upon the coast and the shore of the bay, the climate is cooler and less agreeable than in the interior. This is owing to the north-west winds which frequently bring with them dense fogs which are cold relatively to the mean temperature. These fogs, however, are not of that raw and piercing kind that affect the constitution. They bear no seeds of disease. These characteristics of climate are perhaps more marked at San Francisco than at any other point, and the experience of nearly a century affords conclusive evidence that they do not injuriously affect health. It is seldom cold enough in the settled portions of California to congeal water. Snow rarely falls in the valleys, and the thermometer seldom sinks below 50° or rises above 80°.* In the great valley bordering upon the lower slopes of the Sierra, the climate is peculiarly de-

* Bryant, 273, 326, 385 to 394, 451. Forbes, 163, 170, 312. Hughes's California, 32. Frémont's Memoir, 35, 36, 40, 43. President's Message, Dec. 1848, p. 46.

The past winter has been one of almost unprecedented severity. Snow has fallen to considerable depth, and ice has been formed in the vicinity of Captain Sutter's Fort, two or three inches in thickness. No such weather has been known in California since the winter of 1823-4, which also formed an exception to the general climate.

Some idea of the climate of California may be found by the following meteorological items derived by the N. Y. Herald tables of the weather and thermometer at Monterey, kept by Talbot H. Greene, Esq., a merchant, at Monterey, during the space of a year, viz: from March, 1845, to February, 1846.

In March, 1845, the thermometer averaged 65 at noon. There was no rain; the sky generally clear.

In April, same degree of heat; five rainy days, four foggy, the others clear.

In May, the thermometer at noon never rose higher than 64, and never fell lower than 58; weather clear.

In June, the highest noonday heat was 73; the lowest 60; weather clear.

In July, the highest heat at noon, 74; lowest 60; clear skies.

In August, greatest heat at noon, 72; lowest 63; clear skies.

In September, greatest heat at noon, 73; lowest 61; clear skies, occasional fogs at eight in the morning; rain once only.

In October, greatest heat at noon, 70; lowest 59; fogs in the morning, days clear; rain three times within the month—a little rain in the night on two occasions.

In November, greatest heat, 76; lowest 60; weather generally clear; rains in the night occasionally.

In December, greatest heat, 66; lowest 57; clear weather; rain on four different nights this month.

In January, 1846, greatest heat, 62; lowest 48; more rain this month than the former months.

In February, 1846, average heat at noon, 62; lowest 50; clear skies; rain on three different nights.

lightful. There are no prevailing diseases in the country, and the extremes of heat in the summer are checked by sea breezes during the day, and by light airs from the Sierra during the night. The climate generally resembles that of Italy, and its characteristics are salubrity and a regulated mildness.*

Having thus given a general view of the history and geographical features of California, I proceed to consider the resources of the country with a view to establish the hypothesis of its future national greatness. Prominent among these resources is the immense deposit of gold. "The indications of its presence," says Senator Benton, " extend over an area of more than two thousand miles. They are in New Mexico—on the waters of the Middle Colorado—on the mountains both beyond and on this side of the Sierra Nevada. Professor Dana, who was geologist to Captain Wilkes's exploring expedition, and who examined the country between the coast range and the Cascade range of mountains, found the gold-bearing rocks, as geologists call them, on the Umpqua, the Shastl, and the Tlamath rivers, and at the head of the Sacramento valley. He did not visit the Sierra Nevada, but said there was gold yet to be discovered in the Sacramento valley. It has been discovered, and no one can tell where it is to end. The Sierra Nevada is six hundred miles long, ten or twelve thousand feet high, and has a slope of from forty to seventy miles; and all this seems to be an auriferous region. South of the Sierra Nevada are prolongations of the same chain and of the same character, and known to possess gold. The Ural mountains, now yielding so much gold to Russia, are but twelve hundred miles long and five or six thousand feet high: the mountain chains in New Mexico and California which produce gold are near twice as long and twice as high as the Ural mountains." Silver also abounds in California, and several mines of great richness have recently been opened. Cinnebar, platinum, lead, iron, copper and sulphur all exist apparently in large quantities.†

This wonderful mineral wealth will no doubt, at first, produce much licentiousness and difficulty. It is, however, of vast importance collaterally considered. It matters little upon what grand scale nature may have bestowed upon a country the advantages of physical configuration and geographical position; *development* must precede greatness, and to development certain elements and impulses are absolutely essen-

* Frémont, 14, 43.

† Bryant, 451. President's Message, Dec. 5, 1848, pp. 10, 63. Wilkes, 37. "California Star," April 1, 1848. Speech of Senator Benton, January 15, 1849.

tial. The most indispensable of these is population. Population having been attracted, inducements to its permanence, activity and increase must present themselves. These are the supply of the necessary food, the existence of the essentials of physical comfort, the opportunities of acquiring wealth; and, in proportion to the extent to which these inducements exist in a given region, population will flow into it. The moral force of population,—its ability to work out great results,—must be deduced from the original character of the emigrating people, and the nature and extent of the advantages presented. Fertility of soil alone has in some cases induced emigration, and agriculture has founded states. Geographical position has attracted it, and commerce has built up nations. The presence of the precious metals has secured it, and mineral wealth has bought development. In the case of some states these elements are found combined. Brazil, for example, has fertile soil, mineral wealth, and commercial advantages; but the influences of climate, the character of the population and political institutions, check the full development of natural resources. Mexico also possesses the precious metals in connection with a productive soil and ports upon two oceans, but similar causes have there operated with like results. Never before, however, in the history of the world, have we found a country presenting in a higher degree than California, the combined inducements, of advantageous commercial position, fertility of soil, and mineral wealth. The climate of California is also highly favorable to development. Let us enquire into the character of the people who are to control these elements of greatness.

The emigration now pouring into the country is of a mixed character. From the United States, from England, Germany, France, Mexico, South America and the Islands of the Pacific,—the World is contributing to people it; and it is fitting the world should, for its greatness will be cosmopolitan. Comparatively, however, this can occur only to a limited extent, and will exert no influence, for it is undeniable that to the people of the United States are committed the destinies of California. What are the characteristic traits of this people?—Vigor of intellect,—quickness of perception,—keenness of appreciation,—energy of action,—untiring industry,—indomitable perseverance,—physical strength,—*the necessity of progress*,—not as a means, but as a natural law, imperative upon the individual man, and the aggregate community. These people also take with them the habit of freedom, and the forms, the energies and the advantages of republican institutions.

When population is once secured, it becomes necessary to ascertain

how far the country is able to support it, for very much in proportion that a State is self-sustained, will it reach solid greatness. In the case of California it is wholly impossible to state this exactly, but we have abundant data to justify an approximate estimate sufficiently correct for the purposes of this Paper. It has already been shewn that Maratime California, the only portion of the country to which we will look in this estimate of supplies; is about one hundred thousand square miles in extent, which is equal to a superficial area of sixty-four million acres.* This belt of country is intersected by two mountain ranges, and contains in its bosom several lakes of moderate size, five or six considerable rivers, and some marshy and sterile land. The lower slopes of these mountains, however, and the valleys opening into them, are well adapted to agriculture and grazing, and it is believed that much of the marshy districts can be made to produce rice. We will allow five-sixths of the whole area, or fifty-three million three hundred and thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty acres, for the proportion of superficies thus occupied; so that upon a very moderate and fair estimate, we have one-sixth, or ten million six hundred and sixty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-six acres of cultivable land.

All the authorities agree in pronouncing the country admirably adapted to the cultivation of wheat. Its latitudinal position, and the results of the existing imperfect system of agriculture, verify these statements. There would seem to be few points in the great valley where the cereal grains could not be produced abundantly, and the crops of wheat whereever it has been grown, range from fifty to eighty bushels to the acre.† This yield, however, is from a virgin soil, and it is proper to make some allowance for the exhaustion which may result from regular and continuous tillage, and we will therefore calculate only twenty bushels per acre as the average yield. We will assume that one-third of the estimated cultivable land, or three million five hundred and fifty-five thousand five hundred and fifty-five acres will produce an average of twenty bushels of wheat to the acre. This will give an annual yield of seventy-one million one hundred and eleven thousand one hundred bushels, which is equal to five bushels to each individual of an aggregate population of over fourteen millions. The cultivation of another third of this sixth, in Indian corn, yielding also an average of twenty bushels to the acre; would give five bushels of corn for each individual of this estimated population, while the potatoes, beans, peas and other

* Frémont, 13. † Frémont, 15 to 43. Bryant, 448. Forbes, 256 to 264. Thornton, vol. ii, 86, 88. Life in Cal. 61.

vegetables and fruits, raised upon the remaining third, would, in connection with the animal food consumed, furnish an ample allowance for the sustenance of each individual of this population for one year. In consideration of the immense margin of over fifty-three million acres left for mountain ranges and water, no deduction has been made from the yield of this one-sixth for the amount of grain necessary for seed, and the consumption of cattle, neither is any reference had, in this connection, to supplies for export. The cultivation of a small portion of the reserved five-sixths will fully supply these wants. As population increases in the country, and manufactures and commerce are developed, the results of agricultural labor will be enlarged; while the ability of the country to feed its inhabitants will be increased and facilitated by the growth of cities and the greater density of population.* The supply of animal food in the country will be found to be immensely large. Game abounds in the woods in great variety and excellence. The rivers, lakes and bays are full of the finest fish, while the number of horned cattle can be increased to an indefinite extent. A very large part of the reserved five-sixths consists of excellent grazing and pasturage lands, and as hides, tallow and jerked beef will form important articles of export, much attention will be given to the increase of horned cattle.† The adaptation of California to the breeding of sheep, will make wool an important item of export and manufacture, and the supply of animal food from this source will be incalculably enlarged.‡

* Say's Political Economy, 383.

† Before the secularization of the missions, the horned cattle were innumerable. When these establishments were broken up, the cattle were slaughtered in immense numbers. Thousands have also been slaughtered for their hides alone. In 1831, the number of horned cattle in the possessson of individuals amounted to 500,000—of sheep, goats and pigs, 321,000—*Bryant*, 445.

‡ Forbes, 278.

The estimate in the text largely over-feeds the population, and the statement is purposely made a very moderate one. No individual could consume five bushels of wheat and five bushels of corn, together with meat and vegetables. Calculated according to the fixed principles regulating supply and consumption, the estimate would stand thus:

1-3d of the 1-6th or 3,555,555 acres in wheat, at 20 bushels to the acre, gives 71,111,100 bushels, which in the ratio of 4½ bushels to each individual, furnishes the requisite supply for a population of 15,802,466. The average yield of corn per acre is also understated. It would be more correct to assume 35 bushels to the acre—which, supposing another third of the sixth, or 3,555,555 acres to be cultivated in corn, would give 124,444,425 bushels, or 5 bushels of corn to each individual of an aggregate population of 24,888,885. Thus assuming that the supplies of animal and vegetable food will be sufficiently large, we provide for the wants of a population of forty millions. See Patent Office Report for 1847, pp. 107, 549.

The next question to be considered is the probable permanence of population. The great majority of the emigrants now seeking California are undoubtedly attracted by the mineral wealth of the country. A large proportion of this class are unfitted by their habits of life and want of physical strength to engage for any protracted time in the arduous occupation of mining. It is probable, moreover, that before many years elapse, the large deposits of gold will be exhausted, although the mineral will be found scattered over an immense surface of country in the form of scales and dust. This supposition is consistent with the general theory of the formation of gold, and has been the history of nearly all auriferous regions. A great number of those who have gone and are on their way to California, however, have fixed purposes of life, irrespective of the digging of gold; and but little reflection will be necessary to satisfy the intelligent man, that by a thousand channels, and as a consequence of as many causes, the gold will speedily find its way from the possession of the original digger into the lap of enterprise, shrewdness and labor. When the precious metals have once attracted population, the sooner they are exhausted the better. A very small proportion of those who engage in mining, will realise enough to satisfy their expectations or their cupidity, while it is probable that thousands will amass a very respectable capital. The country itself will present the most tempting opportunities for the profitable use of this capital, and a great proportion of it will at once be invested in agriculture, manufactures and trade. The beauty of the country, and the salubrious and delightful character of its climate, will also exert a great influence in fixing population.

The great commercial advantages which California possesses will perhaps constitute the strongest inducements to permanent settlement, while their development will form one of the most important elements of future greatness. The geographical position of the country is eminently favorable to commerce. The harbors upon the coast, and especially that of San Francisco, are well located and capacious enough to meet the requirements of the most extended trade. The country is capable of supporting the requisite population. The materials for the construction of a navy exist in great abundance.* The ship timber upon the Upper Sacramento is represented as being of a superior quality. The mountain

Also in connection with the density of population, and its distribution to the square mile, see a very full article in the American Review of April, 1845, pp. 424 to 432. See also Humboldt's Essai Politique sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne, 3 vol. p. 95.

* President's Message of Dec. 5, 1848.

ranges are covered with pine trees. Hemp can be cultivated upon the numerous water-courses. Cotton may perhaps be raised in the San Joaquin Valley, or easily supplied from the United States; and iron and copper and coal have already been discovered.* The mountain streams will supply water-power for mills and factories. The precious metals and minerals; the productions and manufactures of the country, together with supplies received in exchange from the Union, will provide articles of export; and when the spirit of commercial enterprise is prepared to avail itself of all these advantages, a vast field of exterior trade is open before it. Across the Sierra Nevada, lies this immense Republic, overflowing with natural productions, and the results of labor and art; to the north, the great Oregon Territory with its yet undeveloped wealth; to the south, Mexico and the American Continent; while the Pacific Ocean, with its whales, (the trade in which will find in California a point of concentration,) offers a short and direct route to the Islands and Empires of the east. The Ladrones and Phillipines, Borneo, Sumatra, Java, the clusters of the Indian Ocean, Japan, China, Burmah, Hindustan, with their various productions and accumulated wealth, unfold resources which are wholly inappreciable from their extent and richness.

In the development of these resources, steam will be a powerful agent of commerce. With a continuous line of rail roads connecting the two oceans, and steam-ships traversing the Pacific, California will become the recipient and highway of the Oriental trade. The rich commerce of Asia will flow through her centre. "And where has that commerce ever flowed without carrying wealth and dominion with it? Look at its ancient channels, and the cities which it raised into kingdoms, and the populations which upon its treasures became resplendent in science, learning and the arts. Tyre, Sidon, Balbec, Palmyra, Alexandria, among its ancient emporiums, attest the power of this commerce to enrich, to aggrandize, and to enlighten nations. Constantinople, in the middle ages, and in the time of the crusades, was the wonder of western Europe; and all, because she was then a thoroughfare of Asiatic commerce. Genoa and Venice, mere cities, in later time, became the match of kingdoms, and the envy of Kings, from the mere divided streams of this trade of which they became the thoroughfare. Lisbon had her great day, and Portugal her pre-eminence during the little while that the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope put her in communication

* Forbes, 349, 350.
Immense supplies of coal exist also on Vancouver's Island, and on the main land about the upper tributaries of the Columbia River.—*California Star, April* 1, 1848.

with the east. Amsterdam, the city of a little territory rescued from the sea, and the Seven United Provinces, not equal in extent to one of our lesser States, became great in arms, in letters, in wealth and in power; and all upon the East India trade. And London, what makes her the commercial mistress of the world—what makes an island no larger than one of our first class States—the mistress of possessions in the four quarters of the Globe—a match for half of Europe—and dominant in Asia? What makes all this, or contributes most to make it, but this same Asiatic trade? In no instance has it failed to carry the nation, or the people which possessed it, to the highest pinnacle of wealth and power, and with it the highest attainments of letters, arts, and sciences."*

Society in California is in a transition state. Peculiar influences operate there to develop in an unusual degree the traits inseparable from incipient organization. The abundance of the precious metals will exert for some time a deleterious influence upon society. The great conservative principle however is there, and property will provide protection. Law will correct licentiousness. Already a provisional government is about to be established, and no very long time can reasonably be expected to elapse, before the social elements will become purified and settled.

The design of this Paper has been to exhibit as fully as its limits would permit, *the History and Capacities of California.* Where opinions have been expressed, they have been based upon sufficient data. Its statements have been well considered; its facts carefully collated, and its calculations made in accordance with settled principles. The subject itself is full of importance, and would reward a much more extended investigation.

The century in which we live has been crowded with great events, Development has been its characteristic. Progress has been its watchword. Science has achieved in it her brightest triumphs. The resources of nations have been multiplied. The field of human energy has been enlarged, and among the greatest of the events which will mark the epoch in the estimation of the future historian, will be the consolidation of the first Anglo-Saxon Empire upon the borders of the Pacific.

* Senator Benton's speech in support of a national road to the Pacific, delivered February 7, 1849.