DUBLIN UNIVERSITY AND THE NEW WORLD

R. H. MURRAY, LITT. D.

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DUBLIN UNIVERSITY AND THE NEW WORLD

A MEMORIAL DISCOURSE
PREACHED IN THE CHAPEL OF TRINITY COLLEGE,
DUBLIN, MAY 23, 1921

BY THE REV.

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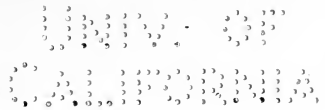
PREFACE

It has long been the custom in Trinity College, Dublin, to preach a sermon in memory of its distinguished alumni on Trinity Monday. This year I had the privilege of preaching this sermon, which the Board of the College honoured me by asking me to print. This I have done, taking occasion to expand it. Perhaps I may be allowed to state that part of my address comes from my unpublished book on the "Migrations of Men, Ancient and Modern." Lord Bryce has been so extremely kind as to write me an Introduction to it.

I desire to thank most warmly Dr. L. C. Purser for the Dedication he was good enough to compose, and Mr. T. U. Sadleir for the valued assistance he gave me in the compilation of my Appendix. My wife corrected the proofs with all her usual care. The President of Harvard University, Mr. A. Lawrence Lowell, performed the same kind office for me, and I feel grateful to him for his corrections.

ROBERT H. MURRAY.

11, Harcourt Terrace,
Dublin,
St. Bartholomew's Day, 1921.



DUBLIN UNIVERSITY AND THE NEW WORLD

"These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them and embraced them, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth."—*Heb.* xi. 13.

THERE is a peculiar pleasure in tracing the connection between remote cause and effect. A Chinese emperor builds a great wall, and the outcome is the downfall of the mighty Roman Empire. For the barbarians, no longer able to plunder the treasure of China, come west until they reach Rome herself. Similarly, if we were asked the question why the English did not leave Ireland during the fifteenth century, we might reply by saying that the cause lay in the blocking of the trade routes of the Levant by the Turks. Men could no longer travel through the Levant in order to go from the west to the east, and they were driven to discover a new route. The Turks effectively blocked the mediæval trade routes which had been shared by the Italians, by the Saracens, and by the Byzantine Empire. Men felt that they must burst through the restrictions which sorely confined their energies. In 1492 Columbus discovered the West Indies. Like many another

adventurer, he builded greater than he knew, for to the day of his death he was unconscious of the magnitude of his achievement. He thought that he had turned the flank of the Turks, for he had found a new route which they could not block. As a matter of fact, to employ the fine saying of George Canning, he had called into existence a New World in order to redress the balance of the Old.

Shakespeare reminds us that England was "that utmost corner of the west."[1] Before the Columbian discovery she was at the end of the world, and was regarded as almost out of the world. So her position appeared to the Greek geographers and to the mediæval monks: the maps of the one and the charts of the other attest this. She had been the outpost of European civilisation, and now she became the very heart of it. Her western situation had been a barrier to her progress, and this barrier was at a stroke transformed into the surest and quickest road to progress. Her limited island area, her tremendous change from pasturage to tillage during the sixteenth century, and her unexploited resources of mineral wealth, obliged her to turn to the sea. Conditions at home synchronised with the altered conditions abroad, and her maritime development commenced.

The position of Ireland was also fundamentally changed. Before 1492 she acted as a breakwater between England and the ocean, but now, for the first time, she lay athwart English trade between the New World and the Old. He who controls her harbours controls English commerce. From this

[1] "King John," Act II., Scene 1.

point of view the discovery of America was fatal to the aspirations of the Irish to independence. The control of Ireland was vital to England, and sixteenth-century statesmen soon perceived that this control must be effective: hence the confiscations and plantations which now begin to mark the history of Ireland.

The fall of Constantinople in 1453 was felt only forty years afterwards in the then remote continent of North America, east and west thus beginning to realise the future intimacy of the union between them. It stirred the Portuguese navigators to a renewal of their efforts to reach India by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Every great movement, widening the geographical outlook of a people, at the same time widens their intellectual and economic outlook.

The Crusades performed this high office for the Middle Ages, and the colonisation of America performed it for the seventeenth and succeeding centuries. It is, indeed, difficult not to speak of such an event as the discovery of America almost exclusively in terms of geography. Yet the moment people realised there was another continent where the eagle of the Holy Roman Emperor had never flown, from that moment the whole structure of mediævalism was undermined. Columbus discovered a new world beyond and Copernicus announced new worlds above. Scarcely any discovery of the nineteenth or twentieth centuries, not even Darwin's, exercised such far-reaching effects as these two which made the Reformation inevitable.

What the Mediterranean had been in the past, the Atlantic was to be in the future. The Papacy had been a Mediterranean power. The Crusades had been fought near its shores. Athens, Rome, Constantinople, Venice, and Genoa had been notable centres in this Middle Sea. The shores of Western Spain, Portugal, and England were not lapped by its blue waves. The estuaries of the Mersey, the Clyde, and the Lagan knew only the cry of the bittern and the ripple of a stray fishing-boat.[1]

After the year 1492 the leadership of Europe shifted decisively from the south to the west. As Hegel put it, the crossing of the Alps by Julius Cæsar was an event of the same magnitude as the crossing of the Atlantic by Columbus. By both events new spheres were opened out for peoples ready to unfold capacities which were pressing for development. The shores of the Ægean and the Adriatic became what the Breton coast had long been. Cadiz, Lisbon, Cherbourg, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Hamburg, Plymouth, and Bristol were the gates through which the busy traffic poured. The tie of Germany, from the tenth to the fifteenth century, had been with Italy—that is, with the south. Now the tie was with the north, and with this transfer the rise of Prussia became possible. The two great European powers in the World War unconsciously began their rivalry when the Atlantic assumed the place of the Mediterranean. Did not William II. send a message from the Emperor of the Atlantic

[1] *Cf.* the fine fourth chapter in E. C. Semple's illuminating book, "Influences of Geographical Environment."

to the Emperor of the Baltic? The cities of Germany were well aware how closely their fortune was bound up with the success of the Reformation.[1]

Our beautiful form of bidding prayer exhorts us to petition "there never may be wanting a supply of persons duly qualified to serve God both in Church and State, ye shall pray for a blessing on all places of religious and useful learning, particularly on our Universities," and there is little doubt that this was among the motives actuating Queen Elizabeth in founding Trinity College, Dublin, in 1591. The tone of our early provosts, professors, and undergraduates was predominantly Puritan. This tone was due in no small degree to the migration to us of learned men from Oxford and Cambridge who found the atmosphere there no longer congenial. If on the one side there was a broadening in our outlook as the result of the Reformation, there was on another side a narrowing. There was also an increasing insularity in our national character, and the forms of religion inevitably suffered from it. The Sunday of Elizabeth's reign was a continental one: games and sports were universally played. The Sunday of James I.'s reign, in spite of the King's efforts, had become the Sabbath in the course of a single generation, an unprecedented change in the customs of the people. This change is all the more amazing when we remember that the attitude of the Puritan Fathers was altogether different. When John Knox visited John Calvin at Geneva on the

[1] *Cf.* the writer's "Erasmus and Luther: Their Attitude to Toleration," pp. 41-5, 66, 105, 210-2, 434, 436, 438, 440-1.

Sabbath, he found his austere colleague playing bowls on the green.

Uniformity in Church and State was the ideal of Elizabeth. This uniformity was vital, for diversity ruined Church and State. Elizabeth was threatened simultaneously abroad and at home. Abroad, Pius V. and Philip II. were organising the forces of the Counter-Reformation against her, and abroad she was obliged to support the Calvinists by aiding the Dutch against Philip II. and the Huguenots against the Guises. At home she was compelled on the one hand to restrain the Roman Catholics, and on the other to restrain all formal attempts on the part of the Calvinists to leave the Church of England. The latter fell into two classes. There was the Puritan conforming Calvinist who desired to remain within the Church, trying to enforce his ideas on its members; there was the Puritan non-conforming Calvinist who believed in Presbyterianism or Independency as the divinely ordered system of Church Government, and disbelieved in Episcopacy and Church order. The individualism of the Independent called upon him to leave the Church of England. Its forms and its organisation stood between the soul and God: they prevented, in his view, a renewal of man's unending yearning for communion with God. The Reformation was to such a man the affirmation of individuality. But to secure this right to the individual the doctrinal system of the Church of England or Ireland had largely to be swept away, and a new congregational system built on its ruins. The new spirit had to express

itself in new forms or rather in the absence of forms. In no English-speaking country is there greater individualism in religion than in the United States. Puritan theories of Church and State there waned: Puritan individualism has waxed exceedingly. The religion of a man is a matter between himself and God. Nor is this attitude confined to the Church. The conception of the State in the great western Republic, involving alike the destinies of the individual and the community, gains no help from the Church in this respect.

The nobility of the Separatist ideal is evident to-day,[1] but how could our ancestors realise it without endangering the safety of both Church and State? The place Germany occupied in our eyes Spain occupied in the eyes of our forefathers at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. The Emperor Charles V., who was Spanish at heart, and his son, Philip II. of Spain, were figures looming large in the thoughts of all statesmen. The Armada of 1588 was only one stage in the quarrel between England and Spain or between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. There were several other Armadas after 1588, including the formidable one launched in 1596. Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador at the Court of James I., was as menacing as Marschall von Bieberstein at the Court of George V. There was always the prospect of a war with Spain, which down

[1] *Cf.* Acton, "Lectures on Modern History," pp. 200-1; Masson, "Life of Milton," vol. iii., p. 99; "Speeches by J. Bright, M.P.," edited by T. Rogers, vol. i., p. 301.

to the fatal field of Rocroi in 1643 possessed the strongest army in Europe. The religion of Philip II. of Spain seemed everywhere to be gaining ground. England and Ireland were the only refuges of Protestantism and of freedom. To be untrue to England's King, to be in opposition to England's Government, was to be on the side of the enemy. Conformity to the law, ecclesiastical just as much as civil, was the first duty of every good citizen and of every good Protestant. Nonconformist scruples were little short of base treachery.

John Sherrard.

In this world grew up four of our sons whom we honour to-day. They are John Sherrard, Scholar Commoner on September 30, 1658; Samuel Mather (1626-1671), Congregationalist divine; Increase Mather (1639-1723), his brother, President of Harvard College; and John Winthrop the Younger (1606-1676), Governor of Connecticut. It is right that on other Trinity Mondays we should bestow our homage upon our moral philosophers like George Berkeley and our political philisophers like Edmund Burke, the two greatest men, I think, we ever produced. This is, I imagine, the first occasion when we have honoured a man so obscure as John Sherrard. Surely it is fitting that we should honour the unknown scholar. Have we not borne in mind the unknown warrior? Unknown! His name, indeed, and where he comes from now; such matters we do not know, nor do we need to in-

quire. But him we know, and did know through four long, terrible, and splendid years. We know almost nothing about John Sherrard save that he was the son of Hope Sherrard, Minister, that he was Scholar when he was nineteen, that he was born at the Island of Providence in the West Indies, and that he was educated by Mr. Cromlahan of Dorchester.

We to-day have elected Scholars of our College, and we know what a proud and happy day it is for them, that memorable never-to-be-forgotten day when they first wear the Scholar's cap. The name and the fame of our Berkeleys and our Burkes have gone to the ends of the earth. Yet we do well to remember that our Sherrards have their modest place in our bead-roll. The men of genius are required: so, too, are the men of talent. In the darkness and the dust near our College Chapel repose the bones of old scholars of Trinity who by their labours, their quiet, unobtrusive labours, within these walls, have both enriched their country's literature and benefited the world by their discoveries in the fruitful fields of science.

Samuel Mather.

Nor does the rank of Samuel Mather greatly exceed that of John Sherrard. He was the eldest son of Richard Mather, and was born at Much Woolton, Lancashire, on May 13, 1626. Of his early life little now survives, and this is no great loss.

When he was only twelve years of age he wrote to his father, who was then living at Dorchester, in the following terms: "Though I am thus well in my body, yet I question whether my soul doth prosper as my body doth; for I perceive yet to this very day little growth in grace; and this makes me question whether grace be in my heart or no. I feel also daily great unwillingness to good duties, and the great ruling of sin in my heart; and that God is angry with me, and gives me no answer to my prayers, but many times He throws them down as dust in my face; and He does not grant my continual requests for the spiritual blessing of the softening of my hard heart. And in all this I could yet take some comfort, but that it makes me wonder what God's secret decree concerning me may be; for I doubt whether ever God is wont to deny grace and mercy to His chosen (though uncalled) when they seek unto Him by prayer for it; and therefore, seeing He doth thus deny it to me, I think, that the reason of it is most like to be, because I belong not unto the election of grace. I desire that you would let me have your prayers, as I doubt not but I have them, and rest your Son, SAMUEL MATHER."[1]

This letter revolts us when we think that it is written by a lad of twelve. Yet we ought to bear in mind that a boy of twelve then was at least as old as a young man of sixteen or seventeen to-day. There is a parallel to it in the atmosphere so faithfully noted in that curiously fascinating book, "Father and Son," which Edmund Gosse wrote in 1907. The

[1] Cotton Mather, "Magnalia Christi Americana," p. 144.

two facts which stand out in Gosse's book—and, indeed, in the early life of the two Mathers and Winthrop—are the affinity of Puritanism with the scientific rather than with the romantic temper, and its incapacity to deal with children. Is there not a tendency on the part of Puritanism to turn boys and girls into prigs? This is due in part to the fact that Puritanism has very little sense of religion as a process, a life. It is generally the miracle, the instantaneous, the conversion, at which it aims. In a word, it can only reach its aims by treating the child as an adult.

For good and for evil Puritanism was the atmosphere which Samuel Mather breathed. The hypocrisy of the Puritan has been savagely satirised in the "Tartuffe" of Molière and the "Hudibras" of Butler. Yet no one can peruse the records of the family life of the Mathers and Winthrop without realising that its members lived "for ever in the Great Taskmaster's eye." They laid an emphasis on vocation in relation to daily occupation. The "Saint's Rest" was in the world to come: in this he was to labour at his calling. Business became a sacred office in which it was a man's bounden duty to do his utmost *ad majorem Dei gloriam*. The constant belief of the young and the old alike was that they lived in a world whose amusements were irreverent and irrelevant in the midst of life filled with awful duties. There was a shrinking from libertinage of thought and action as from shame and death. The Puritans were ascetic in their use of food, and they were reserved in speech. Such is the noble

aspect of their family life. There is, however, another aspect to the ideal they set before them. As Divine Providence overruled every act, there was nothing trivial, nothing beneath His attention, and there was certainly nothing beneath theirs. There was a want of proportion in their attitude to the minor duties of life. If they investigated the want of decorum in a man, they were every whit as anxious to criticise the dress of his wife.

In 1635 Richard Mather brought his son Samuel to New England, and there he was educated at Harvard College. In 1643 he proceeded to the degree of Master of Arts, and that year he was elected Fellow. He was, indeed, the first Fellow of Harvard College who had graduated there. He lived at Cambridge under the ministry of Shepard, who was as renowned as Perkins in Cambridge in England. He became assistant minister to old Ezekiel Rogers, and he preached for a year at Boston, laying stress on the evils of antinomianism. He had, to use his own language, from his childhood a natural and vehement affection to a college life, and Harvard occupied a large space in his regard.

When society was divided by horizontal, not by vertical, lines, certain classes travelled more widely in the Middle Ages than they do to-day. A mediæval student might spend a year at Oxford, another at Paris, and a third at Bologna. In true mediæval fashion, Mather came to Oxford, and in 1650 was appointed one of the Chaplains of Magdalen College, whose President was Thomas Goodwin, the Independent. In spite of his fondness

for the world of thought, Mather never ceased to be a man of action. In 1650 he was also appointed Chaplain to the Lord Mayor of London, and as his fame as a preacher spread he received many requests for his services. Danger lay here which Sydrach Simpson averted. He made Mather promise that he would not preach without Simpson's consent. This consent was now and then given, for Mather preached at Gravesend and at Exeter Cathedral. Of course, he naturally preached frequently at St. Mary's, Oxford. Grosseteste, Wolsey, Wesley, Keble, and Newman are names on the bead-roll of Oxford religious movements which Cambridge cannot match. On this bead-roll we can give a minor place to Mather to 1653, when he resigned his chaplaincy at Magdalen College.

The Puritans in power noted the talents of this distinguished preacher, and in 1653 the Parliamentary Commissioners invited him to attend them in Scotland. In Leith he spent two years, where in the interval of his official duties he exercised his ministry. Then, in company of Dr. Harrison, Dr. Samuel Winter, and Mr. Charnock, he came with Henry Cromwell to Ireland. In 1654 he was incorporated as a Master of Arts of our University and became one of our Senior Fellows. He refused to have our B.D. degree conferred upon him, for he was wont to say with Melanchthon that he would not accept a higher degree than that of Master. On December 5, 1656, Samuel Winter, then Provost of Trinity College, Timothy Taylor of Carrickfergus, and Thomas Jenner, all Congregationalists, ordained

him in St. Nicholas's Church, Dublin. At the church of his ordination he was morning preacher, and he also preached once in six weeks before the Lord Deputy. It was soon remarked in our capital that Charnock's invention, Harrison's expression, and Mather's logic, meeting together, would have made the most perfect preacher in the world. Under the Commonwealth the Church of Ireland, as one of our graduates, the Rev. St. John Seymour, has recently learnedly shown,[1] was passing through a difficult period of her existence. It is a pleasure, therefore, to observe the courtesy that Mather extended to divines of our communion. Commissions for displacing them were at work in Munster and in Dublin. Mather, however, refused to act on them, alleging that he was called "to preach the Gospel, and not to hinder others from doing it." Still, Samuel Mather never attained the statesmanlike rank of his brother, Increase, because he had no eye for the complexity of life. The simplicity of his conceptions did not fit him for the guidance of his adopted nation in the sore straits into which it had fallen. It did, perhaps, something better than anything the statesman can achieve. It gave to those who are immersed in the struggles of the world an example of one who kept his heart pure and his eye clear for the reception of every truth which he was capable of admitting. His own life had been passed in the agony of a struggle in which even victory could have given no triumph which one so single-eyed as he could have appreciated. He may be lacking in

[1] *Cf.* his "The Puritans in Ireland, 1647-1661."

genius, but he certainly was not lacking in faith, in hope, and in charity.

With the Restoration came the deposition of the Puritans from their pride of place. In October, 1660, Mather was suspended for the logical sermons he preached against the revival of ceremonies in the Church of Ireland. Certainly his opposition to ceremonies was characteristically general. He opposed the use of the surplice, he opposed the sign of the cross in baptism, he opposed bowing at the name of Jesus, he opposed the custom of stated holy days, he opposed what he called the holiness of places—that is, churches—and he opposed the use of organs and cathedral music. Indeed, it is evident that he opposed the Prayer Book generally and the Holy Communion Office particularly. In the latter office he objected to kneeling at Holy Communion, bowing at Holy Communion, and setting the Communion-table altar-wise. His addresses were not calculated to afford pleasure to the ecclesiastical authorities, and they afforded little pleasure to the civil. To the latter he was represented as seditious and guilty of treason, and, indeed, his language could bear an interpretation like this.

Leaving Dublin, he crossed to Lancashire, where he obtained the perpetual curacy of Burtonwood, a poor chapelry with a wooden chapel, in the parish of Warrington. In 1662 the Uniformity Act was passed, and St. Bartholomew's Day witnessed his ejection from his curacy. He returned to Dublin, where he gathered a few friends who formed his flock, which met at his house till a meeting-house was

erected in New Row. On September 18, 1664, he was arrested on the charge of preaching at a private conventicle. He reasoned with the officers and soldiers who arrested him about their disturbing a handful of Protestants when they suffered Roman Catholics to say Mass without any interruption. In a short time he was released, and lived without further molestation for the rest of his life. His brethren in the American colonies were desirous of securing his services, but he declined the urgent call which came to him from Boston, Massachusetts. He died at Dublin on October 29, 1671, and was buried at St. Nicholas's Church.

As an author he did not suffer from the disease of verbosity, which afflicted so many of the Puritan Fathers. He wrote no more than five works of modest size. His "Figures or Types of the Old Testament" was published posthumously in our capital in 1683 by the care of his brother Nathaniel. In it there is much exposition of the ten kingdoms, which made the ten horns of the Papal Empire. There is also a careful argument of the manner of the revelation of God. Mather holds that it was little by little that God revealed Himself; one part of His design at one time, and at another something more of it; by darker hints and obscurer intimations first, and gradually by more distinct and plainer revelations. His "Irenicum: or, An Essay for Union among Reformers," appeared at Dublin in 1680. The aim of this tract was the union of the Presbyterians, the Independents, and the Antipædo-Baptists. "They were agreed," he held, "in the

main acts of natural worship, namely prayer, and preaching, and hearing of the Word; and in the special time for public worship, namely the Lord's Days: that as to matters of institution they were agreed in declaring for the Scriptures, as the direction of all; they were agreed that the Lord hath appointed a ministry in the Church who are bound by office to publish the Gospel, and in His name therewith to dispense the sacraments, and the disciplines of the Gospel, and that all ignorant and ungodly persons are to be debarred from the holy mysteries; and finally that the human inventions used and urged in the service of the Church of England are unlawful." He proceeded then to consider the articles of difference which were betwixt them; and he found those articles to be mostly so merely circumstantial that if the several sides would but patiently understand one another, or act according to the concessions and confessions which are made in the most allowed writings, they might easily walk together, wherein they were of one mind, and wherein they were not so they might willingly bear with one another. Only such as unchurch all others besides themselves he found, by the severity of their own disuniting principle, rendered themselves incapable of coming into the union he contemplated. But unto all the societies of those Christians that made union and communion with the Lord Jesus Christ the foundation of all church communion he did with a most evangelical spirit offer, (1) that they should mutually give the right hand of fellowship unto each other, as true Christians of the Lord Jesus Christ:

(2) that they should kindly advise and assist each other in their affairs, as there should be occasion for it; (3) that they should admit the members of each other's congregation unto occasional communion at the table of the Lord.

Mather also wrote a "Discourse" against Valentine Greatrakes, the "miraculous conformist," who pretended to cure such diseases as the King's evil, ague, and indeed all diseases, by stroking or rubbing. In all this Mather saw the hand of the Devil. His "Discourse" was "not allow'd to be printed," and the reason was that the Chaplain of the Primate objected to quotations from the Geneva notes on the Bible.

In the days of his adversity Jeremy Taylor celebrated the "Liberty of Prophesying," but in the days of his prosperity he forgot the virtue of the toleration he once preached. It is to the honour of Samuel Mather that alike in the days of his prosperity and in the days of his adversity he preached and practised that toleration which is one of the most attractive traits in his not altogether lovely character. "For indeed I have always thought," he pointed out, "that it is an irksome work to punish or trouble any man, so it is an evil and sinful work to punish or trouble any good man with temporal corrections, for such errors in religion as are consistent with the foundation of faith and holiness. It is no good spirit in any form to fight with carnal weapons; I mean, by external violence, to impose and propagate itself, and seek by such means, the suppressing of contrary ways, which by argument

it is not able to subdue.[1] He takes occasion to show that "if once you fall to the old trade of persecution the Lord Jesus will never bear it at your hands.[2] . . . Persecution is a very ripening sin.[3] . . . In the day when God shall visit you, the guilt of all the righteous blood that hath been shed upon the face of the earth, from the blood of Abel to the blood of Udal, and unto this day, will come down the hill upon your heads, even upon the persecutors of this generation."[4] True, the argument is not put with the force of John Milton or even with the force of Roger Williams, but it is put with the force derived from the fact that the author of these words had it in his power to persecute our forefathers, and that he deliberately forbore to do so.

The reading of the pamphlets dealing with forgotten controversies is tedious till we remember that behind their type, browned by age and almost illegible from time, lie issues fraught with tremendous consequences for after ages. The congregation of New Row, Dublin, is a case in point. It was sovereign in form. But if it was sovereign in form, it might become sovereign in substance. As the faithful received religious liberty, they might go on to claim political liberty, if not in England or Ireland, then in another home across the Atlantic. There is only one liberty, and it is liberty of conscience. All other forms of liberty are its offspring. "Quand on commence à douter en religion," Chateaubriand

[1] Cotton Mather, "Magnalia," p. 146.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 149.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 149.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

acutely remarks, "on doute en politique. L'homme qui cherche les fondements de son culte ne tarde pas à s'enquérir des principes de son gouvernement. Quand l'esprit demande à être libre, le corps aussi veut l'être. Cela est une consequence toute naturelle." Free religious and free political life are inseparable. There is not a real break in the line of political thought from the "Franco-Gallia" of Hotman to the Declaration of Independence of 1776. As the one proclaimed the political liberty of the French of the sixteenth century, so the other proclaimed the political liberty of the Americans of the eighteenth. The line of succession runs from Martin Luther to John Calvin, from John Calvin to Hubert Languet, from Hubert Languet to John Knox, from John Knox to John Robinson, from John Robinson to John Milton, from John Milton to John Locke, and from John Locke to Alexander Hamilton.

Increase Mather.

From Samuel Mather we turn to his brother Increase, who was the youngest son of Richard Mather. Increase Mather was born in 1639 at Dorchester, Massachusetts. Of his early days we know little save that he gained a good knowledge of languages. When only seventeen years of age he graduated as Master of Arts at Harvard University, and became Fellow the year of his graduation, 1656. He had lived in the family of that worthy divine, John Norton, for some time, and was his favourite pupil. In 1657 he came to Lancashire, the old

county of his fathers. From Lancashire he proceeded to Dublin, where his brother Samuel was living. He entered our College, and was admitted to the degree of Master of Arts in 1658. Calamy throws some light on the academic ceremonies of those days, for he tells us that with Increase Mather's graduation exercises "the scholars were so well pleased that they humm'd him, which was a compliment to which he was a stranger in New England." Dr. Winter, the Provost, entertained a lively respect for him and he was chosen Fellow of our College. He did not accept this appointment, as the air of this country did not agree with him.

His bigoted brother Nathaniel[1] was minister of Barnstaple, near Great Torrington, and Increase acted as substitute for John Howe at Great Torrington till May, 1659. On the termination of the duties of Increase Mather, Colonel Bingham, Governor of Guernsey, invited him to come to the Channel Islands, and he preached at Castle Cornet and St. Peter's Fort. At the end of 1659 he acted as assistant to James Forbes of Gloucester, but returned to Guernsey immediately before the Restoration. He refused to sign a paper sent to Guernsey by Monk, saying that "the times were and would be happy."[2] He stood in danger of losing one hundred pounds, the arrears of his salary, but he escaped that loss.

[1] Mather Papers, p. 67.

[2] Cotton Mather, "Parentator or Memoirs of Remarkables in the Life and Death of the ever memorable Dr. Increase Mather," p. 21.

The new Governor of Guernsey, Sir Hugh Pollard, required Increase Mather to conform, but he declined to conform, refusing on the same grounds an English living worth some hundreds a year. "It is well known," he admitted in 1680, "that as to matters of doctrine we agree with the other reformed churches ; nor was it that, but what concerns worship and discipline, that caused our fathers to come to this wilderness." His congregation must be a self-sufficing unit with a covenant under which it flourished. Plainly the New World was the place where he could redress the balance of the Old. Accordingly he returned to New England, and became minister of the Old North or Second Church, Boston, Massachusetts, where he was ordained on May 27, 1664. He had at last found the land where his appointed work was to be carried out. His season of adversity had exercised an unfavourable effect on his character. It left him morbid, censorious at times, and he suffered, as he felt that his gifts had been unappreciated. On the other hand, he remained the faithful and useful servant of God he had always endeavoured to be. These qualities secured that due recognition in New England they had not secured in Old England. Congregationalists like him, to use Bishop Creighton's measured words, "stamped upon the early colonies of America the severe morality and patient industry which have trained a nation."[1]

In the light of after events, it is strange to think that Champlain had been already encamped twelve

[1] "Historical Lectures and Addresses," p. 39.

years with his little band of pilgrims on the picturesque heights of Quebec when the Pilgrim Fathers landed on the rock-bound coast of New England. In the history of the French Canadian there is much to interest us. His patient endurance, his fidelity to his country, his adventurous life in the Wilderness of the West, afford themes for poetry, history, and romance. The struggles of Champlain, the adventures of La Salle in the valleys of the Mississippi, the exploits of the *coureurs de bois* and gentlemen-adventurers on the rivers and among the forests, the efforts of Frontenac and other French governors to found a new France, the sublime devotion of the Jesuits to the Hurons and the Iroquois, have found in Francis Parkman an eloquent and faithful historian. Who could foresee that this gallant array of men should bow the head in defeat before the Puritan settler with no powerful Government behind him? He was indeed a stranger and a pilgrim, but he was a stranger and a pilgrim who "endured as seeing Him who is invisible."

It is time to dwell upon the nature of the expansion of France and England in North America. Both countries expanded simultaneously. There was a difference in the expansion pregnant with results for the future. The endless valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, combined with the tempting prospects of the fur trade, allured the French to diffusion over a widespread area. The English confined their attention to the sea-coast, making continuous settlements within the bounds prescribed by the Alleghany Mountains. A hundred years after

the arrival of Champlain at Montreal the French were planting fur stations on Lake Superior and the Mississippi, some fourteen hundred miles inland, while the English had scarcely left the sea-coast. Increase Mather never passed beyond the Alleghany Mountains. The French colonist, on the one hand, went everywhere, and the English, on the other hand, went nowhere. The French colonist is to-day nowhere—for his most successful colony, Quebec, owns allegiance to the English King—the English everywhere. Disintegrating forces on a large scale sapped the strength of the French : integrating force on a small scale laid the foundations of the strength of England. France, like Russia, suffered from the curse of a distant horizon. The colonists of England, like Cardinal Newman, did not ask to see the distant scene : one step at a time was enough for him—and for them. The expansion of the English race, in fact, kept pace with the expansion of their colonial boundaries. Ethnic growth and political growth went hand in hand. In the French colonies they were divorced. French energy and enterprise could not compete with the strength and stability of the English, and the French were vanquished long before Montcalm was defeated by Wolfe on the heights of Abraham. In a word, French advance was a mosaic, English advance a growth.

The English were fortunate in their new home in not possessing the precious metals, and they were no less fortunate in not being bound too tightly in the chains of a paternal bureaucracy. Perhaps

some of their good fortune was due to the circumstance that Portugal and Spain had a lead of more than a hundred years in colonisation. It is sometimes urged that the English are a conceited race, yet they have never been too conceited to profit by the mistakes either of their enemies or of their rivals. Their individual characteristics came out in their dislike of corporate organisation, which the Spanish and the Dutch liked. It was the isolated vessel, not the imposing fleet of the wealthy company, which carried the English flag far and wide. In the minds of the passengers there were invisible exports in the shape of ideas. The colonists in Virginia urged the governor to call a convention of delegates from the different plantations in 1619. This was the earliest representative body to meet in the New World, and it characteristically resolved to adopt a form of administration "as near as may be" to the common law of England. Devoted as the emigrants were to the common law, they were, in the days to come, to show that their descendants could recognise other forms of law on their statute-book. French law to this day holds good in the province of Quebec, and it would amaze the spirit of Louis XIV. to find that some of the code his Parlement of Paris enunciated has been forgotten in his capital, and is only remembered by men who are no longer the subjects of France.

The strength of the Roman Empire in its dealings with other peoples was its eclecticism, and the strength of the British is its indifferentism. The motives differ widely, the course of conduct pursued

is the same. There was one change in Virginia which contained in it the germ of federalism. The convention of 1619 decreed a written constitution, a form which the English only enjoyed for a brief period during the rule of Oliver Cromwell. The Virginians ordered that in the courts of justice the procedure of the mother country was to control them. That is, from the foundation of the colony the right of the immigrants to a share in their own government was clearly recognised.

The settlers in Virginia were adventurers, younger sons of noble families, and members of the working classes. The settlers in the northern colony, in the territory of the Plymouth Company, were of another order. For the most part they were men who escaped from England to Holland because they were denied liberty of conscience. They believed that in New England they would be able to enjoy freedom of worship, continuing their loyalty to the flag and race of their forefathers. The constitutional history of the Puritans begins before the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620. While at sea the men of the *Mayflower* drew up an agreement wherein they recognised the sovereignty of England, instituting a "body politic" for self-defence, the enactment of laws, and the maintenance of government. All male members of the Church took part in public affairs, though only the freemen elected the governor. In the charter it was laid down that no laws contrary to those of England should be enacted. There was not a single word about liberty of conscience: indeed, the profession of Roman Catholicism was

forbidden. The courage of the colonists commands our admiration. This quality of great courage is so rare, and so much human misery is due to fear, that one cannot help praising the men who were so wholly devoid of the taint of timidity. They feared God, and they feared naught else. The growth of the new colony was slow. In 1630 one thousand Puritans settled in Massachusetts Bay, marking the beginnings of the Massachusetts colony. Population in this colony grew so fast that it overflowed into Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and the river towns of Connecticut.

It is obvious that there lay before Increase Mather a distinctly expanding sphere of labour.[1] The esteem in which his brethren came to hold him is evidenced by the fact that in 1680 he presided at the Boston Synod. This Synod drew up a confession of faith to which he contributed a preface. The zeal of the second generation of colonists was not nearly so fervent as that of the first, and the Reforming Synod of 1680 was called in order to stimulate it. In a series of thirteen questions the evils of the day were not unskilfully analysed, and for each evil a remedy was suggested. Each remedy meant, in effect, that there was a loss of faith, and accordingly the Synod reaffirmed its adherence to the Westminster Confession of Faith.[2]

Mather was an indefatigable worker. Sixteen

[1] *Cf.* chapter iii. by V. L. Parrington in vol. i. of "A History of American Literature." This chapter gives a good account of the Puritan Divines, 1620-1720.

[2] C. Mather, "Magnalia," Book v., p. 40.

hours a day he regularly studied. The spirit of the man is evident in his complaint that "not many years ago I lost (and that's an afflictive loss indeed !) several months from study by sickness."[1] Nor were his activities in any wise confined to theology. He noted the designs of Charles II., though some of their bearings escaped him.[2] Charles II. was attacking the charters of the towns just as his brother James II. was to attack the charters of the two Universities. If the towns and the Universities were muzzled, how was public opinion to declare itself? It was a clever plan, and in pursuance of it Charles II., in October, 1683, called upon the colony of Massachusetts to surrender its charter or else signified a *quo warranto* should be prosecuted. If the charter were surrendered all rights granted under it—among them was the charter of Harvard College,[3] Increase Mather's old college—must also be surrendered. The freemen of Boston gathered in the Old South Meeting-House to protest against this assault on their liberties. The moderate men present asked all who were on the side of surrendering the charter to raise their hands. Not a single hand was raised, and amid the tense excitement a solitary voice exclaimed, "The Lord be praised !" Then Increase Mather reminded them how their fathers had won this charter. Should they deliver it to the spoiler who demanded it "even as Ahab

[1] Preface to "Remarkable Providences."

[2] The Mather Papers, pp. 67, 697-8; C. Mather, "Parentator," pp. 91, 103.

[3] The Mather Papers, p. 699; Quincy, "History of Harvard University," vol. i., p. 82.

required Naboth's vineyard? Oh! their children would be bound to curse them." Stirred by Mather's appeal, the freemen unanimously refused to surrender their charter. In the history of an individual, as in the history of a nation, the "hours of gloom" exceed the "hours of insight," but it is the hours of insight that count in the life of an individual as in the life of humanity. This was an hour of insight for Increase Mather. In after years he displayed ambition and vanity, but on this occasion he displayed high courage. He emphatically declared against the freemen having a share in their own ruin, and persuaded them rather to leave themselves in the hand of God, and submit to His will, in a faithful discharge of their duty, than deliver themselves immediately into the power of men, by a full submission and entire resignation to their pleasure.

This meeting of the freemen of Boston produced a far-reaching influence on the colonies in general. Some malicious people, in order to be revenged on Mather for the step he had taken, forged a letter full of impertinent as well as treasonable expressions.[1] Dating this letter from Boston, October 3, 1683, they subscribed his name to it, and sent it to a worthy person at Amsterdam. This letter was conveyed to London, and was read before the King and Council; but it carried such evidence of its being a forgery that, though Sir Roger L'Estrange, the Censor, published some scraps of it, with his own comments, there was no prosecution of Mather. Judgment was

[1] Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, series 4, vol. viii., p. 104.

inevitably entered against the charter of the colony of Massachusetts in 1684. In 1686 James II. sent a governor, with a commission that enabled him, with three or four other men, to enact what laws and levy what taxes they pleased.

In the meantime Increase Mather had been elected President of Harvard College in 1684. This great American College had been thirty-four years in existence, and its charter lays down as its object "the education of the English and Indian youth of the country in knowledge and godliness." The Puritan Fathers rightly deemed that theology was the Queen of the Sciences, and that truth possessed overmastering claims upon the heart of man. With all their faults, these Fathers never sought to deaden the minds of their disciples. Bigoted as they were, they so dealt with their followers as to make bigotry impossible in the future. A benefactor of Harvard College was John Harvard, who, on his mother's side, traces a connection with Stratford-on-Avon, and possibly with Shakespeare himself.

Here we may digress for a moment. Homer compiled a list of the ships which sailed for Troy. No poet has worthily chronicled the spirit of the pioneer settlers of North America. Camoens wrote his "Lusiad" to commemorate the voyage of Vasco da Gama around the coast of Africa. Why did not Shakespeare see what Camoens saw? Had he read Hakluyt as well as Holinshed, the whole future of England would have been different. It was to the literature of travel and navigation that the impulse of exploration was due. It was not prompted by

the inspiration that the dramatist could so well have given it. This is all the more surprising, for an American scholar, Professor C. M. Gayley,[1] proves that Shakespeare enjoyed personal intercourse with the makers of Virginia.

All the explorers of Elizabethan England were devoted students of books. It is sufficient to instance Sir Walter Raleigh. It is John Cabot's son, Sebastian, who suggested to Hakluyt the formation of his famous encyclopædia of travellers' reports. Richard Hakluyt, preacher and sometime student of Christ Church, Oxford, was disgusted to hear the sneers of foreigners at our backwardness in exploring the world. In 1582 he began to publish his *magnum opus,* "The Principal Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation." It was not till 1624 that Samuel Purchas published his "Hakluytus Posthumus; or, Purchas His Pilgrimes." The latter Shakespeare could not have read. The former he could have read, and what would one not give to be able to peruse his account of such men as the two Cabots, Frobisher, John Davis, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and Sir Francis Drake himself? Our greatest dramatist lived at the time when the first rosy flush of our Empire was beginning to dawn, and the pity is that he never seems to see it. It was not really till the days of Sir John Seeley in history and Rudyard Kipling in fiction that the popular mind has been arrested and affected by the imperial idea. The Manchester

[1] *Cf.* his "Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America."

school, which attached so little value to the connection between the mother country and her colonies, could never have acquired importance in the middle of the nineteenth century had Shakespeare risen to the height of the opportunity which presented itself. The limitations of genius are strange. Take another instance. Sir Walter Scott lived in an age when one of the severest of conflicts was raging—one, too, in which he was warmly interested, as Lockhart's "Life" abundantly proves. Yet he never wrote a novel on the veterans of the Peninsular War, who were surely as deserving of commemoration as either Cavalier or Roundhead.

We return to Increase Mather. When James II. issued in 1687 his declaration of liberty of conscience, Mather and the New England ministers did not divine the true inwardness of that manifesto. Their brethren in Old England were much more keen-sighted. On August 25, 1687, Sewall records: "Mr. Mather preached from the fifth verse of Jude. He praised God for the Liberty good people enjoy in England—said, 'tis marvellous in our eyes.'" He also informs us that Increase Mather proposed a day of thanksgiving, and that Governor Andros refused to allow it—a refusal which was a novel experience for the masterful Puritan. The New England ministers composed an address of thanks to the King, and Mather was deputed to convey it in person. On April 7, 1688, he set out on his journey. It is easy to understand the gracious reception James II. gave him, for he perceived that the men who sent Mather were unable to penetrate the designs he had

formed.[1] Among the friends of the able Puritan were William Penn and Ashurst,[2] a wealthy London Nonconformist, but among them were also Sunderland, Melfort, Jeffreys, and Father Petre.[3] Upon the Revolution Mather was introduced to William III.[4] by Philip, fourth Baron Wharton, and succeeded in obtaining the removal of Sir Edmund Andros, Governor of New England. He was instrumental in preventing the sending of a letter to New England—in common with the other plantations—confirming their old Governor till further order, which would have had pernicious consequences.[5] The removal of Andros and his tyrannical rule had thus widespread effects. After the coronation of William III., Increase Mather frequently waited on him, his cause receiving not a little assistance from Lord Wharton and others. His diplomacy, from 1688 to 1692, rivalled that of Benjamin Franklin. Mather was more the intelligent diplomatist than the uncompromising patriot. In spite of his Puritan blood, he could be courteous to courtiers in England and even to the King himself, Roman Catholic as James II. was. Mather's great object was to get New England resettled upon the charter foundation, but he was disappointed in his object by the unex-

[1] C. Mather, "Parentator," p. 116; the Mather Papers, p. 699.

[2] Calamy, "Life of Baxter," p. 368; C. Mather, "Parentator," p. 115; Andros Tracts, vol. ii., pp. 111-24.

[3] C. Mather, "Parentator," pp. 109-14.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 118; Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, series 1, vol. ix., p. 245.

[5] "Parentator," p. 119.

pected dissolution of Parliament. His next attempt was to get a writ of error in judgment, by which the case relating to the colony of Massachusetts might be brought out of Chancery into the King's Bench, but in this he also failed. All, therefore, he was able to compass was the petitioning of the King for a new charter, containing all the conditions of the old one, with the addition of new and ample privileges, and after some time he obtained this.[1] Under it the colony flourished to the Revolution of 1776. On March 29, 1692, he embarked with Sir William Phipps, the new Governor, who was a particularly loyal member of his congregation, and they reached Boston on May 14. On June 8 he received the thanks of the colonial assembly, and he also received the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Both honours were richly deserved. In his arduous negotiations he had shown time after time that in order to gain essentials he was quite prepared to lose non-essentials.

While in England Increase Mather diagnosed the religious situation more accurately than he had been able to do in his own home. That beneficent measure, the Toleration Act, had recently been passed. The Congregationalists and the Presbyterians endeavoured to draw together. In the ranks of the former were Arthur Mead, Isaac Chauncey, and Mather himself. In the ranks of the latter were Richard Baxter, W. Bates, Daniel Williams, and John Howe. The negotiators were all ministers, laymen taking no part in their deliberations. They

[1] C. Mather, "Parentator," pp. 138-144.

adopted a document defining the eight "Heads of Agreement assented to by the United Ministers in and about London, formerly called Presbyterian and Congregational."[1] Like all programmes for peace, this document was a compromise, and a compromise in which the Presbyterians suffered severely. The eight Heads were framed with much greater ambiguity than the Thirty-Nine Articles in the hope that men, entertaining inwardly different views about Church practices and government, might outwardly reunite. This is, indeed, one of the dangers of all reunion proposals. So it was felt to be in England when this nominal agreement passed into the oblivion it merited.

In the American colonies the eight Heads were not devoid of influence. For they commended themselves to the ministers of Connecticut, and their gist was embodied in the Saybrook Platform of 1708.[2] By this Platform the individualism of the older Congregationalism was replaced by a comprehensive membership of a parish system and by authoritative councils and ecclesiastical courts. As the colony was becoming consolidated, so, too, were the Churches in it.[3] In the Churches we notice, from this time onwards, that mixture of Presbyterian and Congregational tendencies which forms at this moment a conspicuous feature in Congregational life

[1] *Congregational Magazine,* February, 1843.

[2] Greene, "The Development of Religious Liberty in Connecticut," chapter vi.

[3] Bacon, "Thirteen Historical Discourses," p. 190; Dexter, "Congregationalism as seen in Literature," pp. 489-90.

in New England. In Massachusetts some ministers earnestly desired to see the Saybrook Platform adopted. Their expectation was that by means of it they might check the prevalent tendency to laxness. Five of their associations issued the "Proposals of 1708," which aimed at the systematic organisation of associations of ministers consociations of Churches, and standing councils.[1] Increase Mather and his son Cotton supported these Proposals, but in spite of their support they failed to command approval. No doubt Ezra Stiles summed up the objection to them when he urged that these Proposals endeavoured "to presbyterianise the New England Churches, by resolving all under ecclesiastical judicatories."[2]

There is a consideration to be remembered when we weigh the effects of the public work of Increase Mather in New England and Old England. It is obvious that during his absence in England and elsewhere he was unable, for example, to guide the policy of Harvard College. This fell under the control of Leverett and Brattle, who were advocates of a progressive policy. When Arrowsmith eulogises the College he prays that it may be "so tenacious of truth that it shall be easier to find a wolf in England or a snake in Ireland than a Socinian or Arminian in Cambridge." Had Increase Mather resided in Cambridge, no doubt he would have discouraged all Arminians. His public work gave their opportunity

[1] Platner in "The Religious History of New England," p. 36.

[2] "Diary," vol. i., p. 37.

to Leverett and Brattle, and right well they employed it. For, to the horror of Increase Mather, Harvard College became the home of Arminianism. Oxford has been, in the language of Matthew Arnold, the "home of lost causes, and forsaken beliefs, and unpopular names, and impossible loyalties." Harvard College, thanks to men like Leverett and Brattle, has been nothing of the sort.

The Puritan Fathers claimed liberty of worship in New England, not because, as Samuel Mather would have argued, the conscience of every man was entitled to respect, but because their claim, and their claim alone, was the right one. The Reformation broke with the past when it proved that there need not be a universal Church. The Church of England kept its continuity with the past when it still claimed to be the national Church, but the Separatists rejected this claim utterly. Their claim had been rejected in England, and they were determined to reject all other claims in New England. They would have none of toleration, for they must have a land free from all other contaminating bodies. They knew they were entitled to persecute idolatry, and could employ the civil sword against anyone who did not believe as they did. They builded better, far better, than they knew, for when they paved the way for the separation of Church and State, they also paved the way for the toleration they detested. It is pleasing to note a drift towards progress in phenomena that at first sight seem largely evil. One reads, for example, the horrible records of the devastation wrought by the Black Death of 1348, yet one must

also remember that in the end it proved to be one of the chief means of changing the old, cumbersome system of land-owning into a new and easier one.

In the State it is plain that the theory of the Separatist and the Puritan was aristocratic. In 1634 Cotton wrote to Lord Saye and Sele and Lord Brooke and others who proposed to settle in New England: "Democracy I do not conceive that ever God did ordain as a fit government, either for Church or commonwealth."[1] He added the pointed question: "If the people be governors, who shall be governed?"[1] There was no fear of the power of the peer in the brain of Cotton, but there was a distinct dislike to admit to the rights of citizenship men who were not Church members. His Christian duty was "to endeavour after a theocracy, as near as might be, to that which was the glory of Israel, the 'peculiar people.'" In 1638 John Winthrop, Senior, wrote to that severe autocrat, Thomas Hooker, not the "judicious," that it was unsafe to bestow political power on the *hoi polloi,* because "safety lies in the councils of the best people, which is always the least, and of that best part, the wiser part is always the lesser."[2] Democracy he "branded with reproachful epithets . . . ; and historians do record that it hath been always of

[1] Hutchinson, "History of Massachusetts," vol. i., p. 497. *Cf.* Cotton, "Congregational Churches Cleared," part ii., p. 15.

[2] Winthrop, "History," vol. ii., addenda, p. 438. *Cf.* H. L. Osgood, *The Political Science Quarterly,* vol. vi., 1891, pp. 1-28 and 201-31, for two important articles on the political theories of the Puritans.

least continuance and full of troubles." Arbitrary rule could be limited by political covenants, similar to those existing between God and man.[1] Liberty, he thought with Milton, was based on authority, and consisted in doing that "which is good, just, and honest."[2] "Concerning Liberty," remarked Winthrop in a homily against democratic turbulence, "I observe a great mistake in the country. There is a twofold liberty, natural (I mean as our nature is now corrupt), and civil, or federal. The first is common to man with beasts and other creatures. By this, man, as he stands in relation to man, simply hath liberty to do what he lists; it is a liberty to evil as well as to good. This liberty is incompatible and inconsistent with authority, and cannot endure the least restraint of the most just authority. The exercise and maintaining of this liberty makes men to grow more evil, and, in time, to be worse than brute beasts: *omnes sumus licentia deteriores*—we all become worse by licence. That is the great enemy of truth and peace, that wild beast, which all the laws of God are bent against, to restrain and subdue it. The other kind of liberty I call civil or federal; it may also be called moral in reference to the covenant between God and man in the moral law, and the political covenants and constitutions among men themselves. This liberty is the proper end and object of authority, and cannot subsist without it, and it is a liberty to that only which is just, good, and honest. This liberty you are to stand for at the

[1] Winthrop, "History," vol. ii., p. 281.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 281.

hazard not only of your goods, but of your lives if need be. Whatsoever crosseth this is not authority, but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained and exercised in a way of subjection to authority; it is of the same kind of liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free."[1] Thomas Hooker replied that "in all matters which concern the common good, a general council, chosen by all, to transact the business which concerns all, I conceive under favour, most suitable to rule and most safe for the relief of the whole." The voice of Hooker, however, was the voice of one crying in the wilderness. No doubt some of the statements—*e.g.*, Winthrop's—were inspired by a dread of such extreme democracy as the granting of the vote to all males over twenty-one. Women were excluded from all political power. "For Church work," announced Nathaniel Ward, "I am neither Presbyterian, nor plebsbyterian, but an Interpendent." His attitude is plain in his pithy quatrain:

> The upper world shall Rule
> While Stars will run their race:
> The nether world obey,
> While people keep their place.

The democratic ideal is obvious in the "Model of Church and Civil Power," which it is probable that Richard Mather wrote. "In a free State," it declares, "no magistrate hath power over the bodies, goods, lands, liberties of a free people, but

[1] Winthrop, "History," vol. ii., p. 228. *Cf.* the Introduction to Hooker, "Survey of the Sum of Church Discipline."

by their free consent." The theocratic nature of the new State is clear in the qualifying assertion immediately added, pointing out that "as all free men are only stewards of God, they may not give the magistrate power over those things as they please, but as God pleases. Therefore the magistrate's power is limited by the only perfect rule of the word of God." John Eliot, the saintly apostle to the Indians, advocated a naked theocracy in the pages of "The Christian Commonwealth." In private life the autocrat of Geneva, John Calvin, annihilated the will, and in public life God ruled. If a system of government successfully claimed Divine authority, the Puritan must accept it. The transition from liberty to absolutism is plain in Marvell's "Ode to Cromwell," which testifies how readily Puritanism on its political side lapsed into Hobbism.

The influence of Calvin's "Institutes" is obvious in the American colonies. Still, New Plymouth never reproduced the conditions of Geneva. In Massachusetts, after 1650, the opinion came to be held in certain quarters that all baptised persons of upright life ought to be considered as members of the Churches, and should therefore be entitled to the exercise of political rights, even though unqualified for attendance at Holy Communion. Down to 1674 there were 2,527 freemen, and these formed only one-fifth of the total number of adult males, which meant that four-fifths were disfranchised.

Regenerate men were plainly fit to become members of the different congregations: they were entitled to the privileges of full covenant member-

ship. Clearly they could present their children for baptism. Sometimes, however, some of these children reached maturity without consciously experiencing regeneration. The question was, What was their position in the Churches? Were they, in fact, entitled to any of the privileges of membership? If so, what privileges? There were heated debates in the local synods in the earnest endeavour to find answers to these questions. Nor were such debates confined to the Churches. The State was every whit as keenly interested, for the question of the franchise was intimately bound up with such matters.

At first Increase Mather held out stoutly for the view that none save the consciously regenerate could constitute a true congregation. To stand firmly upon his principles was a matter of conscience with him. "In a higher world," held Cardinal Newman, "it may be different. But here below to live is to change, and to be perfect is to have changed often." Mather seldom, in this sense, advanced towards perfection. Still, he changed his mind in this matter, and published two tracts which leant to the view that baptised members of approved conduct ought to possess some rights. Steadily the opinion that baptised persons of decorous life ought practically to be considered members of the Churches began to prevail. Of course, this "Halfway Covenant,"[1] as it was called, aroused stern opposition. Still, the Boston Synod of 1657 and the Massachusetts Synod of 1662 approved of the principle of the Halfway Covenant. If baptised persons owned the covenant

[1] Hutchinson, vol. i., pp. 270-3.

and if they promised to conform to the discipline of the congregations, they received such limited privileges as the right to present their own children for the rite of baptism. Admittance to Holy Communion was as rare as admittance to the franchise. There were, however, now two classes, the complete covenant members and the incomplete covenant members. The old strictness was relaxed, and the latter class gained at the expense of the former.

Increase Mather believed that God fulfilled Himself in many ways, though, like most of us mortals, he believed that his ways must be God's. He was not willing—nay, he was not able—to observe that one good custom, even his custom, might corrupt the world. How could it? Congregationalism, and Congregationalism only, was supreme in the colony he controlled. True, there was a Baptist meeting-house in Boston in 1679, but it concealed its ecclesiastical employment from the gaze of the Congregationalists. There was no Episcopal Church till ten years later.

In 1699 a startling event in the theocratic State took place. Brattle Street Church was formally constituted in Boston without consultation with the neighbouring Church and without permission from the magistrates. Moreover, of the fourteen original members three belonged to Harvard College. These were two college tutors and the college treasurer. President Mather felt as if the wound he received came from those of his own household. The first minister of the new Church was Benjamin Colman, a Harvard graduate. Mather had been called to

the ministry in England, but in spite of his call he was re-ordained in New England. On the other hand, Colman had been ordained by the Presbytery of London, and therefore did not feel the necessity of a fresh ordination at the hands of the elders of New England. He, to the disgust of Mather, assumed his new responsibilities without further ceremony.[1] The President of Harvard picturesquely described Colman as "a wandering Levite, who has no flock." The members of Brattle Street Church proceeded to lay unholy hands on the Halfway Covenant. They had the boldness to declare that they would abandon the requirement of "public" relations from people joining their new Church, that they would permit others than Church members to have a voice in the election of a pastor—this is most important—and that they would admit to baptism the children of parents who had not entered into covenant fellowship with them.[2] They were beginning to recognise what Cardinal Newman recognised when he declared that he found himself, in the last resort, face to face with two final existences—God and his own soul. They also declared themselves in favour of such novelties in their public service as to allow from the pulpit "dumb reading" of the

[1] *Cf.* I. Mather's Preface to C. Mather, "Life of J. Mitchell," and I. Mather's Preface in "The Order of the Gospel professed by the Churches of Christ in New England Justified."

[2] Platner in "The Religious History of New England," p. 29. The constitution of the new Church is set forth at length in the "History of the Church in Brattle Street, Boston," by S. K. Lothrop.

Scriptures, instead of reading with comments by the minister.

What the Halfway Covenant began the Brattle Street Church continued. Mather, despite his leaning to the Halfway Covenant, published in 1700 his "Order of the Gospel," in which he undisguisedly censures the recent innovations in which two of the tutors of Harvard and its treasurer had taken an active part. He sets forth his conception of the order and discipline to be maintained, expressing the hope that the Churches will pray for the College, "that God will ever bless the society with faithful tutors that will . . . not hanker after new and loose ways." The vanity of this expectation is manifest in the fact that the very next year Increase Mather was forced to retire from the Presidency of Harvard College.

Unlike his brother Samuel, Increase Mather was a voluminous author.[1] He wrote more than a hundred and seventy pamphlets.[2] His style is scriptural, and in his age it could not well be anything else. It is also free and forcible, and he attains his end as directly as Jonathan Swift himself. The early theologians of Massachusetts were fettered by scholastic associations—for there is a Protestant scholasticism—but Mather shook himself free from these fetters. As most of his writings assume the

[1] There is an elaborate bibliography of his works in J. L. Sibley, "Harvard Graduates," vol. iii., pp. 42-158, and a useful one in "A History of American Literature," vol. i., pp. 398-407. *Cf.* also Sibley, vol. i., pp. 410-470.

[2] His son Cotton wrote at least four hundred and seventy-five pamphlets. *Cf.* Sibley, vol. iii., pp. 42-158.

shape of sermons they remain unread. Nor do I recommend their perusal. Who to-day, except the historian of the growth of public opinion or of the relations of the backward races to the forward, is likely to read his "Brief History of the War with the Indians of New England," published in 1676? Who cares to know that a general conversion of the Indians is not to be expected before the seven vials are poured forth upon the Antichristian State, nor before the conversion of the Jewish nation? It is more to the point that he does insist on the necessity of propagating the Gospel among them, and, in spite of his peculiar theories, propagating it now. Like his brother, he was alive to the importance of the question of reunion. He wrote "A Letter of Advice to the Churches of the Nonconformists in the English Nation: endeavouring their satisfaction in that point, Who are the Church of England?" In his preface he lays down that "Peace must be followed. Peace with truth, and for the sake of truth. Necessity is laid upon us; necessity of precept and means. Nor want we encouragement: for our Saviour hath brought it, prays for it, and promises it. Yes, and makes it easily attainable by all good people, though of different persuasion. It's not more easy for our eyes, and hands, and feet, to keep from meeting than for real Christians to have peace among themselves. Because, as they are members of one another, so are Christ's servants; members of one another in his mystical body, and acted by one and the selfsame spirit. So that an Archbishop Ussher and a Presbyterian, Mr. Baxter;

a Bishop Wilkins and an Independent, Dr. Harrison, do naturally love without dissimulation, as naturally as the sun does shine or the fire burn."

Mather plainly conceives that every incident in his existence afforded a clear proof of the moral government of the world. To-day we dwell on the effects of sin on the character of man. The Puritan Fathers adopted another attitude. They dwelt not so much on such a consequence of sin as on some external incident, perhaps unconnected with the sinful action. They believed in prayer, and they believed that prayer was effective. They recognised a judgment if a member of their Church fell before the arrow of the Indian, and they no less recognised a mercy if he escaped. Did not Oliver Cromwell inform the Speaker how his retreat from Dunbar had been covered when "the Lord by His good Providence put a cloud over the moon"?[1] In our day we too note the Providence of God in the destruction of the Armada or in the sailing of the Pilgrim Fathers, though we hesitate to note it in the assassination of Abraham Lincoln at one of the most critical moments in the history of the United States or in the short career of Frederick III. as German Emperor.

Problems like these scarcely existed for Increase Mather. In the quiet of his study he reconciled the omnipotence of God with the predestined misery of man by the consideration that the Divine government of the world was a mystery. In the pulpit he

[1] Carlyle, "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," Letter CXL.

practically taught his flock to regard God as an arbitrary Being, while simultaneously he taught its members to regard Him as one whose government of the world was readily understood and readily interpreted according to human motives and ideas. Obviously, from this belief it was but a short step to take in order to arrive at the position that God now and then specially intervened in the affairs of men. In some measure the Puritan Fathers in the New World escaped from the conception of the grim Deity worshipped by their brethren in the Old. If God interposed—and He did interpose—He did so for some special act of saving grace or for the acceptance of some intercessory prayer. Nor did they continue to teach what the Puritans of England taught, and that was that God visited with condign punishment those who set at naught His Church or its ministers or their ordinances. In the New World the belief was that such punishment fell on the drunkard and on the impure quite as much as on the blasphemer. This aspect is well brought out in Nathaniel Hawthorne's masterpiece, "The Scarlet Letter." His "House of the Seven Gables" tells the tale of the Salem Witches.

Of all the hundred and seventy works Increase Mather has written, none lingers in the mind of the educated reader except his "Further Account of the Trials of the New England Witches," his "Cases of Conscience concerning Evil Spirits," and his "Remarkable Providences illustrative of the Earlier Days of American Colonies." These books all bear witness to phenomena that to-day the Society

of Psychical Research would regard as peculiarly falling within its province. To the men of the seventeenth century it was simply another example of the influences with which they had long been familiar, and they called it witchcraft. To men like Increase Mather and his son Cotton these phenomena were certainly the work of the Devil. In 1689 Cotton Mather preached in Boston an elaborate "Discourse on Witchcraft," laying down that two proofs existed in the testimony of the Scriptures and in the evidence of men.[1] Did not the narrative of the Witch of Endor speak unmistakably of the existence of this grievous offence in olden time? Did not the experience of New England speak no less unmistakably of the existence of this grievous offence at the present time? Were not the cases in Salem and Andover overwhelmingly proved?

Nor were the Mathers singular in their belief. A contemporary like Sir Thomas Browne could declare: "I have ever believed, and do now know, that there are witches. They that doubt of these do not deny them, but spirits: and are obliquely, and upon consequence, a sort, not of infidels, but atheists."[2] Three-quarters of a century later John Wesley pursued precisely the same line of reasoning.

[1] *Cf.* Phipps to Shrewsbury, Colonial Papers, 1693, February; Calef, "More Wonders of the Invisible World," pp. 101, 102, 110; W. F. Poole on "Cotton Mather and Salem Witchcraft" in the *North American Review*, vol. cviii., pp. 337-97. C. W. Upham criticised this article in a reply he published.

[2] "Religio Medici," p. 30.

Repeatedly he emphasised his belief in witchcraft, attributing its decline to religious scepticism. "It is true," Wesley maintained, "likewise that the English in general, and indeed most of the men of learning in Europe, have given up all accounts of witches and apparitions as mere old wives' fables. I am sorry for it, and I willingly take this opportunity of entering my solemn protest against this violent compliment which so many that believe the Bible pay those who do not believe it. I owe them no such service. I take knowledge that these are at the bottom of the outcry which has been raised, and with such insolence spread throughout the nation, in direct opposition not only to the Bible, but to the suffrages of the wisest and best men of all ages and nations. They well know (whether Christians know it or not) that the giving up of witchcraft is in effect giving up the Bible."[1]

To psychologists of our time some of the statements tendered in the New England evidence are clear. A woman, for example, by making certain signs before her husband's face, was able sometimes to prevent him praying, until she chose to step towards him with a loud cry, whereupon his lips would be unlocked. To us this is a case of hypnotism.[2] Some twenty of the Salem witches, however, were

[1] Journal, 1768.

[2] It is much to be desired that a competent psychologist of the S.P.R. would investigate the Salem Witches case in the light of present-day knowledge. The material has been carefully collected in "Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases," edited by G. L. Burr, New York, 1914.

hanged in 1692. Though Cotton Mather[1] pleaded that no evidence should be admitted which would not be admissible in other criminal proceedings, enthusiasts carried the proposal that spectral evidence—that is, statements by the bewitched of what they had seen while suffering from diabolical possession—should be taken. After the hanging of the twenty Salem witches, spectral evidence was excluded, with the result that there were no more convictions. In the reaction that followed Increase Mather and his son suffered seriously. The theocratic constitution of Massachusetts received a shaking from which it never quite recovered. The views of Increase Mather remained unshaken. The colony, he held, was the abode of demons, and in the end the Devil would claim his own. In 1696 he preached at Harvard College, declaring that "it is the judgment of very learned men that, in the glorious times promised to the Church on earth, America will be Hell."

I want on account of this persecution of the witches to call attention to some of the arguments employed in Increase Mather's "Remarkable Providences." Of course, it is startling to note the existence of a Devil who could neither speak English nor prevail with Protestants to the same extent as with Roman Catholics. Mather tells us that the smell of herbs alarms the Devil, and that medicine expels him. It is more reassuring to observe that

[1] *Cf.* a fine article on Cotton Mather by Mr. B. Wendell in the *Quarterly Review,* January, 1913, and his excellent Life of Cotton Mather published in 1891.

he has read the writings of Robert Boyle and quotes his "Usefulness of Natural Philosophy,"[1] and that he takes St. Augustine to task for his belief in superstition.[2] He admits that "many innocent persons have been put to death under the notion of witchcraft, whereby much innocent blood hath been shed; especially it hath been so in Popish times and places."[3] He also admits that "divers executed for witches have acknowledged things against themselves which were never so, I neither doubt or deny; and that a deluded fancy may cause persons verily to think they have seen and done those things which never had any existence save in their own imaginations, is indisputable."[4] He allows the possibility of the visits of good angels to men.[5]

There is observation in the view that "it is also true that music is of great efficacy against melancholy discomposures. . . . Indeed, the sweetness and delightfulness of music hath a natural power to lenisie melancholy passions. They say that Pythagoras by music restored a frantic man to his wits again. Thus was Saul's pensive spirit refreshed by David's pleasant harp; and when he was refreshed and well, the evil spirit, which took advantage of his former pensiveness, upon his alacrity departed from him."[6] His observation is no less evident in the remark that "if the Devil, upon . . . the nailing of a horseshoe, etc., shall cease to afflict the body of any, he does this either as being compelled

[1] I use the London edition of Mather's book, p. 75.
[2] P. 193. [3] P. 127. [4] P. 132.
[5] Pp. 145-9. [6] P. 187.

thereto, or voluntarily. To imagine that such things shall constrain the evil spirit to cease afflicting, whether he will or no, is against all reason.''[1]

There is an able examination of the custom of casting witches into the water, and Mather employs four arguments against it :

''1. This practice has no foundation in nature, nor in Scripture. If the water will bear none but witches, this must need proceed either from some natural or some supernatural cause. No natural cause is, or can be, assigned why the bodies of such persons should swim rather than that of any other. The bodies of witches have not lost their natural properties : they have weight in them as well as others. . . .

''2. Experience hath proved this to be a fallacious way of trying witches, therefore it ought not to be practised. Thereby guilty persons may happen to be acquitted, and the innocent to be condemned. . . .

''3. This way of purgation is to be accounted for, like other provocations or appeals to the judgment of God, invented by men ; such as camp-fight, explorations by hot-water, etc. . . . Also, the trial by fire ordeal has been used in our nation (*i.e.*, England) in times of darkness. . . . These bloody kind of experiments are now generally banished out of the world. It is a pity the ordeal by cold water is not exploded with the other.

''4. This vulgar probation . . . was not first taken up in times of superstition, being . . . pro-

[1] P. 191.

pagated from Pagans to Papists, who would (as may be gathered from Bernard's 66 Serm. in Cantica) sometimes bring those that were under suspicion for heresy unto their old purgation in this way."

It is, I think, quite clear that the "Remarkable Providences" are a much better specimen of their author's reasoning powers than is commonly supposed. Nevertheless, the prosecution of the Salem Witches marked a stage in the decline and fall of the theocratic constitution of Massachusetts. Sir William Phipps, no doubt, was the warm supporter of Increase Mather, but the Governor's conduct was so tactless that he proved a liability rather than an asset. On the recall of Phipps to England, he was replaced by Joseph Dudley as Governor. Dudley quarrelled with Increase and Cotton Mather, and their influence in the State henceforth vanished.[1] Not only was their public position assailed, but so, too, was their professional. Increase Mather was still President of Harvard, and he also exercised his ministry at Boston. His enemies could not touch his office as a minister, but they proceeded to render it impossible for him to discharge his functions as President of Harvard.[2] They devised the rule, still in force, that the President of the College must actually reside in the town of Cambridge, where the College is situated. Cambridge was then some eight miles from Boston. In 1701 Increase Mather felt

[1] Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, series 1, vol. iii., p. 137.

[2] *Cf.* J. Quincy, "History of Harvard University," vol. i., chapters vi.-viii.

obliged to tender his resignation.[1] Position he resigned, but power he neither resigned nor could resign. He was easily the foremost minister in the whole of the English colonies. Still, theocracy had been defeated both in the political and the academical worlds. In both its defeat was significant of much. On the committees of Massachusetts and on the Board of Harvard laymen occupied the position formerly almost exclusively occupied by ministers. And it must be remembered that Harvard was not only the oldest, but it was also the only important academic institution in North America. Before the ex-President there still lay life for twenty-two years—he did not pass away till 1723—and these years he and his son Cotton devoted wholly to the task of training men for the ministry. Little as he knew it, and little as he would have liked it, Increase Mather took no unimportant part in the emancipation of the State from the control of the Church.[2]

Increase Mather had indeed outlived his generation, and his last days were tinged with the melancholy that enters into the souls of men who see the world slipping past them, powerless to hold it back. No man is necessary to a cause. Others take up the thread of his purpose where he has dropped it. Like torchbearers in the ancient Grecian race, we

[1] Quincy, vol. i., p. 488. A large portion of I. Mather's "Diary" is in an appendix published by Quincy.

[2] *Cf.* H. M. Dexter on "The Mather Family and its Influence" in Winsor, "Memorial History of Boston," vol. ii., p. 297; W. Walker on "The Services of the Mathers in New England Religious Development" in Amer. Soc. Church History, vol. v.

pass on the living flame which we have received from those who have gone before. Mather heard the torchbearer coming behind him, reaching past him, thrusting the torch into a new hand, while he fell out of the running. In 1721 Benjamin Franklin, then a boy of fifteen, contributed to the *New England Courant,* established by his brother James. In this paper Benjamin Franklin satirised hypocrisy and described religious knaves as of all knaves the worst. The eyes of Increase Mather, then a man of eighty-two, fell upon the little sheet. "I can well remember," was his comment, "when the civil government would have taken an effectual course to suppress such a cursed libel."

The fate of the labours of Increase Mather is not uncommon. Luther enclosed the two principles of the priesthood of the laity and of the duty of toleration within a narrow compass, and inevitably they burst through it. Erasmus on the one hand and Luther himself on the other were the men who supplied the motive and the force in the bursting of the barriers. They were, each in his own way, the supporters of authority, yet they laid down principles which shook it to its very base. They builded better than they knew, runs the old saying. They builded other, far other, than they knew. Theirs was a strange, unforeseen destiny. Nor was it altogether unique. It is clearer, perhaps, in literature than it is in life. Take an example. Though Dante was a devoted Virgilian, men make of him a romantic. Dante was a convinced supporter of the monarchy of the world, and wrote his "De Monarchia" in

order to commemorate the coming of its ruler in Henry VII., yet the supporters of Italian unity passionately invoked his name as the prophet of the national State. Nevertheless, the instinct was sound, for Dante, just as much as Mazzini or Cavour, eagerly desired to confine the Papacy to spiritual matters.

John Winthrop.

The labours of the four men we commemorate to-day all took place during the seventeenth century. The last of them is John Winthrop, the eldest son of John Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts. He was born at Groton Manor, Suffolk, on February 12, 1606. There is an obvious connection between the Mathers and the Winthrops, for John Winthrop, Senior, was Governor of Massachusetts, the home of the Mathers. The father of Samuel and Increase Mather was Richard Mather, and he was a friend of Fitz-John Winthrop, the second Governor Winthrop of Connecticut. Cotton Mather was the friend of Wait Still Winthrop, Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Massachusetts. That is, the intimacy between the two families existed for three generations.

The education of John Winthrop began at the Grammar School of Bury St. Edmunds, and in his seventeenth year he was an undergraduate in our College. Letters from the father to the son during the years 1622 and 1623 have been preserved, but I regret that none of the son's replies are traceable.

It is clear that the latter—sometimes at least—wrote to his father in Latin. We glean from the father's letters that he thought thirty pounds a year an ample allowance for his son.[1] This amount would be worth about ninety pounds, which does not strike one as excessive. The son appears to have been studious. At least, he asked his father to send him books. One time the father is in doubt whether his son requires Aristotle in Latin or in Greek.[2] Another volume the undergraduate required was the "Imagines Deorum," written by Roger Hutchinson.[3] On October 16, 1622, John Winthrop wrote to his son: "I am very glad that you like Ireland so well. If your profiting in learning may be answerable, it will much increase my comfort."[4] One reason the young man liked our land was that he lived with his uncle, Emmanuel Downing, whose name is renowned the world over as bestowed upon the street in which the British Cabinet meets, the famous Downing Street,[5] and Downing cared for his nephew during his stay in Dublin. It scarcely seems likely that he is one of our graduates, as we find that on February 28, 1624, he is admitted to the Inner Temple.[6]

[1] R. C. Winthrop, "Life and Letters of John Winthrop (Sen.)," i., p. 177.

[2] *Ibid.*, i., p. 174.

[3] *Ibid.*, i., p. 183.

[4] *Ibid.*, i., p. 175.

[5] E. S. Martin, "Life of J. S. Choate," vol. ii., pp. 176-7.

[6] Winthrop, "Life and Letters of John Winthrop (Sen.)," i., p. 203. *Cf.* List of Students Admitted, 1547-1660, p. 241.

He was heir to his father, and, like other heirs of the period, his thoughts turned to the grand tour which it was then the custom to make. Before he set out the duty of taking part in the succour of the Huguenots besieged in La Rochelle fell to his lot. In the summer of 1627 he joined the ill-fated expedition to the island of Rhé, under the Duke of Buckingham, serving as Secretary to Captain Best, of the ship-of-war *Due Repulse*.[1] As befitted his ancestry, the young Secretary was a stout opponent of Roman Catholicism, yet no siege ultimately ever did more to secure the defeat of the High Catholics of Austria and Spain. It is too much to expect him to understand that the policy of France in general and of Cardinal Richelieu in particular consisted in the repression of Protestantism at home and the depression of High Catholicism abroad. After the conclusion of this siege the Secretary for a moment meditated joining Endicott on his voyage to New England in June, 1628.[2] The father was averse, and the plan then came to nothing. The son resumed his interrupted grand tour. He touched at the ports of Padua and Venice, and spent three months at Constantinople in 1628, endeavouring unsuccessfully to compass a trip to Jerusalem. He had been absent from home for fourteen or fifteen months, and during all that time not a single letter from England had reached him.

In the meantime the thoughts of the father had

[1] Winthrop, "Life and Letters of John Winthrop (Sen.)," i., pp. 238-40.

[2] *Ibid.*, i., p. 248.

decidedly turned to New England. He communicated his resolve to his son, who wrote on August 21, 1629: "For the business of New England, I can say no other thing, but that I believe confidently, that the whole disposition thereof is the Lord, who disposeth all alterations, by His blessed will, to His own glory and the good of His; and, therefore, do assure thyself, that all things shall work together for the best therein. And for myself, I have seen so much of the vanity of the world"—he was then only twenty-three—"that I esteem no more of the diversities of countries, than as so many inns, whereof the traveller that hath lodged in the best, or in the worst, findeth no difference, when he cometh to the journey's end; and I shall call that my country, where I may most glorify God, and enjoy the presence of my dearest friends. That herein I submit myself to God's will and yours, with your leave, do dedicate myself (laying aside all desire of other employments whatsoever) to the service of God and the Company (*i.e.*, the New England Company) herein, with the whole endeavour, both of body and mind.

"The Conclusions,[1] which you sent down, I showed to my uncle and aunt, who liked them well. I think they are unanswerable; and it cannot but be a prosperous action, which is so well allowed by the judgments of God's prophets, undertaken by so religious and wise worthies of Israel, and indented to God's glory in so special a service."[2]

[1] These "Conclusions" are lost.

[2] Winthrop, i., pp. 306-7.

There is an air of cosmopolitanism about this fine letter which sets one thinking. The more we ponder over it, the more it appears that to Winthrop, as to Burke and Mazzini, the only cosmopolitanism that could be genuine and of worth was that which, to borrow the words of Coleridge, comes by the antecedence of patriotism. Affections, interests, root themselves in Winthrop. There is an intuitive inclination towards contracting sentimental ties, towards attachments narrowly circumscribed. He leans in an interdependence of personal relationships implying reciprocal obligations of faith, constancy, and continuance. The spirit of the wanderer is plain in George Borrow, in R. L. Stevenson, and in that choice and neglected author, C. F. Keary. Considering how little the Germans wandered since the Middle Ages, it is curious to note that the love of vagrancy became the favourite theme of Teutonic fantasy. Fouqué recreated the warrior-wanderer in his "Zauberring" and "Thidolf der Isländer"; Eichendorf published his charming tale, "Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts"; and Tieck wrote "Franz Sternbald's Wanderungen." We all know that Wilhelm Meister's "Wanderjahr" was the narrative thread on which Goethe elected to string his criticism of life and humanity, of philosophy and art. Nor is this motive confined to the great works of prose and poetry. Hans Andersen's "Improvisatore" became in its German dress an adopted classic. Wilhelm Müller's two lyrical narratives, immortalised by association with Schubert's music, the "Mühlerlieder" and the "Winterreise," and

Chamisso's "Peter Schlemihl," all deal with the experiences of the rover's life. Such experiences, however, were far from the mind of Winthrop.

The Pilgrim Fathers were not wanderers in the Teutonic sense. The very names these Fathers—and last year was the tercentenary of their sailing—bestowed upon their new homes proves how much their hearts lay in the old. Such names as Southampton, New York, and the like, all suggest the pathetic nostalgia of the exiles. The men who named these places were thinking of once dearly loved towers, of the streets and market-places of country towns, whose every detail was well remembered and much regretted, of homes they could scarcely hope to see again.

"Farewell, dear England," was the cry which burst from the first tiny band of pilgrims as its shores were growing dim to their sight. "Our hearts," wrote one of Winthrop's followers, "shall be fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness." It is not hard to catch the spirit of the Puritan settlers in such places as Salem, Philadelphia, and the like. The men who gave these names to their new homes felt that, like Abraham of old, they had gone forth from their kindred and their people, from the familiar Ur of the Chaldees, to seek a country whose builder and maker was God.

After a voyage of ten weeks at sea, in November, 1631, Winthrop joined his father in New England. In 1634 he was appointed an Assistant or member of the Executive Council, holding this office in 1635,

1640, 1641, and from 1644 to 1649. His first wife died in 1634. In order to solace his grief, he sought new scenes, sailing for England in October, 1634. The vessel was driven by storm to our shores. He landed at Galway, travelling to Dublin and to Antrim, where he was the guest of Sir John Clotworthy, subsequently the first Lord Massarene. A few months later work came to him at the hands of his father's friends, Lord Saye and Sele and Lord Brooke. Acting with them were Lord Rich, Richard Saltonshall, and eight other leading men of the Puritan party. They empowered Winthrop to begin a plantation in Connecticut, and they guaranteed him men, money, and ammunition for this purpose. They also invested him with a commission, dated July 15, 1635, constituting him Governor of the River Connecticut, with the places adjoining thereto, for one year after his arrival.[1] This plan did not succeed, and in truth the projected settlement was little more than a factory protected by a fort. When emigrants from Massachusetts founded the colony of Connecticut they absorbed this settlement.

On August 3, 1641, Winthrop again sailed to England, encountering another stormy crossing. Early in 1644 he and his partners received from the Massachusetts General Court a grant of three thousand acres in order to start ironworks near the Montacot River. These ironworks, however, came to nothing. It is just worth while remarking that Winthrop's tastes confirm our view of the affinities

[1] T. F. Waters, "A Sketch of the Life of John Winthrop the Younger," p. 17.

of Puritanism with the scientific rather than the romantic temper. When he was managing the family property in Suffolk in 1630 he began to develop a liking for mechanical pursuits, and one of his letters mentions that he had taken careful drawings of Landguard Fort, near Harwich. Besides, he had invented a new variety of windmill. He describes it at length, adding: "If there may be made any use of it, I desire New England should reap the benefit, for whose sake it was invented. Et soli Deo gloria."[1] He had always been interested in chemistry. He prospected in his new home for mineral wealth, notably for black lead. In a land where there were few physicians, it was natural for him to turn to the study of medicine. He experimented with different drugs, discovering a mysterious preparation called rubilia, which gradually attained fame all over New England as a remedy for many ailments.[2] On December 18, 1661, William Brereton, afterwards Lord Brereton, proposed him for membership of the newly founded Royal Society, and on January 1, 1662, he was admitted a F.R.S. Nor was he merely an honorary member. During his stay in England, from his election to the early summer of 1663, he contributed papers *inter alia* on the following subjects: Strange tides, his reasons for suspecting the existence of a fifth satellite of Jupiter, the refining of gold, the making of pitch, tar, and potashes, the planting of

[1] Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, series 5, vol. viii., pp. 23-4.

[2] *Ibid.*, series 4, vol. vii.

timber, the building of ships in North America, deep-water soundings, black lead, a new way of trade and banking, maize, and the brewing of beer from maize bread. He also exhibited at the meetings of the Royal Society such objects as a self-feeding lamp, a precious stone of different colours, a curious variety of New England earth which would float an hour without sinking, some bluish grains of corn grown in the West Indies, and the drawing of a vessel built in New England.[1]

One of Winthrop's friends was the learned Welshman Roger Williams, who came to seek in the New World that freedom of conscience denied him in the Old. Sir Edward Coke had befriended Williams as a young man, and what Coke contended for in the court of law Williams contended for in the court of conscience. Governor Winthrop, Senior, pointed out that when Williams came to Boston he declared that "the magistrate might not punish a breach of the Sabbath, nor any other offence, as it was a breach of the first table."[2] The defender of this novel idea was eager to become a freeman, but none could become a freeman who was not a member of the Church. The Court, taking account of his view of the scope of the magistracy, announced that "anyone was worthy of banishment who should obstinately assert, that the civil magistrate might not intermeddle even to stop a Church from apostacy

[1] *Cf.* Birch, "History of the Royal Society," vol. i., passim. *Cf.* also the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, series 1, vol. xvi., pp. 206-51, series 2, vol. iv., pp. 255-6.

[2] Knowles, "Life of R. Williams," p. 46.

and heresy." It decreed his banishment in October, 1635. His political views were in no wise palatable to the theocratic colony. For he held that sovereignty lay in the hands of the people, who must elect the rulers, confirm the laws, and control the acts of the executive. In 1644 he drew the conclusion "that the Sovereign, original, and foundation of civil power lies in the people. . . . And if so, that a People may erect and establish what form of Government seems to them most meet for their civil condition. It is evident that such Governments as are by them erected and established, have no more power, nor for no longer time, than the civil power or people consenting and agreeing shall entrust them with. This is clear not only in Reason, but in the experience of all commonweals, where the people are not deprived of their natural freedom by the power of Tyrants."[1]

In 1644 Williams produced his "Bloudy Tenent of Persecution," a vigorous defence of liberty of conscience which posterity gratefully remembers. In it he advocated the abolition of tithes and all compulsory contributions to the support of the Churches, the repeal of all laws compelling attendance on public worship, and the equal protection of all forms of religious faith. Its style is crabbed and involved, yet now and then the author rises to the level of John Milton or Jeremy Taylor. "The armies of truth," he holds, "like the armies of the Apocalypse, must have no sword, helmet, breastplate, shield, or horse, but what is spiritual and of a

[1] "Narr. Club. Pub.," iii., p. 249.

heavenly nature." It was a sentiment worthy of the man who was the friend of Sir Edward Coke and Sir Harry Vane, of John Milton and John Winthrop, Junior. Winthrop, when Governor of Connecticut, had pleaded with the authorities of Boston, "as on his bare knees," not to hang the Quakers, an attitude which commended him warmly to Williams. For those were the days when Quakers were supposed to entertain deep designs against the established order, and were what Cotton Mather calls them, "dangerous villains."[1] Laws against them in Massachusetts were harsh, but laws against them in Connecticut were mild to an unwonted degree.

The toleration of Winthrop was put to a severe test when, during 1675, the Indians were butchering the scanty numbers of the colonists. In the ambuscade of September 12 at Bloody Brook seven hundred ambushed Nipmucks surrounded Captain Lothrop with his train-band of ninety, and only eight survived to tell the tale. Was it not evident, argued some, that the sparing of the heretic had brought down upon them the wrath of God? Had not God, pleaded others, let loose the savages to be His instruments of vengeance upon men for ceasing to persecute "false worshippers and idolatrous Quakers"? An Indian lad of nine was captured. A minister thought that this boy ought to perish as "the children of Saul and Achan perished with their parents." Commenting upon this broad hint, Increase Mather observed that "though David had spared the infant Hadad, yet it might have been

[1] C. Mather, "Magnalia," ii., p. 256.

better for his people if he had been less merciful." Despite the counsels of these two ministers, the lad survived.[1]

The general views of Winthrop on religion are not difficult to ascertain: they are those of a cultured Puritan of the seventeenth century. Like Increase Mather, he saw in every incident, great or small, a sign that God was in His heaven, and therefore all was right with His government of the world. Take an example. Winthrop kept a thousand books in a room which was also a granary. One volume contained the Greek Testament, the Psalms, and the Prayer Book. Mice ate the Prayer Book, leaving untouched the rest of the volume and all the other volumes.[2] From the fashion in which he records this fact, it is obvious that he thought that the mice had performed the function of an Index Expurgatorius. His own letters are too filled with conventional phrases to afford much assistance in gleaning the inward attitude of the writer. A man, however, is known by his correspondents, and a letter which Edward Howes wrote to Winthrop on March 21, 1638, lends a clue. "I wonder," comments Howes, "your people that pretend to know so much do not know that Love is the fulfilling of the Law, and that against Love there is no Law. But no marvel, when many have not the beginning of wisdom in them; and how can they that fear not God keep his commandments or fulfill them? . . . The

[1] Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, series 4, vol. viii., pp. 689-90.

[2] Winthrop, vol. ii., p. 201.

terra incognita cognita est paucis, arcanum Jehovæ adest reverentibus ipsum; to tell you my thoughts or knowledge of it, it's neither earth, water, air, nor fire, nor æther, so that it's beyond sense, or my expression; but to give you an intelligible taste, it's lesser than the least, it cannot be divided nor communicated, it's bigger than the biggest, for it's perfect, it's beyond the highest, and below the lowest, for thought cannot reach it; if you know it I need not tell you it, if I speak in an unknown tongue, I do but beat the air." Such religion is the mystic's selfless love of God, not the quest of the salvation of the soul.[1]

This mystical attitude to religion met with an appeal from Winthrop, and it furnishes help in the understanding of his career as Governor of Connecticut. It is the fashion of foolish people to laugh at the idea of the Divine right of Kings. If they laughed at the Divine right of Parliaments we might understand them much better. For the Divine right of Kings taught the people that the duty of obedience was a sacred one. It is as easy to belittle this theory as it is to belittle the theocratic theory of the New World, but it is far more important to understand them. They may be laughed at as sentiments or prejudices. Still, these sentiments, these prejudices, bound the allegiance of the people to its Government. "It is most true," taught Thomas Carlyle, "that all available authority is mystic in its conditions." The Divine right of

[1] Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, series 4, vol. vi., pp. 504-5.

Kings and the theory of the theocratic State have passed away for ever, and in their place all we can teach is the utilitarian theory of obedience. But if we pursue this theory to its logical conclusion, it means that whenever calculation shows that there is pecuniary gain in disobedience, then the law ought to be defied.

It is fitting on Trinity Monday to return to the attitude of Burke. "Society," he maintained—and our College is a society—"is indeed a contract. Subordinate contracts for objects of mere occasional interest may be dissolved at pleasure, but the state ought not to be considered nothing better than a partnership agreement in a trade of pepper and coffee, calico or tobacco, or some other such low concern, to be taken up for a little temporary interest, and to be dissolved by the fancy of the parties. It is to be looked on with other reverence; because it is not a partnership in things subservient only to the gross animal existence of a temporary and perishable nature. It is a partnership in all science; a partnership in all art; a partnership in every virtue, and in all perfection. As the ends of such a partnership cannot be obtained in many generations, it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born. Each contract of each particular state is but a clause in the great primæval contract of eternal society, linking the lower with the higher natures, connecting the visible and invisible world, according to a fixed compact sanctioned by the inviol-

able oath which holds all physical and moral natures, each in their appointed place.''[1] We can feel sure that Winthrop so linked his lower with his higher nature, so connected the visible with the invisible world, so bound together Church and State.

In 1651 Winthrop was elected Assistant of Connecticut, and for the rest of his days his work was in the colony of Connecticut, becoming its first Governor in 1660. As Governor he was required to be a Church member, but he was the only member of the colony under this obligation. Unlike Massachusetts, Connecticut did not demand correct religious belief as a condition of full citizenship. True, the Calvinistic conception of the connection between Church and State was maintained, yet the General Court of Connecticut legislated freely on religious matters. The Mathers of Winthrop's new colony were unable to control the affairs of the State.[2]

To his death in 1676, when he had served twenty-six years, Winthrop lived in the spirit of his family motto, *Spes vincit thronum*. His hope won a throne, a position, for the new colony of Massachusetts which is still gratefully remembered. True, his father rendered more notable service to the colony of Massachusetts than the son rendered to his chosen colony. That the men of his own day felt confidence in him is clear. In 1659 he was elected Deputy

[1] Burke, "Reflections on the French Revolution," p. 97 (Phillips' ed.).

[2] Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. i., p. 87, under date of May 28, 1631.

Governor of Connecticut, and the following year he became Governor, holding his post to the day of his death. In 1662 he paid yet another visit to England, presenting a loyal address to Charles II. from the Government of Connecticut. His aim was to secure a new charter,[1] and fortunately for the success of his aim he met with the good-will of the King. His taste for science brought him into contact with important men, and the outcome was the favourable charter given to him on May 10, 1662. His old friend, Lord Saye and Sele, introduced him to the Earl of Manchester, and the latter made him acquainted with various prominent persons at Court. He succeeded in his purpose of annexing Newhaven to Connecticut, and historians to-day think more favourably of this purpose than they did two generations ago.[2]

Winthrop and his friend Roger Williams were in London together. Winthrop wrote in high spirits to the colonial Treasurer, John Talcott, May 13, 1662, informing him that "the charter hath newly passed the great seal, and is as full and large for bounds and privileges as could be desired."[3] His satisfaction is easy to grasp. For the new charter confirmed, what had hitherto existed only on sufferance, the privileges of a self-governing republic, subject only to allegiance to Charles II.[4] There is

[1] Colonial Papers, 1662, February 12; Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, series 5, vol. viii., p. 80.

[2] Doyle, "The Puritan Colonies," vol. ii., p. 162.

[3] Connecticut Historical Collections, i., p. 52.

[4] Cobb, "The Rise of Religious Liberty in America," p. 262.

a curious legal fiction in this charter. Winthrop and the Company of the colonists at Connecticut are to hold "the same of his Majesty, his heirs and successors as of the manor of East Greenwich in free and common socage, yielding the fifth part of all gold or silver ore."[1] As ambassadors are supposed in theory never to have left the soil of their country, so the colonists were assumed, as it were, never to have left the Manor of East Greenwich.

In the charter there were—what would have pleased Roger Williams—no restraints upon any religious faith. Connecticut possessed complete control over ecclesiastical matters. In 1664 Winthrop and the General Court testified their gratitude to Charles for his bounty, requesting his commissioners to represent to the King their sense of "his more abundant grace in re-ratifying our privileges both civil and ecclesiastick . . . (and) our Christian moderation to men of different persuasions."[2]

In 1664 the Royal Commissioners to the New England colonies landed. In intolerant Massachusetts they experienced opposition, whereas in tolerant Connecticut they experienced the reverse. Lord Chancellor Clarendon told Winthrop: "I know you will give that reception and welcome to the commissioners as is due to the quality they come to you in."[3] The instructions of the Commissioners, so far as they bear on Connecticut, deserve perusal:

[1] Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1661-1668, p. 88.
[2] Letters to Connecticut Governors, p. 61.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

"You shall take the best means . . . that you may know the full difference between them and the Massachusetts both in their Civil and Ecclesiastical estate . . . making the same declaration to them, and to all the rest, of your firm resolution to defend and maintain their charter, without the least restraining them in the free exercise of their religion; but insisting with them, as with the rest, that all the rest who dissent from them, may have the like liberty without undergoing any disadvantages with reference to their civil interest, but that they enjoy the same privileges with the rest." [1]

For twenty-three years the people of Connecticut prospered under the charter which Winthrop gained for them in 1662. Fortunately for the Governor, he did survive to 1685, when the hands of James II. and Sir Edmund Andros fell heavily on his people. The colonists testified, as they looked back, to "the advantages and privileges whereof made us indeed a very happy people; and by the blessing of God upon our endeavours we have made a considerable improvement of your dominions here, which with the defence of ourselves from the force of both foreign and intestine enemies has cost us much expense of treasure and blood." [2] A main cause of this prosperity lies in the individualism which Church and State alike fostered in the colonials. Contrast the attitude of the French and the Spanish Governments, which were incessantly interfering in the affairs of their colonies. In their history the company, with

[1] "Colonial History of New York," ii., pp. 55, 87.
[2] Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1677-1680, p. 577.

its headquarters in Paris or Madrid, legislated without understanding the conditions of the colonists. Within a few years the corporations of the North American colonies were composed of men living in the colony. Events in the mother country powerfully assisted these early efforts towards freedom. The lack of control occasioned by the contest between Cavalier and Roundhead allowed liberty sufficient time to establish itself firmly across the Atlantic. This establishment was so vigorous that the people of Connecticut and Rhode Island enjoyed autonomy—at any rate for a season. Over them England exercised the rights of a protectorate, and little more. The men of Connecticut and Rhode Island passed their own laws without even submitting them to the Crown. They selected not only their subordinate officials, but also their chief magistrates. The common law was given the widest possible field for the exercise of its beneficent effects. The capacity of the colonists for self-government developed freely under such favouring conditions, and no doubt constituted the true reason for the success of the English colonies as compared with those of Spain or France.

The system of real property promoted prosperity. The Crown abandoned all its rights in the soil to the immediate government of the colony, whether it was proprietor, people, or company. The settlers took up the land as they liked, though they never dispersed themselves as the French did. This is all the more remarkable, for though the Spaniards in South America had limits assigned for themselves

and in turn assigned limits for the Indians, the English settlers were free to go wherever they pleased. Moreover, they were unrestricted in their intercourse with the aborigines. According to the late F. W. Maitland, the feudal system was the invention of the lawyer, but no such lawyer emigrated to the colonies, for the feudal system was unknown. There Winthrop could dig as he pleased for mineral wealth.[1]

We only obtain glimpses of the character of the Governor of Connecticut when some of us might wish for a view. Still, these glimpses suggest an aspect of the life of one who served man because he served God. In him not one was lacking of the seven good gifts : faith—Christian faith—hope, and love ; fortitude, justice, temperance, prudence. They were all there, but especially love, which he gave and received, alike in life and death. As one who knows something of the honour and simple nobleness of the man, there come to my lips the words of the Roman historian in commemorating Rome's most spotless son : "Qui nunquam recte fecit ut facere videretur, sed quia aliter facere non poterat."

Winthrop was a Puritan, but a Puritan who had received the spirit of the seventeenth-century Renaissance in science. He was of the first generation that should live, as we live, between two eternities : the infinitely great (so recently revealed by men, like

[1] Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, series 4, vol. vi., p. 61 ; series 4, vol. vii., p. 69 ; series 5, vol. viii., p. 125 ; Winthrop, ii., p. 212 ; Connecticut Records, vol. i., p. 223.

Galileo, in the progress of astronomy) and the infinitely little, which the men of his time perceived, not as we do, by microscopes or chemical scales, but simply by the inductions of mathematics. The mind of a physicist like Winthrop is singularly sensitive to the apprehension of supernatural realities. He is aware of the conventions and the uncertainties of science. Men of the world, and notably men of letters, imagine that the knowledge of the physicist is based on certitudes, which we no doubt cannot exactly gauge, yet which may be proved and tested at any moment by the specialist in his laboratory. But Winthrop will contend that religion, though transcending reason, rests on as sure a foundation as any of the sciences. Which of them, he asks with Pascal, seems to you the most exact? Geometry? And yet it starts from certain elementary assumptions as number, time, motion, space, extensity. These, just as much as religion, we apprehend only by a movement of the soul, and intuition: "On trouvera peut-être étrange que la géométrie ne puisse définir aucune des choses qu'elle a pour principal objet-quand elle est arrivée aux premières vérités connues, elle s'arrête là, et demande qu'on les accorde."[1] The natural philosopher, on the other hand, is aware of mysterious forces beyond our ken, invisibly, inaudibly, imperceptibly circulating around us, flooding the secret veins and channels of the universe, as the blood flows in our veins. We hardly know our finite world; we apprehend there is an infinite, and its nature is mystical: "Aussi on peut

[1] Pascal, "Traité de l'Esprit géométrique."

bien connaître qu'il y a un Dieu, sans savoir ce qu'il est.'' [1]

Winthrop was a Puritan whom the beauty and the mystery of an austere dutifulness warmed into life and action. It may very well be that he was endowed with greater power for influencing individuals than managing a party. He was not a great man, but he was a highly capable one, reading character shrewdly enough to use good instruments for his policy both in New England and in Old. If he was no pathfinder, he was no mere imitator, even of his father.

Winthrop made a genuine effort to unite Church and State, though in this aim the forces of time ultimately defeated him. The power of the clergy in the State waned, but it did not wane decisively till Increase Mather lost his position as President of Harvard. Over the course of generations we can see that what the clergy gained for themselves ultimately became the inheritance of all. The day came when all freeholders were admitted to full citizenship, even though they were not members of the congregation.

In England, as F. W. Maitland put it, the law for the great men became the law for all men: the King's Court became the Common Law Court. The political husbandman, as Castelar remarked, does not always foresee what manner of crop will be gathered from off the lands he has digged and sown. It was Kossuth, the revolutionary, who advocated Hungarian autonomy, but it was Déak, the con-

[1] Pascal, Pensées 233 (ed. Brunschvicg).

servative, who realised it. Republicans preached the unity of Germany: it was carried through by Bismarck the autocrat. Republicans preached the emancipation of the serf, which a despotic Tsar enacted. It was Mazzini, the conspirator as well as the prophet, who insisted on the unity of Italy: it was Cavour, the calculating statesman, who realised it. It was the extremist Gambetta who played for a republic, which was the task of the moderate, Thiers, to make effective.

In spite of the presence of aliens, the tone and the temper of the American colonies remained unmistakably English. No doubt Dutch, Swedes, and Germans were present, but they were not present in sufficient numbers to make any impression on public life and sentiment. The immigration of the seventeenth century, the Mathers and the Winthrops, was insignificant in quantity: it was significant to the last degree in quality. Numbers are frequently of the least importance in history. Ask any schoolboy—not necessarily Macaulay's schoolboy—what happened in the years 1665 and 1666, and he will at once tell you that these were the years of the Great Plague and the Fire of London. The adult will furnish you with the same answer. It will not often occur to either of them, even to the adult, to consult an old folio which records what a young man of some twenty-three years was meditating in 1665 and 1666. He discovered at that time, *inter alia,* "first the binomial theorem, then the method of fluxions," and then "began to think of gravity extending to the orb of the moon, and having

found out how to estimate the force with which a globe, revolving within a sphere, from Kepler's rule (*i.e.*, the third law), I deduced that the forces which keep the planets in their orb must be reciprocally as the squares of their distances from their centres; and thereby compared the force requisite to keep the moon in her orb with the force of gravity at the surface of the earth, and found them answer pretty nearly. All this was done in the two plague years of 1665 and 1666, for in those days I was in the prime of my age for invention, and minded Mathematicks and Philosophy more than at any time since."

The discoveries of the infinitesimal calculus and of the law of gravitation by Sir Isaac Newton[1] are of enormously greater value in the progress of the world than the Great Plague and the Fire of London. Similarly, it is absurd to measure the immigration to America simply by its volume. Its spirit is of infinitely greater importance, and its spirit was such that it has permanently changed the temper and the thought of the whole of North America. It has settled for the future the predominance of English civilisation.

It is so unique a record that it has happened only twice in the modern world, and, so far as anyone can foresee, it will never happen again. It happened in North America and it happened in Australia or Australasia. Migration cannot possibly affect such densely populated countries as India and China. Migration vitally affected both North America and

[1] He was born in 1642.

Australia, for when the white race began to go to the one in the seventeenth and to the other in the nineteenth century the aboriginal population was so small as to be unable seriously to affect the migrating race. The Red Indians inhabited North America almost as sparsely as the aborigines inhabited Australia. It is highly probable that the earliest inhabitants of North America came either in those remote times when Asia and America were united, or else they came across Bering's Strait and the Aleutian Islands. The wonder is that the yellow man did not discover the empty continent at his doors and colonise it before the white man ever heard of it. It is amazing that so vast a continent should have been occupied simply by some thousands of Indians, and that it should have been reserved for men dwelling in far-off England and Ireland to become the master of its destinies. Had not the Puritans, the Mathers, and the Winthrops felt aloof in the land of their birth, it seems most probable that the bulk of the inhabitants might to-day be as French as is the province of Quebec. It is one of those tremendous might-have-beens on which it is impossible not to speculate. Had it been possible for Canada to have remained a French possession, there would have been two outlooks on civilisation, and in the ensuing conflict the English would have won, but not won so completely as to eradicate French influence. Over twenty years ago Senator Lodge examined the records and traced the racial origin of 14,243 Americans who had attained eminence. Of these eminent Americans, 10,376 were English

by descent, 1,439 were "descendants of the Scotch and the English who had settled in the North of Ireland and made themselves famous by their defence of Londonderry, 436 were Scots, 159 Welsh, and 109 Irish. Germany contributed 659, the Huguenots 589, and other Frenchmen 85, Holland 336, and the rest of Europe 55."[1]

The adoption of the Constitution by the fathers of the new republic made the English mould not so much the predominant as the only one. Men like the Mathers and the Winthrops brought it with them. No immigrant has been able to break this mould: on the contrary, it has enclosed all others. Not even a German hoped to set up the Reichstag of Berlin in the room of the Congress of Washington. Immigration from other lands did not begin on a large scale till the nineteenth century; that is, the English ideal had been in possession for almost two centuries, and possession is nine points of the law. So it has proved in the United States. The common law system prevails. Therefore in all the ordinary relationships of life the English conception was the only one, and is still the dominant one. But for the Puritans the speech of Shakespeare and of Bunyan would not now be spoken half the world over. Our blood is in the veins of the Americans, our law is in their courts, and our faith is in their hearts.

[1] H. C. Lodge, "Historical and Political Essays," pp. 138-47.

APPENDIX

TRINITY EMIGRANTS AND IMMIGRANTS

Eighteenth Century

Berkeley, George, 1685-1753. Bishop of Cloyne. In 1725 he circulated proposals for founding, in the Bermudas, a college for training missionaries. In 1728 he went to America, and returned in 1732 on failing to receive from the Government money for furthering his schemes. It is worth while pointing out that not a few of the clergy in America were Irish.

Blennerhasset, Harman, 1764(?)-1831. Lawyer; educated at Westminster and Dublin; B.A. and LL.B., 1790; travelled on the Continent, where he imbibed so strong republican notions that he resolved to quit Ireland for the United States. In 1798 he settled near Parkersburg, on the Ohio, in a splendid mansion, surrounded by fine grounds and adorned with costly pictures and statues. He studied chemistry, electricity, and astronomy. He became implicated in the treasonable schemes of Aaron Burr, was arrested, but released in 1807. In 1819 he became a lawyer in Montreal, but three years later he sailed to Ireland to endeavour to recover his estates by a reversionary claim. He retired to Guernsey.

Browne, Arthur, 1756(?)-1805. Irish lawyer. His grandfather migrated, on Berkeley's persuasion, to Rhode Island. He was born in New England; of Irish parentage; educated at Harvard and Trinity College, Dublin, becoming Pensioner, March 24, 1772; educated by Mr. Bissett. He was Scholar of

Trinity College, Dublin, in 1774, and elected Junior Fellow in 1777; LL.D., 1784; Senior Fellow, 1795-1805; thrice Professor of Greek. He practised at the Irish Bar, commanding the college corps formed on the appearance of the French in Bantry Bay, 1796. He was M.P. for Dublin University in the Irish Parliament, 1783-1800, and was the last Prime Serjeant, 1802. He advocated the Union, and also wrote on legal and miscellaneous subjects.

BROWNE, MARMADUKE. Pensioner, May 1, 1750, aged sixteen; son of Arthur, Clericus; born in New England and there educated.

COSSLETT, CHARLES. Pensioner, March 13, 1754, aged seventeen; educated by Mr. Magill. Judge in North Carolina.

COSSLETT, CHARLES. Pensioner, July 8, 1791, aged fifteen; son of Charles, Judex; born in South Carolina; educated by Dr. Adamson.

MCEVAR, JOHN. Pensioner, May 26, 1742, aged sixteen; son of John, Mercator; born at New York in North America; educated by Mr. Butler, Dublin.

MONTGOMERY, RICHARD, 1736-1775. Major-General; of St. Andrew's and Trinity College, Dublin. Pensioner of the latter, June 15, 1754, aged sixteen; son of Thomas, Generosus; born at Dublin; educated by Mr. Dubordieu. He entered the army as Ensign in 1756; Captain, 1762; served in Canada, 1759, and Cuba, 1762; sold out of the army, 1772; settled on the Hudson River; became "sadly and reluctantly" Brigadier-General in the American army, 1775; took in 1775 Fort Chamblai and St. John's, but was killed in action in an attack on Quebec. He was a friend of Colonel Barré, Edmund Burke, and Charles James Fox.

PULLEN (or PULLEIN), SAMUEL (*fl.* 1734-1760). Writer on the silkworm; probably a grandson of Tobias Pullen. He was Scholar of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1732,

and M.A. in 1738. He interested himself in introducing the cultivation of silk into the American colonies, and published several treatises on the subject. He translated from the Latin of Marcus Hieronymus Vida, Bishop of Alba (*d.* 1566), "The Silkworm: A Poem in Two Books."

SMITH, BRABAZON. Fellow Commoner of Trinity College, Dublin, November 19, 1779; aged fifteen; educated by Mr. McCoy; son of Michael, Clericus; born in Jamaica; B.A., Vern., 1784; M.A., Æst., 1787.

STERLING, JAMES (1701-1755). Playwright. Pensioner, April 17, 1716, aged fifteen; son of James, Generosus; born at Dowrass, King's County. He was Scholar and M.A. of the University of Dublin. His "Parracide" was acted in 1735 at Goodman's Fields, London; published his "Poetical Works," 1734; migrated to Maryland, *c.* 1740, as preacher in Kent County.

TEMPLE, GRENVILLE. Pensioner of Trinity College, Dublin, October 6, 1783, aged seventeen; son of Grenville, Generosus; born in America; educated by Mr. Dwyer.

TEMPLE, ROBERT. Pensioner of Trinity College, Dublin, October 7, 1775, aged seventeen; son of Robert, Generosus; born at Boston, in North America; private tuition.

WALLACE, JAMES. Fellow Commoner of Trinity College, Dublin, October 7, 1793, aged fifteen and a half; educated by Mr. Mercer; son of Alexander, Mercator; born in New York; B.A., Æst., 1797.

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

BROUGHAM, JOHN, 1814-1880. Actor and dramatist. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin; studied surgery at Peter Street Hospital; appeared at

Tottenham Street Theatre, 1830, and at the Olympic, 1831; manager of the Lyceum, 1840; went to New York and managed successively Park Theatre, Niblo's Garden, Brougham's Lyceum, and Bowery Theatre; in England, 1860-1865; returned to America; acted at Winter Garden Theatre, 1865; manager of Brougham's, 1869; subsequently connected with several stock companies; died at New York. In conjunction with Dion Boucicault, he wrote "London Assurance." In "The Spirit of the Air" he dramatised "David Copperfield." He also dramatised "Lady Audley's Secret" and "Only a Clod." He wrote a series of sensational dramas—*e.g.*, "The Pirates of the Mississippi," "Tom and Jerry in America," and "The Miller of New Jersey." He excelled in humour rather than in pathos or sentiment, and was at his best in the expression of comically eccentric characters. He is said to have been the original of Harry Lorrequer in Charles Lever's novel.

HAGARTY, SIR JOHN. Pensioner, October 22, 1832, aged sixteen; son of Matthew, Generosus; born in Dublin. He became Chief Justice of Ontario, and was knighted in 1897.

MITCHEL, JOHN, 1815-1875. Irish Nationalist. He was the third son of the Rev. John Mitchel, Presbyterian minister of Dromolane, Newry. In 1830 he matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin, becoming a solicitor in 1840. Two years later he met Thomas O. Davis, and aided in the Repeal Association, 1843-1846; employed on the staff of the *Nation,* 1845-1847. He was much influenced by the violent views of J. F. Lalor. Mitchel started the *Weekly Irishman,* 1848; tried for sedition and transported for fourteen years to Tasmania, 1848; escaped to San Francisco, 1853; started the *Citizen* at New York, 1854; farmer and lecturer, 1855; edited the *Southern Citizen,* 1857-1859; strenuously opposed the North in the Civil War and opposed the abolition of slavery; edited the *New York Daily News,* 1864-1865; financial

agent of the Fenians in Paris, 1865-1866; started and conducted the *Irish Citizen,* 1867-1872; elected M.P. for Tipperary, 1875, but a new writ was ordered on the ground that Mitchel was a convicted felon; was again returned by a large majority, but died soon after. In his implacable hatred of England he was honest but utterly impracticable.

Monck, Sir Charles Stanley. Fourth Viscount Monck in the Irish peerage, and first Baron Monck in the peerage of the United Kingdom (1818-1894), was first Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada. He was the son of Charles Monck, Generosus, and was born in Tipperary. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, graduating B.A. at the summer commencements of 1841, and was called to the Irish Bar at the same time. A Liberal in politics, he unsuccessfully contested the county of Wicklow in 1848, but did not enter the House of Commons till July, 1852. In March, 1855, Lord Palmerston appointed him lord of the treasury, and he held this post till March, 1858. In October, 1861, Lord Palmerston made him Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of Canada and Governor-General of British North America. He remained in office till November, 1868, and during his rule of seven years he displayed signal qualities of patience, of firmness, of administration, and of statesmanship. By his capable diplomacy he averted war between us and the United States, a war which the Trent affair threatened. The aftermath of the serious struggle between North and South involved Monck in fresh difficulty with the United States, for in 1864 confederates, who had sought refuge in Canada, engaged in petty plots against their native country—*e.g.,* seizing vessels on the lakes, attacking defenceless ports, breaking open prisons, for example, at Detroit, robbing banks, for example, at St. Albans. Monck carefully guarded his long open boundary line of two thousand miles, setting armed craft on the lakes. His efforts earned for him in 1864 the warm approbation

of the Imperial authorities in London, but they also earned for him the no less warm disapprobation of the Government at Washington. In December, 1864, after the St. Albans affair, General Dix issued a proclamation threatening reprisals. The following year the United States denounced the reciprocity treaty of 1864 for non-economic reasons. If the Republic did not encourage the attempts of the Fenians against Canada, she certainly patiently endured them. Again Monck called forth the militia and patrolled the frontier. In June, 1866, the militia drove back some nine hundred Fenian marauders with serious loss to the invaders. Ably as he managed his relations with the United States, he managed even more ably to unite the different provinces of Canada into a federated dominion. On this measure rests his permanent fame. In June, 1864, he gave a warm welcome to the proposal of George Brown to introduce a federal constitution. He encouraged the conferences held at Charlottetown and Quebec in 1864, and in the conduct of the Quebec resolutions, which embodied the federal constitution, through the local houses of parliament in 1865. He exercised pressure in favour of union on the Lieutenant-Governors of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. In the autumn of 1866 he came to London in order to assist at the Westminster Conference and to advise the Imperial authorities. In June, 1867, his appointment was continued, and his new title declared to be Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada. In accordance with the terms of Queen Victoria's proclamation he took the oath of office and constituted the Privy Council of Canada in July, 1867. When he had inaugurated the federation successfully, he resigned office in November, 1868. In July, 1866, he had been created a peer of the United Kingdom as Baron Monck of Ballytrammon in the county of Wexford. He received the honour of the Grand Cross of St. Michael and St. George on June 23, and was called to the Privy Council in August, 1869. Trinity College, Dublin, conferred on him the honorary degree of LL.D. in

1870. On his return to his native land he became a member of the Church Temporalities and National Education Commissions in 1871. From 1874 to 1892 he held the office of Her Majesty's Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum in and for the county of Dublin.

PANTIN, HENRY. Pensioner, February 4, 1839, aged sixteen; son of Lewis, Generosus; born in the West Indies.

REILLY, THOMAS DEVIN, 1824-1854. Irish Revolutionary writer. He was born in Monaghan, and was a fellow-townsman of Sir Charles C. Gavan Duffy. He entered Trinity College, Dublin; joined the staff of the *Nation,* 1845; and attached himself to John Mitchel; fled to New York to avoid prosecution, 1848, and afterwards edited the *Washington Union.* He did not work well with the other members of the advanced Nationalist party, especially with T. D'Arcy McGee.

ROBINSON, SIR BRYAN (1808-1887). Colonial judge; was the youngest son of Christopher Robinson, Rector of Granard. He was born at Cavan. His mother was Elizabeth, second daughter of Sir Hercules Langrishe. Hercules Robinson, Admiral, was an elder brother. On October 18, 1824, aged sixteen and a half, he became a Pensioner of Trinity College, Dublin. Before graduating at Dublin University he went in 1828 to Newfoundland on the staff of Admiral Cochrane. In 1831 Robinson was called to the Bar in Newfoundland. In the important case of Keilley *v.* Carson he raised the question of the power of a House of Assembly to imprison a person of its own motion. Robinson stoutly opposed the claim of the Newfoundland House of Assembly, and the court supported his opposition. In 1834 Robinson became Master of Chancery with the obligation of advising the Members of the Council. In December, 1842, he entered the colonial parliament as member for Fortune Bay. In 1843 he became a Queen's Counsel of the local Bar, and afterwards a member of the Executive Council. In 1858 he was

appointed a puisne judge. He warmly supported public causes in the colony, especially favouring such measures as the opening up of the interior, direct steam communication with England, relief works in bad seasons. He was a loyal member of the Church of England.

WHITTLE, CONWAY. Pensioner of Trinity College, Dublin, November 3, 1817, aged seventeen; son of Conway, defunctus. Born at Virginia in America; educated by Mr. Gataker, Lancashire.

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