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Hence the liberal expression of rational and decided patriotism, apparent in their occasional discourses on public days. Not that political sermons answer my views, or theirs, of the great design of the Christian pulpit; but, under governments like ours, it surely is inexpedient so to restrict and circumscribe its occupant, that he shall not, without giving offence, utter in public what overburdens his heart in secret, when he contemplates the concerns of his country. How shall he discharge his sacred duty if he have not this liberty? Besides, men of cultivated intellect and of integrity, liberally educated, and animated with Christian love, cannot be restrained from taking an interest in these things, nor from having their own opinions about them; "for," as says the Apostle Paul, when characterizing nobly the Christian spirit, "God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind."

MARCH MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this evening, Thursday, March 13, at half-past seven o'clock; the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

Donations were announced from the publishers of the "Farmer and Gardener;" John Appleton, M.D.; George Clasback, Esq.; Thomas F. De Voe, Esq.; B. P. Johnson, Esq.; Thomas S. Kirkbride, M.D.; Hon. J. Segar; and from Messrs. Bigelow (G. T.), Folsom, Quint, Park, Robbins (C.), Warren, Washburn, Willard, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The Report from the Society's Cabinet noticed a donation by Joseph E. Adams, Esq., of Newbury, Mass., of a pistol, formerly belonging to Col. Paul Revere; for which the Cabinet-keeper was directed to communicate to the donor the thanks of the Society.

Mr. WARREN presented a *fac-simile* copy of "An Ordinance to dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her, under the Compact entitled 'The Constitution of the United States of America,'" dated Dec. 20, 1860; to which are annexed the signatures of delegates of "the people of South Carolina in convention assembled."

The President, in calling the attention of the Society to the recent death of three of its distinguished members, — Dr. Bell, Hon. William Appleton, and President Felton, — remarked as follows: —

It may not, perhaps, have been forgotten, gentlemen, that at our January meeting, in reporting the nominations of the two Resident Members, the acceptance of one of whom has just been announced, it was remarked from the Chair, that their election would complete the number to which our Society is limited by its charter; and that, for the first time since our original incorporation, there would then be a hundred living names upon our roll.

But it is for man to propose, and for God to dispose.

On the morning of the very day on which the election was to take place, and when our roll was to be thus auspiciously completed, the tidings reached us, that one of our number had already fallen a victim to the privations and exposures of the camp, while devotedly employed in the medical service of the army of the United States. A few days only intervened, before it was announced that another of our honored asso-

ciates, in our immediate neighborhood, had passed away from these earthly scenes. And now, within a week or two past, a third name has been added to the list of those whom we may never again be permitted to welcome within these walls.

The death of Dr. Luther V. Bell was briefly noticed at our last meeting; and if the tributes which were paid to his memory, on the impulse of the moment, were somewhat less formal and less finished than they would have been if the tidings had reached us at an earlier day, they had the freshness and fervor of an immediate sorrow, and were by no means wanting in appropriate manifestations of respect for his character, and regret for his loss. After many years of varied and most valuable service to the community, his declining health had compelled him to seek retirement from the active labors of his vocation; but, when the Government of the country was heard calling upon the people to take up arms in defence of the Capital and of the Union, he forgot all physical infirmities of his own, and volunteered at once to discharge such duties in the field as belonged to the profession of which he was an honored member. Having already passed through the grades of regimental and brigade surgeon, and having rendered conspicuous services in the most memorable conflict of the war, he was just proposing to seek the relief which he required, and to which he was so richly entitled, in a post of even greater responsibility, but of less immediate exposure and fatigue. His desire was fulfilled in a way which he thought not of. The rest which he was about to claim at the hands of the Government, he received at the hands of God. A brief and sudden illness soon prostrated his enfeebled frame; and he died in the camp which had been the scene of his humane and unremitting labors for the lives of others. We shall remember him proudly, as the first, and we trust we may be permitted to say, when peace and concord shall again be restored to our land, as the only one, of our members who has fallen in the military service of our country.

It would hardly be quite just, however, to the memory of another lamented associate, — the Hon. William Appleton, — whose death we are next called on to notice this evening, were we to forget that his immediate decline was undoubtedly accelerated by the labors and cares with which his strength had been overtaken in the civil service of the Union. As a member of the House of Representatives of the United States, he remained faithfully at his post, during the anxious and agitating session of the last summer, long after his health had become so seriously impaired as to excite the just apprehensions of his friends. His commercial information and financial experience were indispensable to the committee of which he was a member, and his colleagues on that committee were unwilling to spare him from their councils. He returned home at last, debilitated and exhausted; and resigned his seat only in season to make final preparations for the change which so soon awaited him.

It has already been my privilege to unite with our fellow-citizens in paying a tribute to this excellent man and public benefactor; and I forbear from adding any thing on this occasion to the simple announcement of his death.

Nor do I propose to dwell long on the third name which has been so sadly stricken from our roll, and from other rolls where it will be still more missed, since our last monthly meeting. There are those present to whom it fitly belongs to deal with the character and accomplishments of the late President Felton; yet I should be false to the impulses of my own heart, were I to withhold all expression of sorrow for the loss of one so honored and so loved. Few persons, I think, have known, better than he, how to combine the cheerfulness and cordiality which belong to the companion and the friend, with the seriousness and earnestness which belong to the student and the instructor; and we hardly know which will be most missed in the sphere from which he has been so prematurely removed, — his thorough scholarship or his genial fellowship.

His long and faithful services to the University, of which he had so recently become the honored head, were hardly more remarkable than his untiring readiness to lend his counsel and his experience to the cause of our Common Schools. He shrunk, indeed, from no labor which could be demanded of him, — from no service which he could anywhere find an opportunity to render, — in the cause of education, science, or literature; and yet he never denied himself to the claims of social life or to the offices of hospitality and friendship. His modest estimate of his own acquirements was in striking contrast with his generous appreciation of the accomplishments and efforts of others; and he never seemed better satisfied with himself than when he was paying a hearty tribute to the merits of a friend.

His connection with our Society was not of many years' standing; but we shall not soon forget the eager interest with which he entered into our proceedings on more than one occasion. His voice has again and again been heard here, in eloquent eulogy upon those who have gone before him; and some of his utterances on these occasions seem almost prophetic of his own early end. It seems but yesterday, that, after paying an affectionate tribute to the memory of the late Judge White, he reminded us, in a tone of almost triumphant anticipation, that "the grave is but the gateway that leads to immortality;" bidding us "follow courageously in the heaven-illuminated path of the good and famous men who have gone before us."

It seems hardly more than yesterday, since, in speaking of the sudden death of Prescott, he told us, that, "with the loveliness of returning spring, the announcement would be heard, even to the shores of Greece;" and that, "under the matchless glories of the sky of Attica, a sense of bereavement would mingle with the festivities and Christian welcomes of that joyous season."

He little imagined how soon these words would become

applicable to himself. His own modesty may have repressed the imagination that they would ever be applied to him. Yet no one, who recollects how closely he had identified himself, during more than a quarter of a century past, with every thing which relates to that classic soil, — with the study of its ancient and of its modern language, with its matchless literature, with its marvellous history, with its reviving hopes, — no one, certainly, who has had an opportunity of knowing the esteem, respect, and affection which he won there during the two visits which were almost the only relaxations of his laborious life, can doubt for an instant that the tidings of his death will touch many a heart in the land which he so delighted to illustrate, and that his loss will be deplored by not a few of those who have inherited the language of Homer, Thucydides, and Xenophon.

It was my own good fortune to be able to give him his first introduction to the English ambassador at Athens (Sir Thomas Wyse), with whom he formed the most intimate and cordial friendship, and through whom I have repeatedly heard how deep and lasting an impression had been left there of his kind and generous nature, his thorough and comprehensive scholarship, and his ardent and almost romantic affection for that land of glowing skies and glorious memories.

There is one precious memorial of his interest in that land, and of a better land also, which cannot soon be forgotten, either there or here, and the recollection of which is in peculiar harmony with an hour like this. I refer to the communion-plate which he exerted himself so eagerly in procuring, on his first return home, for a little Episcopal chapel at Athens, then under the care of Dr. Hill, whose character and services he ever spoke of with the highest admiration. The twofold glories of the spot, as the scene of the grandest efforts of the two noblest orators of the world, — the classic and the Christian Demosthenes, — inspired him with even an unwonted enthusiasm; and few things gratified him more (if I may judge

by repeated expressions of his own), than to have secured for himself, and for a few of his American friends, the privilege of offering this little pledge of Christian sympathy to those who should assemble beneath the shadows of Mars' Hill — where Paul so triumphantly confronted the Epicurean and the Stoic, and that whole inquisitive and jeering crowd of Athenians and strangers — to partake of the supper of our Lord, and to commemorate the transcendent reality of the resurrection from the dead.

Not long afterwards, he took "Paul, as an Athenian Orator," for the subject of a popular lecture.

But I will detain you no longer, gentlemen, from the worthier tributes which others are prepared to pay to the memory of our departed friends, and for which I have been instructed to open the way by introducing the following resolution: —

"Resolved, That this Society has heard, with the deepest regret, of the deaths of their esteemed and respected associates, the Hon. WILLIAM APPLETON, and CORNELIUS CONWAY FELTON, LL.D. : and that Dr. Chandler Robbins be requested to prepare the customary Memoir of Mr. APPLETON ; and Mr. Hillard, that of President FELTON."

Mr. HILLARD, in seconding the resolution, offered the following remarks: —

Since our last meeting, the community in which we live; the College at Cambridge, in which we all feel so affectionate an interest; the fellowship of men of letters all over the world, — have been called upon to mourn the death of Cornelius Conway Felton, President of Harvard College, in the prime of his life and the meridian of his powers. We, too, share in this general grief; for he was our honored and beloved associate, a constant attendant at our meetings, and taking part in our proceedings with that hearty and engaging sympathy which was so attractive an element in his character. We feel conscious of a painful void, not merely in our own limited circle, but in the ranks of those, never so numerous as to

make a gap unobserved, by whom superior powers, under the guidance of duty, are employed for the advancement of the best interests of literature, civilization, and humanity. We are in a condition to feel the full force of the words of Burke, speaking of the death of his son: "At this exigent moment, the loss of a finished man is not easily supplied."

In giving expression to our sense of his worth, I shall not undertake to narrate the events of his life, or to enumerate his various literary labors and productions; but shall confine myself to an attempt to delineate what he was, and to state what were those gifts of mind, and graces of character, which secured to him so large a measure of esteem, admiration, and love. For the discharge of this melancholy duty, I can claim at least the qualification which comes from an intimate friendship of more than thirty years' duration.

Our departed friend and associate was peculiarly and pre-eminently a scholar. He was not given to the habit of self-inspection. Had he permitted himself to take the gauge and estimate of his own merits, he would have rested his title to honor and remembrance upon what he had done in his chosen profession of literature. He was born with an intense love of knowledge; and, deeply as he had drunk at the fountains of knowledge, this noble thirst of the mind was never slaked. To the very last, he read and studied with the same fresh and eager delight with which in his boyhood he availed himself of the privilege, not lightly earned or early won, of obtaining a liberal education, when the longest day was not long enough to slacken his zeal, or abate the edge of his intellectual appetite. With powers of acquisition proportionate to his love of knowledge; with a memory which was "wax to receive, and marble to retain;" with a mind active, and hospitable to every form of learning,—it is hardly necessary to add that his attainments were various, profound, and exact, and that he was entitled to be ranked among the best scholars of his time.

In his special and peculiar department of scholarship — a knowledge of the language and literature of Greece — he had certainly no superior, and hardly an equal, in this country. Tried by the highest standard of England or Germany, he would have been deemed an excellent Greek scholar; and, to those who know what that standard is, this is no mean praise. And he was strongest in the highest department of scholarship, — the comprehension of the spirit of Greek literature, and the peculiar characteristics of the mind of Greece. It is hardly possible to imagine two eminent Greek scholars who were less alike than he and the late Richard Porson, who, though the greatest of verbal critics, and of unrivalled skill in investigating the metrical laws of Greek poetry, was apparently as insensible to the genius of the authors he edited as if he had been a sailor of the Peiræus, or a charcoal-burner on Mount Parnes. Felton was by no means wanting in verbal accuracy and metrical knowledge; but he was most remarkable for quick perception and sympathetic appreciation of the intellectual traits of the great writers of Greece. There was not a single string in the many-toned lyre of Hellas which did not cause a chord of unison to vibrate in his breast. Pindar, Demosthenes, Thucydides, the three great tragic writers, Aristophanes, Herodotus, were all familiar to him, and all were enjoyed with discriminating relish; but for Homer he had a peculiar reverence, and in the reading of him he took peculiar delight. In his judgment, there was no commensurate name in all literature. The morning-star of poetry, — the earliest set in the sky, — he was, to his eyes, still the brightest of all the glittering host. Among all the editors of and commentators upon Homer, it may be doubted if there were one who more thoroughly understood him, or read him with livelier pleasure. Proportionate to his admiration of the author of the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey" was the earnestness with which he rejected the theory which denies his personality. He could not bear to think that these divine poems were an

aggregation of ballads, — a sort of Hellenic Percy's Reliques, — mortised and dovetailed together by some clever literary cabinet-maker.

It was natural that a man of such scholarly tastes and such warm sympathies should transfer some of the interest which he felt in the history and literature of ancient Greece to the regenerated Greece of to-day. In the course of two successive visits, he passed several months in that country, mostly in Athens; and those who knew him can well imagine the delight with which he saw, face to face, the memorable spots which had been so long visible to the eye of the mind, over which hung a light brighter than that of the sun, and which were suffused with colors lovelier than the rainbow. He was familiar with the new-born literature of the country, and spoke its language with ease and fluency. He was cordially welcomed by the intelligent and cultivated men of that country, who saw in the presence of this learned, accomplished, and amiable man, animated with a scholar's enthusiasm and a pilgrim's reverence, coming from —

“Regions further west
Than their sires' Islands of the Blest,” —

a new proof of the intellectual influence of those immortal minds, which in other days had shed such lustre upon their land. He looked with hopeful eyes upon the future of Greece. He was warmly interested in her people; recognizing fully all their good qualities, and finding an excuse for their faults in the bad government under which they had so long languished.

His acquisitions were by no means confined to the language and literature of Greece. He was an excellent Latin scholar, and was not ignorant of Hebrew. With the languages of modern Europe he was entirely familiar, as with the works of the best writers in all of them. In English literature, his range of reading was almost universal; and his taste was manly, catholic, and generous. His stores of learning were

all regulated and controlled by sound good sense, true moral instincts, and gentle and gracious affections. No man had less of what Bacon calls the "peccant humors of learning." His attainments did not make him arrogant or pedantic or exclusive or fastidious. He was free alike from self-assertion and self-reference. He came up to Bacon's ideal; for he "entered into a desire of learning and knowledge, sincerely to give a true account of their gift of reason, to the benefit and use of men:" and he regarded knowledge as "a rich storehouse for the glory of the Creator, and the relief of man's estate." And let me yet once more recur to this illustrious thinker for a trait of our departed friend: "But this is that which will indeed dignify and exalt knowledge, if contemplation and action may be more nearly and straitly conjoined and united together than they have been; a conjunction like unto that of the two highest planets,— Saturn, the planet of rest and contemplation; and Jupiter, the planet of civil society and action." These words meet his case. President Felton's sympathies were as quick as his mind was active. Fond as he was of study, he would not have been happy if he had been doomed to pass his life in his library. His nature craved action as well as contemplation. Much as he loved his books, the human face was yet dearer to him than any book. I have never seen him in a large assemblage, without noticing upon his countenance a winning and unconscious expression of sympathetic pleasure in the mere presence of his kind. He took a lively interest in the diffusion of knowledge and in the cause of popular education. He had been for many years one of the regents of the Smithsonian Institution, and a member of the Board of Education in Massachusetts; and the duties of these posts, which did not call into exercise the higher qualities of his mind, and from which he could not hope to win any new distinction, were discharged by him with exemplary fidelity and hearty zeal.

His style was vigorous, flowing, and graceful. It was often

enlivened by a vein of playful humor, and was pervaded with the genial qualities of his heart; but he wrote too rapidly for the highest finish. In this respect, his later compositions have a marked superiority over those of earlier date. His ear grew finer, and his sense of the beauty of language more acute, as he grew older.

His power of communicating knowledge was not quite equal to his facility in acquisition. He was an admirable teacher to such as were willing and resolved to learn; but his temperament was not exactly of that kind which is best suited to spur the sluggish and animate the cold. For these last, a teacher has need of certain physical gifts which can hardly be acquired by taking thought: he has need of a restless spirit, an ear like the mole's, and a vigilant and ubiquitous eye.

But mere talents and learning do not enter largely into the composition of those qualities which make man dear to man. There have been some great scholars in the world that were not estimable, and many that were not lovable. But our friend had received, in even larger measure, those traits which win affection, than those which secure admiration. If I were called upon to name the one quality which was most conspicuous in him, I should say it was sweetness. This gives an inexpressible charm to the character, when combined, as it was in his case, with masculine energy and intellectual force. What Burke said of Fox, that he was a man to be loved, was strictly true of him. His feelings were quick, and he was by no means incapable of resentment; but there never was a human being more free from envy, malice, and malignity. His anger, if he ever felt it, was, like the anger of Hooker, "the momentary bead upon a phial of pure water, instantly subsiding without sediment or soil." He was one of those men whom disappointment could not have soured, and defeat could not have embittered. He had earnest convictions; and, more than once, felt called upon to engage in

controversy in defence of what he deemed the right: but, though he was a hard hitter, he never struck an unfair blow. His temper was most placable and forgiving: the atmosphere of unkindness and estrangement was most uncongenial to him. He disliked to think or to speak of the faults, errors, and weaknesses of others.

He was very unfastidious in his likings. He gave his affections freely to all who laid any claim to them. He was always a busy man; but he bore with infinite patience the drafts upon his time to which his good nature exposed him. I have never known a man, with so many calls upon his own hours, who was so ready to labor for his friends. If we could see in one amount all the work he has done for others in the course of his life, from pure kindness of heart, without hope of reward or of distinction, it would fill us with admiration.

I have just spoken of his sweetness. Let me here mention another quality which characterized him to a remarkable degree; and that was purity. Not only was his life spotless from his youth upwards, but his lips were unstained. No unhandsome image ever intruded into his mind, or took the form of words upon his tongue, not even in his freest and easiest hours of social intercourse. And, to value this trait as it should be valued, we must remember that it was not because he was cold that he was pure. He was just the reverse: his temperament was eminently genial, his tastes were social, and he had a very keen sense of the ludicrous. This peculiar purity of life and speech, which distinguished him even in his boyhood, gave a touch of reverence to the affection with which his friends regarded him. Towards woman, his feelings were compounded of the fine ideal sentiment of chivalry, and the respect which rests upon an unqualified recognition of the code of morality which the New Testament prescribes for the conduct of life in the relations of sex.

Seeing that his mind was so fruitful, so active, so stored with learning; that his heart was so warm, that his tem-

perament was so genial,—it might have been expected that his conversational powers would have been in exact proportion to his general capacity and attainments; but they were not so. In mixed society, when many were present, a veil of silence was apt to be drawn around him. This was partly owing to the genuine and unaffected modesty which was a conspicuous trait in his character. He never liked to set himself in the front of a conversation. Among a few friends, where he felt perfectly at ease, the rich stores of his mind and memory were freely displayed in discourse; and, on these occasions, he was one of the most instructive and delightful of companions.

I have had occasion to speak of the feminine traits of sweetness and purity that gave a charm to his character. As if by way of compensation for withholding from him the gift of brilliant conversational eloquence, he had received in large measure the feminine accomplishment of letter-writing. Women write better letters than men, as a general rule; and the charm of feminine letters consists in the graceful way in which the daily incidents of life are told, and airy trifles are preserved in the amber of simple and pellucid English. Felton's letters had these attractive qualities to a degree not often found in masculine letters, which, when long, are apt to be essays; and, when short, telegraphic despatches. His published writings were, generally speaking, of a nature which forbade the exercise of his playfulness and his humor; but, in his letters, these qualities, of which he had an ample share, found a congenial sphere for their display.

President Felton's character was distinguished by simplicity and truthfulness. He inspired confidence, because he was so easily understood. He did not seek to conceal what he was, or affect to be what he was not. A more transparent nature could hardly be found. He moved towards his ends in a straight way, and was utterly incapable of accomplishing any thing by indirection. Towards his friends, his heart was

as open as the day. With them he had no reserves, no concealments, no half-confidences. Suspicion and distrust never visited his thoughts: he had hardly enough of them for his own protection against designing approaches.

Now that he is gone, it is interesting to me to recall the growth of his powers. When I first knew him, he lived in two worlds,—his books and his friends. Neither nature nor art contributed much to his happiness or his intellectual progress: but, as is well known, Greek poetry and Greek art illustrate each other in a remarkable degree; and his study of the former involved that of the latter; and thus a taste for art was formed in him. As might be inferred from this statement, sculpture and architecture gave him more pleasure than painting. In his later years, the shows of earth and sky were more noted by him, and had become more distinct sources of satisfaction. I suspect that this is a general truth: most men are more sensitive to the beauty of nature at fifty than at twenty-five. The sense and faculty of music were denied to him. He hardly knew one tune from another; and, though music was rather agreeable to him, he did not care enough about it to go in search of it. I do not think that he ever essayed to utter a musical sound. This want was sometimes the subject of playful observation among his friends, especially in his later years, when he had such access to musical privileges as lovers of music would have highly prized.

As might be supposed from the qualities of his mind and character, he was a man full of earnest patriotic feeling. He loved his country with a fervent, but not an indiscriminate love. The very strength of his attachment made him all the more sensitive to errors, mistakes, and faults. He looked forward to our future with that hopeful spirit which was the natural expression of his healthy and happy temperament. His mind was averse to extreme views in any direction. Never a politician, he always took an interest in politics. Independent in his judgment, he was sometimes moved to take

a direction in politics opposed to that of some of his friends ; but, if a friendship was ever cooled on this account, it was assuredly not his fault. I have never known a man who surpassed, and rarely one who equalled, him in respect for the intellectual rights of others, — a quality which, in our community, is not likely to become cheap through abundance.

Some of his friends regarded his elevation to the Presidency of Harvard College as a doubtful experiment. They felt that he was exactly suited for the duties of Greek professor, and that it could only be determined by actual trial whether he were equally well fitted for those of the higher place. These doubts and misgivings, if any such there were, sprang from an affection which was watchful and anxious because it was so great ; and time was dispelling them. Events were showing that he was easily and happily adapting himself to his new duties ; and that one, who, like him, was a Christian, a scholar, and a gentleman, could not but be a good head of a university. His friends, and the friends of the College, were looking forward with confident hope to many years of wise government and prosperous administration under his rule.

How much have we lost in losing our friend and brother, — a man of such large powers, such wide culture, such moral worth ; with a heart so young, so full of kindness, gentleness, and love ! How many empty places are left by the removal of one whose relations to life were so various, whose sympathies were so wide and so warm ! Not alone here will he be mourned ; for, wherever he went, he made friends. The scholars of Germany will lament his death, for he was worthy to stand in their foremost rank ; and no one recognized more understandingly and generously than he the obligations which classical learning is under to the students of that country. The scholars and statesmen of rejuvenated Greece will grieve for him ; for he was their eloquent champion and advocate, their warm-hearted friend, who loved their land as a sort of an adopted country, and was never silent when any one spoke in disparagement or distrust of it.

But, in this our hour of fresh bereavement, — looking into his newly opened grave, — let us not forget the soothing, elevating, and consoling thoughts which the contemplation of such a character and such a career inspires. His life was bright and pure and high ; it was filled with good works and good words ; it has left tender memories, affectionate regrets, sweet recollections, in hearts without number. It was an eminently useful life ; and it was, moreover, a very happy life. He was happy in his domestic relations, happy in his friends, happy in having always had congenial duties allotted to him. He never woke in the morning without a sense of pleasure in the new life to which he was called back from the realms of sleep ; he never lay down at night without a sense of gratitude for the day that was closed. He was a man of strong religious convictions and warm religious feeling. His gratitude to God for the gift of life was constant and fervent. He knew nothing of the sting of disappointment, nothing of the corrosion of discontent. Of the prizes of life, he had had all that he desired, and more than he hoped. No man had more of the faculty of extracting happiness from common things, from the spontaneous growth of every day as it glides by. He never needed rare pleasures, or highly seasoned satisfactions, to give him enjoyment. At the age of fifty-four, his spirit was as full of morning freshness as it was at twenty. Life in itself, and for itself, was sweet to him ; but none the less gently, none the less submissively, was it resigned when the summons came.

And here, in this assemblage of persons bound together by the tie of a common interest in the same pursuits ; where none are strangers, but each is known to all, — may I not be permitted to allude to what I have lost in losing him ? For thirty years, there has been between us the most intimate friendship, the most perfect confidence, the most unbroken sympathy. In all that time, there has not been between us a cloud as big as an infant's hand. Never did I see his face,

or hear his voice, or even the sound of his footsteps, without a glow of pleasure at the heart. He was so precious to me, that it is hard to feel that he is gone. The stunning shock of surprise has hardly yet subsided into sorrow.

From henceforth, it seems to me that the sun can never shine again as brightly on my path as it has done. But what I have had cannot be taken from me. Sharp as is the pang of separation, I should be the most ungrateful of men if I did not thank God for the inestimable gift of so true, so loving, so faithful a friend.

Dr. WALKER spoke substantially as follows:—

Mr. PRESIDENT, — I cannot hope to add any thing to what has been so justly and eloquently said; but it seems to me, that persons not connected with the College, nor resident at Cambridge, can hardly understand how great the loss occasioned by the death of President Felton is there felt to be. For a whole generation, he has been becoming more and more identified with the University, and with the society and all the institutions of the place. Though eminently a scholar, he was, as every one knows, as far removed as possible from the character and habits of a recluse. Our places of common resort, our public meetings, our very streets, without his familiar presence, are not the same; and it is a great loss to any community, in a world like this, to have the example and presence of so genial and candid and cheerful a nature suddenly withdrawn.

There is also another point on which I wish to record my testimony. While President of the College, I naturally leaned very much on Mr. Felton, as the oldest member of the Faculty, with the largest experience in discipline and instruction. In this intimate relation, I became more and more convinced that his many social qualities had the effect to hide or obscure, at least to the public view, the other and higher qualities of his mind and heart. He was fond of society; but no one was

readier than he to forget every other purpose or thought at the faintest call of duty. He was fond of mirth, and of contributing to it; but I have never met with man or woman whose wit was gentler or purer. Let me add, that, under a general freedom and gayety of manner, he cherished, and at times manifested, a most sincere reverence for sacred things.

When a person has raised himself by his own efforts to usefulness and distinction, and is still in the full enjoyment of life, we cannot see the reward of his labors and sacrifices snatched from him by what seems to us an untimely death, without a feeling of sadness and regret. But all such questionings are as unwise as they are unavailing. In this case they are also rebuked by the thought, that our friend was a very happy man, and that but few have died at any age, after having done so much to make others happy.

Dr. SPARKS expressed his unwillingness, after the full and just and eloquent tributes which had been paid to President Felton, to detain the meeting by any extended remarks of his own. He would only add his testimony, with the most entire cordiality, to the truth and fidelity of all that had been said in delineating the admirable and amiable qualities of his friend and former associate in the government of the College. No one out of the circle of Mr. Felton's immediate family could have been more deeply affected than himself by the suddenness of his death in the fulness of his powers and his usefulness, or could more profoundly sympathize with his friends of the College, of this Society, of this community, and of the republic of letters, in their grief at his loss, and their respect for his character and services.

Dr. LOTHROP, at the call of the President, offered the following remarks in relation to the death of the Hon. William Appleton:—

The resolution on your table, Mr. President, alludes to the decease of two of our associates. We have noticed the death of the scholar, whose mind, through reading and study, was richly stored with all the learning of the schools; who, in early childhood, took to books as the food of his life, and had passed almost the whole of that life in the quiet groves of the academy; and who, by his literary labors and his distinguished literary position, was widely known, and largely honored, and eminently useful. At the University, where we hoped he would have a long and brilliant career as its President; in this modern Athens, as our city has sometimes been called; far away in that old Athens of Greece, to which you, sir, have so felicitously referred, where to many his form was as familiar, and his name as honored and beloved, as among ourselves; everywhere throughout the great republic of letters,—his death is and will be felt to be a calamity; and here in this Society, this evening, we all respond most heartily to the just and beautiful tributes which gentlemen, themselves so distinguished, have paid to his memory.

But we all know, Mr. President, that the unwritten wisdom of the world far exceeds the written. There is more of talent and genius in every generation than shows itself in books or in what we emphasize as learning and scholarship. The intellectual ability requisite, and often exhibited, in various departments of practical business in life, is fully equal, if it do not surpass, that exhibited in what we designate as purely literary pursuits. For a man to raise himself to the first rank among the merchants of a great city or country,—not, I mean, simply to amass a great fortune, but to form a character, establish a reputation, reach a position from which he exercises a commanding influence in all commercial and financial affairs, his advice sought, his judgment appealed to, his wisdom relied upon in the chambers of commerce and in the councils of the cabinet,—for a man to do this requires as much talent, a degree of intellectual vigor and acumen as great, as for

another to raise himself to the first rank among scholars. Our Massachusetts Historical Society has always honored itself by calling to its ranks, and having on its roll of members, some representatives of this class of men; not because they were learned men, in the ordinary meaning of that word; not because they were particularly interested in historical pursuits or studies; but because they were men of vigorous intellect; because they were men, who, by the energy of their minds, and the activity of their lives, and the largeness of their commercial enterprises, had exerted, or were exerting, an important influence upon all those social institutions, interests, and events that enter into the composition of history, and form a part of the great reservoir from which history draws its materials.

The loss of such a man from our record of membership we are called to notice and regret this evening, in the death of the late Hon. William Appleton. The outline of his life is familiar to most of us, and corresponds to that of many of the merchants of this city who have risen to distinguished eminence and usefulness. The son of a clergyman in a small town in Worcester County, with only the education that could be furnished him by the district school and the county academy, he came to this town while yet in his teens, with no capital but his talents, his energy, his industry, his sound principles, his pure morals, and his honorable aims; and, through them, he worked his way to the distinguished commercial, social, and political position which he has so long occupied.

One of the prominent qualities exhibited in Mr. Appleton's character and career seems to have been an indomitable energy, that insisted upon achieving success,—insisted upon persevering, and keeping at work, even under that great discouragement of ill health, before which most men succumb. From his early manhood, Mr. Appleton has always been an invalid. Nearly half a century ago, he made his will, and sailed from this port on a voyage for his health, with

but the slightest possible prospect, the faintest possible hope, of returning alive. Through the good providence of God, and, without irreverence I may say it (for the influence of such mental feeling in staying the progress of disease is an admitted fact), through the indomitable determination of his own mind that he would get well, he did get well enough to return, and resume business. He lived to administer upon the estates of all the gentlemen who were named as his own executors in his original will. From the time of his return from that voyage up to a few months ago, with a body so frail and light that one almost feared sometimes that the wind would blow him away; with his health often so feeble, that it seemed sometimes as if in a few weeks his strength must utterly fail, and death claim its own; with a resolution and pluck that would have gained him every battle had he been a general; with an industry, wisdom, and intellectual astuteness, that would have placed him at the head of the bar had he been a lawyer, or at the head of the nation had he given himself exclusively to politics and statemanship,— he has persevered, done a vast amount of work, and been remarkable among our merchants for his energy, activity, and enterprise. Mr. Appleton had a vigorous, penetrating, comprehensive intellect, by which he embraced alike, and with equal ease, both the principles and details of any subject to which he gave his attention. I need scarcely add, that this intellect was under the guidance of high principles, sanctified by religious faith and culture. He was a man of unsullied integrity, of singular purity, and of large benevolence. It was these qualities that gave wisdom to his judgment in all commercial and financial matters; caused it to be honored and confided in on the Exchange, in the walks of business, and in the councils of state; and secured an almost certain success to his enterprises. It was these qualities that led to his being designated and twice elected, by the merchants and citizens of Boston, to represent them in the Congress of the United

States; a post which he filled with honor to himself, and with usefulness to his constituents and to the country. It was through these qualities that he amassed a large fortune; which was not hoarded for selfish purposes, but used in various ways for the good of others. Mr. Appleton was always a liberal giver, both in private charities and to public institutions and interests; but always, of course, making his own selections, according to his own judgment, and, where that judgment was adverse, expressing it with a refusal so prompt and decisive, that his character may have been misunderstood and misinterpreted sometimes by those not intimately acquainted with him. But he was faithful to his trusts, and gave largely from large means.

Mr. President, the two deaths which we notice this evening awaken different emotions. President Felton was in the very vigor of his manhood, in the full maturity of his intellectual and moral powers, with his natural strength unabated, with a growing fame, and an increasing usefulness in an official position for which he had a rare combination of qualities. His death is the extinction of many and grand hopes, and it costs us an effort to bow to the inscrutable decrees of Providence. Mr. Appleton had passed beyond the allotted term of human life, and was sinking into the vale of years. He had accomplished the purposes of this earthly pilgrimage; and we acquiesce easily in the wisdom and the mercy that released him. His life, so full of energy, activity, usefulness, benevolence, impregnated and pervaded throughout by the spirit of a humble faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, closed in sincerity and peace, leaving behind it that memory of the just which is blessed, while the immortal spirit passed on to a holier rest and better happiness than can be found on earth.

I see around me, sir, several gentlemen more nearly his contemporaries, and more competent to speak of Mr. Appleton, than I am. I hope they will do so. At your request, and

because of late years, through some associations, I have been thrown into somewhat intimate relations with him, I have assumed the privilege of paying this tribute to his memory.

Colonel ASPINWALL spoke substantially as follows:—

In rising to comply with a rather sudden call to support the resolutions now before the meeting, I am reminded, that, within the year, the honored name of Appleton has, in two instances, been struck from the list of our living associates.

When our lamented colleague, the Hon. Nathan Appleton, was taken from us, I was prevented, by imperative circumstances, from uniting in any public manifestation of sorrow for the great loss sustained by the whole community, and particularly by our own Society, in the death of an individual so eminent for his public and private virtues, as a merchant and a legislator, as a promoter of our national industry and commerce, and as a political economist.

Now, another of the name, the Hon. William Appleton, has also terminated his earthly career; and perhaps it is not entirely out of place that a surviving colleague, whose years have already passed the ordinary limits of life, should say a few words in honor of one whose distinguished peculiarity it was always to feel, that, "in the midst of life, we are in death." This predominating feeling, arising from a feeble and precarious condition of health, gave a character to his whole conduct. It kept him in constant preparation for the hour of death and the day of judgment. It taught him the insignificance of the concerns of this brief existence, in comparison with those of eternity. It made him pre-eminently a man of truth, integrity, justice, and benevolence.

It has been said that he was passionately devoted to the accumulation of wealth. The fact might have been plausibly questioned or denied; but he was himself the first to avow it. The extent and multiplicity of his charities and benefac-

tions show very plainly, that, whatever may have been the intensity of his love of wealth, it was always kept in subjection to his regard for the interests of his fellow-creatures, and his reverence for the will of his heavenly Father.

In this assembly, where the character and merits of Mr. Appleton in his domestic and public relations are well known, as they are throughout the whole community, it is not my purpose to say any thing of his excellences as a citizen, a merchant, or a legislator. All these have been already admirably portrayed by the reverend member who preceded me here, and in the eulogies delivered elsewhere by two of our ablest and most eloquent associates.

But having, for many years, occupied an official station in London, which brought me into constant familiarity with our commercial interests and the individuals connected with them, I would mention, that Mr. Appleton's character was well known in Europe, and as highly estimated there as it is here. In many a commercial crisis that occurred during the term of my residence abroad, I know that his opinion was sought for and confidently relied on by many friends of our country, not only in regard to matters of commerce and finance, but also upon political subjects of grave importance.

Soon after my return to this country, I had the opportunity of witnessing, at Washington, the marked respect and regard paid him, even by his political adversaries; and of learning, also, that he was considered as almost the guide and teacher of the Committee of Ways and Means, to which he belonged.

In later years, it has been my good fortune to cultivate and enjoy his acquaintance, and to become more conversant with his good deeds and high principles. I have ever found him a friend, a good man, and one who did not fear to die.

The resolution was then unanimously adopted.

The President said he would take this opportunity to present to the Society two letters which he had found among the papers of Governor Bowdoin, and which contained interesting discussions of some of the questions which most occupied the public attention just before the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. The first of them was dated at Annapolis during one of the sessions of the old Confederation Congress. The initials by which it was signed were undoubtedly those of Samuel Osgood, a member of that Congress, and afterwards appointed Postmaster-General of the United States by Washington. The other letter was from John Bacon, at one time a minister of the Old South Church in Boston, and afterwards a member both of the State and National Legislatures. Both of these letters touched upon topics which were of interest at the present day; but their principal value was in unveiling something of the history of the ante-constitutional period.

The letters were referred to the Publishing Committee.

Hon. Samuel Osgood to Hon. S. Higginson.

ANNAPOLIS, Feb. 2, 1784.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of 11th January I had the pleasure of receiving this day. I am happy to find that you was not fatigued with the long detail I gave you of the doings of Congress.

I have no copy thereof, and cannot say precisely how my opinion stands therein. But I did not suppose that room was left for the following observation of yours: "Perhaps you think that influence not a baneful one: if so, you will not wish to destroy it." If I have been inexplicit heretofore, I will be explicit in this; and, if my opinion does not exactly coincide with yours, it will not arise from any sinister views in me. I wish for nothing but health and competence: the first the public cannot give; and the second I had rather obtain in any other honest way than from the public. You say you have not

the same apprehensions from the decisions of Congress that I express ; that they appear to you to be founded in good policy. The reason you give is, that the alternate removal of Congress must make it difficult to establish the same kind of system ; the places pitched upon being such, numbers will be wanting, though all should be devoted : and that it is also probable that it will operate an important resignation. I shall venture an opinion partly in opposition to this ; which is, that the changing of the members of Congress will, generally speaking, tend more to destroy an undue influence than an alternate removal : and, let Congress have sat where they might this year, it would have been a very different body from the last. This I find in fact ; and you may turn your eye upon the list of last year, and you will find the principal intriguers, who, from long experience, had acquired and established a systematical adroitness at manœuvring, are by the Confederation ineligible this year, as the States have construed it, by omitting to choose them. Let those men have been placed in a situation excluded from all the world besides themselves, they would have carried with them the same views of government, and the same spirit of intrigue ; and what would prevent their exercising it, but a respectable majority of honest and independent men ? I would not have it understood by this, that I am indifferent as to the place where Congress shall sit ; for I am fully in opinion, that either Boston, New York, Philadelphia, or any other populous city, would be an improper place for Congress to sit in, because, in all such places, there are plentiful materials for setting in motion a thousand hidden and secret springs, which, carefully arranged and combined, will produce astonishing effects. I only mean to suggest the difference between men already formed, and men to be formed for certain purposes. Here I agree with you, that cities are not calculated to form the best political dispositions ; but this is not much to the purpose now. Congress having first fixed upon a single place, that was not a populous one, for the constant residence of Congress, the question then is, whether it was political and wise to fix upon another place in similar situation, and agree to an alternate residence. There are, in my mind, but two reasons of consequence that can be urged in favor of it. The one is, the accommodating the several parts of the United States, principally in point of travelling : the other is founded in the probable tendency it may have to render less energetic an undue influence. Multiply the places of the residence of Congress, and the obstacles to intrigue are proportionably multiplied.

That this will be found true in practice, is a mere matter of opinion ; but that it would proportionably multiply the difficulties and delays in transacting the business of the United States, is hardly matter of opinion. I agree that the first reason has weight : but it is balanced by an invincible objection ; which is, that the delegates from the eastward cannot live so far southward as Georgetown. The summers there will either destroy or debilitate our best constitutions. Place health in one scale, and travelling in the other, and how light will the latter appear in comparison with the former ! I confess I do not find these reasons, simple and unconnected, of sufficient weight in my mind to determine positively that the second resolution was founded in wisdom : and I therefore, if I mistake not, gave to you another reason in vindication of my voting for it ; which was, to prevent our being carried to Philadelphia. Had it not been for this resolution, we should have unavoidably centred there. In this point of view, was it wise or unwise ? My vote discovers my opinion, but not my reason for it.

I am not sure it will bring about the resignation you refer to ; and, if it does not, we are in more danger of being sported with where we can have little or no knowledge of *his* transactions, as is the case with us now, than if we were to direct his constant attendance in the place where Congress shall sit. To this, objections are made ; such as, the greater his distance, the less will be his influence. But that office must certainly be where Congress may be. With respect to this office, I apprehend you doubt whether our sentiments are the same. I will tell you very freely, that I am clearly in opinion, that, in mere money transactions, he has saved the United States a very large sum. I am of this sentiment, because a comparison of expenditures shows, that, since he has been in office, the expenditures have not amounted, annually, to half so much as they did before. I am also of opinion, that much more regularity has been introduced in keeping the accounts than ever existed before. This is a matter, in my mind, of very great importance ; and, without the strictest attention to it, the several States ought not to trust Congress with a single farthing of their money. I lay it down as a good general maxim, that, when a person is to be attacked, it is wise not to endeavor to depreciate his real merit ; because this puts into his hands an advantage. If he can clearly exculpate himself in part, it renders that which is really true liable to suspicion, and consequently less efficacious. If you suppose that person has rendered

the public no valuable services, I acknowledge there is a very considerable difference in our sentiments. If you suppose that he may have rendered valuable services, but that his notions of government, of finance, and of commerce, are incompatible with liberty, we shall not differ. I think, therefore, the fort to be raised against him ought to stand on this ground, if, in urging his dismissal, or rather a new arrangement of the office, it shall become necessary to be personal. But I hope it will be generally agreed, that, if it was necessary to create an omnipotent financier in 1781, that necessity does not exist now. I am clearly against the office in its present form; and I am not sure any form will do.

Your sentiments with respect to the Southern States are very candid and charitable. Charity is an amiable virtue; and, in this case, it covers a multitude of sins. How far their apprehensions of being fixed permanently at Trenton may operate, I know not: but this I am sure of, that they do not mean to have two federal towns; and I venture to predict that there never will be two. They will endeavor to have the resolutions of Congress so altered as to have one permanent place of residence in some part of Maryland or Virginia: and, if they cannot effect this, they can another point; which will be, to fix Congress again in Philadelphia. Here, probably, will be the issue of federal towns. I cannot find the shadow of a reason to alter my former opinion with respect to their aristocratical principles; and, if they vary from these, it will be monarchical ones. It is impossible, in the nature of things, that their governments should be democratic. It is also impossible that there should be a coincidence of political views in some matters of very great importance to the Eastern States; for those who have appeared to be honest Republicans—of which number I have had the misfortune to find not more than two or three—have uniformly depreciated our exertions, and denied to us that justice which is clearly due. Time only can discover which had the most reason for his opinion. I sincerely wish the event may be as happy and favorable as you expect it will. The present members of Congress wear a different aspect from those of the last year; but we have not had a fair opportunity to discover their political views.

You ask what we have done to forward our commercial arrangements. I answer, We have done nothing to forward them, nor scarcely any thing else. Since we have been at Annapolis, we have had nine States, but about six or seven days. At present, we have

no prospect of a sufficient representation to transact the business which is necessary to be done previous to the adjournment of Congress. There are but a few matters that keep Congress together, and these require the assent of nine States. It is cruel to the last degree in those States, which, neglecting to keep up their representation, oblige us to waste our time, and spend the money of our constituents, without being able to render them services equivalent. But the fault lies not with us.

I am persuaded that our commerce is of the highest importance to us as a nation ; that the closest attention must be paid to our commercial arrangements ; and until they are placed upon the fair and liberal footing of mutual reciprocity, and until they are extended to all nations that will afford us an advantageous market for our exports, or that will furnish us, upon the best terms, with articles for our own consumption, our commerce will be too limited and unproductive. It is not extraordinary that there should be a desire, and even attempts, to limit our commercial connections ; but it will be strange if we are so blind and inattentive to our own interest as to suffer ourselves to be caught in the snare. I do not recollect any branches of trade that are of so much importance to our State as the whale and cod fishery and the carrying-trade. These several branches, at present, do not stand upon a sure foundation. It is true, we have a right to take fish by the treaty ; but that does not point out what we are to do with them. The benefit that might result from this part of the treaty depends very much upon the liberal sentiments that Great Britain shall adopt when she enters into a commercial treaty with us. You do not want to be informed, that many of our own countrymen do not only not wish, but will use their endeavors, that no such connection shall ever be formed.

Upon these three branches of trade, I conceive, the future wealth and prosperity of our State entirely depend, and also the marine power of the United States : the last I am not anxious about in any other view than as the result of the former. Bounties and duties may be so applied as to destroy, in a great measure, our fisheries. These and the carrying-trade depend upon treaties yet to be made ; and would it not be astonishing, if we should, for a great while to come, lose the advantages that might result therefrom, for the want of nine States in Congress ? On these points, Southern and Eastern republicans will think very differently.

You observe, that if the impost should be given to Congress, yet

the collateral funds will not be given ; that the warmest advocates for the impost voted for it, because they knew that their arguments were not true in fact. They knew that they then voted away other people's money ; but, when the question shall be to vote away their own money, they will disagree to it : that, consequently, Congress will not have adequate funds.

You farther observe, that a great part of the opposition to the impost arises from a want of confidence in the person who is at the head of the treasury, — from a belief that his plans are artfully laid to subvert the liberties of the people ; that the opposition to other funds necessary to defray the interest of the public debt is owing to the want of honesty, and that nothing but the imminent danger of a much greater evil than that of parting with their money will induce the people to be honest ; that not a single government in the Union has sufficient energy to enforce the collection of their taxes ; that this is an evil which will, in the end, produce its own remedy ; that the States are only manœuvring to rid themselves of the burthen of paying taxes ; that no system can be devised which would be satisfactory to all ; that the true system is contained in the Confederation, or rather the principles of a proper system ; that you are persuaded, that were the impost to be collected, and committed to the present administration, it would be perverted to the most dangerous purposes, and that this kind of revenue renders a fair examination into mal-practices impracticable ; and that Congress should persevere till they have ascertained an indisputable rule for apportioning the quotas, and then assign them to the several States, with clear and just estimates ; and, if then the taxes are not collected, the fault will not lay with Congress, but the States who may be delinquent.

If you carry your objections against an impost so far as to oppose it in every shape, I cannot agree in sentiment with you ; but I will freely acknowledge, that, the more I reflect upon the plan proposed by Congress, the more I dislike it. I apprehend the difficulties in collecting of it would be insurmountable. The expense will be unreasonably great. A fair examination of the proceeds will be beyond the reach of the public. It is uncertain what system Congress will adopt with respect to the treasury department ; but it is, in its nature, a department that ought to have the most vigilant eye exercised over it. It is, at best, a very dangerous affair to the liberties of the people. But I cannot think there can be a well-founded objection against a State impost, collected by officers appointed by, and accountable

only to, the State, and the proceeds to be placed to the credit of the State. I am persuaded that an impost will not be safe in any other hands. In that way, it would be as safe to trust Congress with money so collected as with that which should be collected in any other way.

You do not seem to be against a Continental chest, but against the person who is at the head of it, and the system under which he acts : but is it not better to go a step farther, and annihilate the Continental treasury ; at least, so far as respects American debts that are ascertained and which must be funded ? Will it not simplify the business very much to have the public debt divided among the several States, after the rule of apportioning it shall be agreed upon ? This would afford every State an opportunity to take its own way and time to discharge its proportion thereof. It would secure us from another danger which we shall otherwise be perpetually exposed to ; for, in the hands of the Continent, the debt will never be discharged. It is part of a system to have a perpetual public debt ; and I conceive a standing debt, well funded, to be more dangerous than a standing army. The first will be the parent of the latter. In this case, by dividing, we live ; by uniting, we run a very great risk of losing all that we ought to hold dear. You complain of the present arrangement and management of the treasury. It is possible that it may be better formed and directed ; but there is a very great probability that it will not. The eyes of the proposed Cincinnati are fixed, and pointedly fixed, on this department. Funds are now the object ; and, when Continental funds shall be obtained, that department will draw the attention of all the Cincinnati, of all the aristocracy, of all the unprincipled and subtle intriguers of America ; and their power will be an overmatch for the honest and independent. The children of this world are wiser than the children of light. The honest man is only on the defensive ; and he may flatter himself of security, and indulge repose : but dishonest subtlety is always on the offensive, always alert ; and a failure only gives birth to another attempt. The language already seems to be this : “ In great attempts, it’s glorious even to fail.” I do not express these sentiments, as being only afraid that the event may justify them. I believe, if funds are obtained, the issue of them will be fatal to the liberties of this country, and that it would be unnatural to expect a more favorable issue.

I am sensible, objections of weight are made against the immediate division of the public debt ; such as, that the States which have

little unlocated territory will not increase in wealth, but that the States which have a great quantity thereof will every year grow more important: therefore delaying the division will give the one a less, and the other a greater, proportion of the debt. This is a saving consideration, but it is not a safe one; and in a case where their future safety, if not existence, is concerned, it ought to have no weight.

I think we must have a public chest to discharge the foreign debt, which ought to be annihilated as soon as possible. After this, very little money will be wanted by Congress. Their annual expenses will be reduced very low. The sum will be so trifling, that no great danger can arise from a misapplication.

I think it was a great oversight in the Confederation, that of establishing a Continental treasury; and I expect our liberties will receive the first, and probably the last, wound through this dangerous machine. But, as you observe, there is no probability that it will receive much from the States very soon; there being no probability that the recommendations of Congress will be complied with seasonably (I seriously believe they never will) to discharge the annual interest. Congress have appointed a grand committee to bring in an estimate of the interest due for one year, and propose making a requisition upon the States for the amount. Congress must do this from year to year, because they will have no other mode to discharge it: therefore the business will go on in the way you wish it should. It is true, the rule of appointment is not ascertained: probably the one adopted last spring will be adhered to by Congress.

The head officer of the treasury has informed Congress this week, by letter, that he shall leave his office in May next. This will remove some of your difficulties; but, I must own, it will not remove all mine. The treasury, the Cincinnati, and other public creditors, with all their concomitants, are somehow or other, in my mind, inseparably connected. We have now three or four of the Cincinnati, members of Congress on the floor. They are not honorary, but real, members of that institution. A short time will undoubtedly enlarge the number in Congress. I have heard some of the officers say, "Fulfil your promises, pay us honestly, and the Cincinnati will be a harmless body." This seems to me to have a plain meaning. If the intention of this institution is to connect throughout the continent a large and important body of men to watch over the doings of Congress or of the State legislatures, if there is a real necessity for this, let the last be dissolved, and let the first take the helm. I cannot

admit the idea, that the army will not be honorably paid. I hope it will be a free act of the people; but, if a society is established to extort it from them, it is, at least, casting a very gloomy shade over the virtue of the people. I cannot omit here comparing your sentiments with those of the Cincinnati. There seems to be a perfect coincidence, — they appear to be doubtful of public faith. You say, “The people will not pay their taxes. They must see and feel that this, which they consider as a great evil, must be submitted to; in order to avert another which they esteem a much greater.” I do not wish to suggest that the Cincinnati will become this “greater evil:” but the thing is not impossible; and, upon your principles, the measure seems to be justifiable. It is certainly right to provide a remedy against a certain evil.

Permit me to introduce a new subject for your consideration. I am apprehensive that the plan for settling the accounts of the several States with the Continent will not answer the purpose. I will, therefore, suggest the following: that the debts actually contracted since the commencement of the late war, and now due from the several States in their separate capacity, shall be made a Continental charge. I will not undertake to prove that the proposition is equitable; but if no other mode can be adopted, if the plan which is now carrying into execution is attended with insurmountable difficulties, we must submit to it as the least of evils.

Commissioners are appointed for the several States, finally to settle and adjust their accounts with the Continent. They are to govern themselves by the resolutions of Congress; which, from the nature of the business, can never be otherwise than inexplicit. The States have all of them undoubtedly expended large sums of money, which they did with a view of promoting the common cause, without any special resolution of Congress to cover the same. Yet, relying on the justice of that body, they confidently expect to be credited therefor; and, if they should be disappointed in a matter so tender (which will certainly be the case in many instances), it will deeply wound the authority of Congress. The orders to the commissioners must be general or particular: if general and discretionary, a State may be subjected to the will and pleasure of a commissioner, — which will never be the case; and if particular, proper vouchers, with explicit resolutions of Congress, must be the evidence of the validity of all charges.

That all the States have kept their accounts very irregularly, and that, in numberless instances, vouchers necessary to support charges will be wanting, is not to be doubted. If a remedy is not given in such cases, injustice will be done : if it is afforded, every particular case must be brought before Congress or the commissioner, or a discretionary power lodged somewhere must be the mode. I apprehend the first to be impracticable ; and the other, at least, very objectionable.

It is a very doubtful matter whether the commissioners will be able in many years to close the accounts. There is no great reason why they should be in a hurry about it. If every account is to be fairly transcribed, the work in detail must be immensely voluminous. The mere expense of having the accounts adjusted may be almost as great an evil as to let them remain unliquidated.

With respect to the proposition, it must be supposed that the legislatures of the several States have exercised a proper degree of caution in contracting debts. No good reason can be given why they should involve themselves unnecessarily. Will it not naturally excite much animosity and ill-will for Congress to call in question their wisdom and prudence, more especially for what they did after the commencement of the war until the Confederation was ratified? The contest during that period depended, in a great measure, upon their patriotism and exertions. That they may have erred in judgment, that they may have conducted without regularity and system, is not extraordinary. It is fortunate that all matters have terminated successfully ; and due credit is to be given them for it. Will not the policy be extremely narrow and contracted if Congress should erect themselves into a tribunal to sit in judgment upon the several legislatures, who, if they submit, will not do it in the most cordial manner?

It is not difficult to form an estimate of the difference of the two ways, with respect to harmony and satisfaction ; but, as it may respect the interest of the States, it must be mere matter of opinion. It may be observed, that, during the period of time referred to, the expenditures of the several States must have been principally for public purposes, save those for the support of civil government ; which is not a matter of much consequence. The civil list of the several States, from what I can collect, is not very different as to the whole amount. If it is agreed that the remaining part of the States' debts was contracted for supporting the general cause, the inquiry will be,

whether they have assessed, and collected from their citizens, sums of money in proportion to their abilities as States ; and, if not, how this inequality will operate. Suppose two States of equal abilities ; the one had collected an hundred pounds from its citizens, the other had contracted a debt to the same amount : it is plain that the proposition would make a difference of an hundred pounds ; but it is impossible that the reality should operate so great an inequality, because there is no State but what has collected considerable sums of money from its citizens. There is one State in the Union which is said to be in debt twelve millions of dollars, specie ; and that a great part of this debt arose from the issuing of what were called specie certificates ; which, in the first instance, were passed at about eighty per cent discount, compared with specie. The delegates of the State give the first as a fact ; but they do not agree to the last.

The United States can never again be in circumstances similar to those previous to the ratification of the Confederation. They now hope to be a happy, peaceable, and respectable nation to the latest ages. That this may really be the case, much liberality of sentiment must be exercised among those that are truly republican.

Let us contrast the possible inequality that might take place from giving full credit to the wisdom and prudence of the several sovereign legislatures for five or six years only, with the unavoidable discord that must ensue if it is not done ; and let a deliberate opinion be formed thereupon : and will it not be in favor of submitting to that possible inequality, which, in all probability, can never again exist under the regular systems of government that are now established ? If the United States should ever be engaged in a war again, their past experience will probably teach them to adopt, in many instances, very different systems.

But in the present situation of affairs, considering that there are six States in the Union whose private debts are a trifle compared with some others ; considering that nine States will be necessary to pass to the credit of any State a charge not expressly authorized by the resolutions of Congress ; that the towns damaged and destroyed, negroes carried off, tobacco plundered and burnt, the places laid waste and in possession of the enemy, — these and numberless other charges will be made, in case we go on to liquidate upon the present plan. Considering these things, does it seem probable that those six States will ever consent to any thing more than what is expressly authorized already by the resolutions of Congress ?

In case the proposition should be agreed to, what is to be done with the securities? Are funds to be given to Congress to discharge them? This would be neither necessary nor admissible. The amount of the States' debts, with that of the United States, might be divided among the respective States. When the quotas shall be ascertained, the amount of the State debt deducted (if less) from the quota will leave the balance which ought to be paid into the Continental chest.

I am strongly induced to believe that this plan would tend to prevent much discord and animosity. It is not probable that it would operate equal justice; neither do I suppose the present will. What a field will be opened, if the ravages occasioned by the enemy are to be liquidated! Yet this is set on foot by the superintendent of finance, probably to balance the claims of some States; and will it not have this effect?

The proposition, if agreed to, would very speedily ease the United States of nearly forty thousand dollars per annum, which they now pay to commissioners and their clerks for settling the accounts of the several States with the Continent; and which they must continue to pay many years to come, upon the present mode of doing the business.

Several things would be necessary to be done, upon the new plan: such as the adjusting of the requisitions of Congress, so far as they have actually been discharged by the States; the calling-in of the old paper-money; and the making of a proper allowance to the States which have had men in the field over and above their proportion, compared with other States.

This is a matter of exceeding great importance. I do not pretend to give the above sentiments as my decided opinion. Whether the accounts will ever be brought to a close in this or any other way, is a matter, in my mind, very uncertain.

You will pardon me for being so very prolix, as it is the last letter I ever expect to write you in an official capacity, or rather as a member of Congress writing to his friend.

I am very sincerely yours,

S. O.

N.B. — My information respecting the purport of the financier's letter was wrong. I did not hear it read; but, upon particular inquiry, find he only suggests an intention of leaving his office. The time when is not mentioned.

The Hon. S. HIGGINSON, Esq.

Hon. John Bacon to Hon. Samuel Phillips.

STOCKBRIDGE, Sept. 22, 1785.

MY DEAR SIR,—The great revolution of sentiment in the General Court, relative to the alteration of the eighth article of Confederation, would lead me to suppose some new light had been thrown on that subject since I had the honor of a seat in the House of Representatives. But, after conversing with some of the principal members who were in favor of the act for altering that article, I do not find that they have any new arguments to offer in favor of it. For my own part, I cannot but consider this act as bearing an unfavorable aspect on the interest of the New-England States in general, more especially of this Commonwealth. From a personal acquaintance with several of the Southern and Eastern States, I have long since been convinced, and have often made the observation,—even before the *United States*, as such, had an existence,—that it is much easier acquiring property in the Southern than it is in the Eastern States. I am fully convinced, that, with the same degree of industry and economy that is practised by our New-England farmers in general in order to obtain a bare comfortable support, a man, in almost any of the Southern States, would, in the course of a few years, acquire a considerable fortune. In this opinion, which I originally formed from personal observation, I have since been more fully confirmed by almost every consideration that has been urged as well *for* as *against* the alteration aforesaid. I have, indeed, often wondered that gentlemen have not been convinced of the unequal burden that must fall on the New-England States from the operation of the article in question, even by their own arguments in favor of it.

It has been frequently urged, *that the white people in the Southern States perform very little labor; that a negro there will not perform more than one-half or two-thirds as much as a white man will with us; that, therefore, they ought not to pay towards the public expense in equal proportion with us, according to their number of inhabitants.* But will it not be conceded on all hands, that their exports of produce from their lands are, in proportion to their number of inhabitants (even with this small proportion of labor), much greater than ours? And to what can this be attributed but to the greater fertility of their soil, together with its easy cultivation? It will, perhaps, be said, *They do not consume so great a quantity of provisions and clothing, in proportion to their number of inhabitants, as we do in New England.* Admitting

this to be the case, it may well be inquired, To what can this difference be ascribed but to the greater mildness of their climate? and does not this add to the greater relative value of their estates? Will it be urged that *the negroes in the Southern States are kept extremely low?* and will this more than counterbalance all that ease, affluence, and luxury in which gentlemen there universally live? The negroes in the Southern States are, undoubtedly, kept as well as their masters judge either their interest requires or humanity dictates. If the apportionment of the public expense was out of the question, I conceive those gentlemen would highly resent any intimation of the contrary.

In the course of debates, both public and private, on this important question, I have observed an unaccountable disposition in some gentlemen to augment the advantages we enjoy, and to extenuate those enjoyed by the citizens of the Southern States. It is well for us to entertain a good opinion of our own country; but it is neither proper nor expedient, as I conceive, to proclaim this good opinion to the disadvantage and ruin of our country.

It is frequently urged, *that we enjoy a vast advantage from the fishery, which ought to be taken into consideration in the apportionment of the public expense.*

But is not the fishery as free to the Southern States as it is to us? and, if this branch of business is so much more lucrative than that in which they are engaged, what can be the reason that they do not improve it? Their distance is not so great as to be an insuperable obstacle in their way. The truth is, such is their soil, that they find it more to their advantage to cultivate their lands. Such is our climate and the sterility of our soil, that we are driven to the prosecution of many branches of business which it is their interest entirely to neglect. It is worthy of consideration, whether (in case we should, in future, meet with no greater embarrassments in our fishery than we have done heretofore) our number of inhabitants will not be augmented beyond theirs (other circumstances being equal), in some degree of proportion, at least, to that in which the fishery is prosecuted by us beyond what it is by them; and, should this be the case, our proportion of the public expense, on the principles of the alteration, will be increased in a proportion far greater than that of our number of inhabitants. And is it to be expected that our wealth arising from the fishery will be increased in a like proportion? When the fishery is in a flourishing situation, it employs a great

number of men. These men are generally poor: they have wives, and as many children, perhaps, as any set of men whatever, in proportion to their number. And for three of these poor persons we are to pay as much as the Southern States pay for five of their slaves. The slaves in the Southern States are, to the citizens there, substantial wealth; and, by sending them to the West Indies, they can if they please, at any time, convert them into solid money. This they are not disposed to do, but, on the contrary, to increase their number; and the reason is, they esteem them more profitable than money, white servants, or tenants. And surely, from our acquaintance with them, we have no reason to scruple their sagacity in matters of a pecuniary nature.

The impracticability of obtaining a Continental valuation on the principles of the eighth article is frequently urged as a reason for the alteration. I really never could conceive so great difficulty in obtaining the relative value of the lands in the several States as there is in obtaining the relative value of the property of the several towns in this Commonwealth. I believe, that by having recourse to the land-offices which are kept in the Southern States, with other ordinary methods, we should stand quite as good a chance to obtain an accurate return of the *quantity* of lands that have been granted to, or surveyed for, any person, as we do to obtain an accurate return of the number of their inhabitants. The general quality of their lands may be determined, to a tolerable degree of exactness, from the number of persons subsisting on them, the particular kinds of produce, and from ascertaining, as near as may be, the quantity of each kind exported.

I can scarcely meet with a gentleman, even among those who are the most sanguine for the alteration, who argues from any other principles than what he has heard from one and another gentleman who belongs to some one of the Southern States; or, at most, from some other gentleman who has occasionally travelled through that country: and, from such information, they conclude *the lands there must be extremely barren and poor*. This information, which is obtained from Southern gentlemen, is like that which our General Court obtain of the quality of the land in a particular town, from its representative, at the time of taking a valuation: but with this difference, that, in the former case, the temptation to give a low idea of the quality of the lands is much greater than in the latter; and the prospect of any misrepresentation being detected (until it has

had its designed effect) proportionably less, as one place is at a greater distance and more out of view than the other. *But Southern gentlemen*, it is said, *all agree in giving the same representation of the circumstances of their country.* And do not our representatives all agree in giving nearly the same representation of their respective towns? I mean not to insinuate that there is, in either case, any extraordinary degree of dishonesty. It is no more than what is incident to human nature. Every one feels most sensibly his own burden; and it is considered as a necessary piece of self-defence.

I believe you have heard me observe, that gentlemen, from riding through the Southern States, obtain but a very inadequate idea of the wealth of that country. People there, especially those who are wealthy, very rarely settle on the public roads. Hence it is, that the wealth of that country is not exposed to the view of a traveller, as it is with us. And, for this different mode of settling, there is a natural reason. That country is level, and intersected in all parts by rivers and creeks, most of which are navigable. The public roads are laid on the light, dry lands, so as to head those waters. The wealthy inhabitants live on plantations which lie off from the public roads,—on those rich necks of land with which that country abounds. In the whole circle of my acquaintance, south of the State of Delaware, I can scarcely recollect a single instance of a gentleman, living on any public road, who is considered there as being possessed of a large estate. It is agreeable to the *taste* of Southern gentlemen to live off from the public roads. This taste is formed from necessity, or at least from a high degree of convenience. If the lands in the Southern States are indeed barren and poor, whence is it that Southern gentlemen are enabled to live and appear in so great affluence, splendor, and parade as most of them do? Whence are those large quantities of tobacco, Indian corn, rice, indigo, flour, &c., &c., which are annually exported from those States? From the nature of the produce, had we never heard any thing of the country, we might certainly infer the luxuriance of the soil.

It is urged by the advocates for the alteration, *that there are a vast number of people in the Southern States that are extremely poor.* This representation, I am fully convinced, is greatly exaggerated. That, in the Southern States, there is a much greater degree of inequality, and that the difference between those who are there called poor and those who are called rich is much greater than it is with us, I will readily admit; but it must be remembered that a man, who, in New

England, is considered as being in tolerably good circumstances, would, in any of the Southern States, be ranked with the poor.

I think it is rational to suppose, what I believe experience has always taught, that it is easiest raising soldiers in those places where they most abound with people that are extremely poor. If this is found to be a fact, how can it be accounted for, that, during the late war, the Southern States furnished so small a proportion of private soldiers for the Continental Army, while they had, at the same time, their full quotas of officers? And I query whether their officers did not appear to be, in general, men of fortune. If they have such vast numbers of people that are extremely poor, and but a small number that are rich, it would, I conceive, be natural to expect there would be but little difficulty in raising privates, and that the greatest difficulty would be to obtain men of figure for officers. It is not to be imagined, that, in the Southern States, there are a greater proportion of men of the first fortunes there, who are disposed to exchange ease and affluence for the dangers and hardships of a camp, than there are with us.

I was not long since conversing with one of our honorable delegates on this subject, who was then, and I suppose still continues to be, strongly in favor of the alteration. I queried with him, if the lands in the Southern States were so poor, as he alleged, compared with ours, what could be the reason that no persons ever remove from thence to engage in the cultivation of lands in New England? His answer was, "We populate so fast in this cold northern climate, that we are ready to eat up one another, and leave no room for them." This, which I take to be, in some measure, a rational and just, I also take to be a full, answer to almost every thing I have ever heard in favor of the alteration. I have no doubt, but, compared with the Southern States, we in this State particularly shall always increase and abound in the number of our inhabitants much more than in wealth. If we compare the several towns in this Commonwealth, or attend to the various kingdoms of the world in all ages of it, and reason from analogy, I believe we shall find the same consequence to follow which I draw from the foregoing principles and facts. I think it has not been found that the most opulent families, towns, states, or kingdoms, have generally been the most prolific.

But it is the negroes in the Southern States that are chiefly complained of as the principal cause of their poverty, and that which renders them unable to pay towards the public expense in an equal

proportion to the number of their inhabitants. Although I have already been tedious, I will take the liberty to propose a case, which may serve, in some measure, to obviate this objection. I will suppose a town in this Commonwealth to contain two hundred families. These families, one with another, consist of six persons each; which, in the whole, amount to twelve hundred. On this town, there is laid an annual tax of five hundred pounds. Is not this as great a tax as our towns in general, consisting of the number here proposed, can bear, without being very sensibly felt by far the greater part of the inhabitants?

I will now suppose twenty plantations in one of the Southern States, containing each ten white persons and fifty negroes; which also amount to twelve hundred. On these twenty plantations, there is also laid a tax of five hundred pounds; which will give the sum of twenty-five pounds for each plantation to pay containing ten white persons and fifty negroes. Can it be supposed that a tax thus laid would bear harder on the plantations than it would on the town? I think not; but it is to be observed, that the case, as here stated, goes upon the supposition, that those States which have slaves, and those which have none, are to pay in an equal proportion to the number of their inhabitants. Let the supposed tax be adjusted agreeably to the alteration in question, and it will make a material difference in favor of the plantations. In this case, I think, the twenty plantations will pay the sum of £332. 7s. 6d. nearly, where the town will pay the sum of £500. On these principles, each plantation will pay a sum not exceeding £16. 12s. 6d. The hire of two negroes only, clear of all expense of victualling, clothing, and taxes, will more than pay this sum. Although I verily believe, that, was the public expense to be borne by the several States in equal proportions to the number of their inhabitants respectively, the Southern States would, in this case, have the advantage, yet, as this would be a more simple mode of apportionment, we might, perhaps, without suffering any very sensible injury, consent to such an alteration. This, I conceive, is the utmost length we can go, without making a sacrifice of ourselves.

I am told that some of the Southern States have not yet agreed to the recommendation of Congress for the alteration. I strongly suspect that it is a concerted plan among those States, that some of them should stand out till all the Eastern States have come into it; and that, whenever this is done, they will immediately close with the recommendation.

In making so important an alteration, we ought, I conceive, at least, to act understandingly and with deliberation, and not to take a leap in the dark. We ought to be as well assured as the nature of the case will admit of that we are not acting against our own interest. When the alteration is once made, it will remain for ever. Some one State, at least, will undoubtedly find it for their particular advantage; and, as it cannot be again altered without the consent of all the States, that State which shall thus find it for their particular advantage will not consent to any other alteration which may be less to their advantage.

I suspect my letter has been so tedious, that, by this time, you repent of having done me the honor of inviting me to a correspondence with you. I confess, as a citizen of this Commonwealth, I feel myself interested in this subject. This is the only apology I can make for the undue length of my letter. I wish to be favored with your sentiments on this subject. Is the act for the alteration so circumstanced that it cannot be repealed? If not, gentlemen who view the matter in the light which I do will think it to be a case which admits of no delay.

You will please to present my best regards to Mrs. Phillips, Mr. French and lady; and believe me to be, with the highest esteem,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

J. BACON.

Hon. Mr. PHILLIPS.

P.S. — Notwithstanding the tedious length of the foregoing letter, I still feel an inclination to add thereto. Perhaps, after all that I have written, I have not hit on the grand reason which induced the Legislature to comply with the recommendation of Congress. I have lately been informed, that, at the time of passing the act, it was conceded in the House that the terms were unequal; and that the principal reason offered in favor of it was, *that they were the best terms the Southern gentlemen could be induced to comply with.* But will they comply with the Confederation as it now stands? If not, what security can we have that they will comply with any alteration that can be made? Or are we to be dictated solely by the Southern States, and to take just such a proportion of the public burden upon us as they may see fit, from time to time, to impose upon us? During the war, while we were threatened with immediate destruction from a foreign enemy, we made very unequal exertions, and, compared with

the Southern States, furnished much more than our proportion of men, money, and provisions, for the army. This we were then obliged to do for our own preservation; and shall we now, on the return of peace, couch down under a far more unequal burden, and, by our own act, make it a perpetual one, because it is the lightest the Southern States can be induced to assign us? If we voluntarily submit to this (be it ever so galling), I am sure we shall deserve to bear it.

I humbly conceive some effectual measures ought speedily to be taken for obtaining a Continental valuation on the principles of the eighth article. If this business was properly taken up, and urged in a cogent and spirited manner, I am very apprehensive the Southern gentlemen would be alarmed, and, rather than submit their interests to that scrutiny which the nature of the case will admit of, agree to an apportionment, according to the number of the inhabitants, on equal terms with us. If they will not do this, then let us have a valuation immediately, on the principles of the Confederation as it now stands, provided the alteration is not already confirmed beyond the power of a reconsideration. This I should, on the whole, prefer to an apportionment according to the number of inhabitants, provided our delegates were as thoroughly informed of the wealth and situation of the Southern States as theirs are of ours; but this, I conceive, they never will be from *hearsay*, nor yet from barely riding on the public roads through the country.

Permit me here to propose another case for illustration. Let us suppose the inhabitants of this State to vest so much of their property in slaves as to procure a sufficient number to perform an equal proportion of the labor here with that which is performed by the slaves in the Southern States. This being done, let the free citizens of this State retire from labor and business equally with the free citizens of those States. In what a situation should we very soon find ourselves! Should we be able to support the same appearances of affluence, splendor, and luxury, which are to be seen in the Southern States? or rather would not masters and slaves, in a very short time, be seen starving together in promiscuous heaps? And to what must those different appearances be ascribed, but to the greater fertility, and consequently to the greater relative value, of the soil in one place than in the other?

I have not mentioned the large number of negroes in this State which are a nuisance to us, and for which we are to pay two-fifths

more than the Southern States are to pay for an equal number of their slaves. Nor have I said any thing of the long and tedious winters, against the severities of which we have to provide, both for man and beast, — an inconvenience which the inhabitants of the Southern States have scarcely an idea of. There are many other considerations that I conceive to be pertinent and weighty, as they relate to the present question, which, were I but briefly to touch upon, I must write a volume, rather than a letter. Perhaps you will say I have done this already.

As a citizen of this Commonwealth, I am indeed mortified. I think, when the alteration is once confirmed, the inhabitants of the Southern States will smile, and whisper (at least among themselves) that *Issachar is — strong* —.

Yours as above,

J. B.

Mr. ROBBINS (C.) communicated the following letter from Charles Stoddard, Esq., presenting to the Society several letters bearing the autograph signature of Governor Shirley, and other ancient papers of historical interest: —

112, BEACON STREET, BOSTON, March 6, 1862.

DEAR SIR, — I send with this sundry letters by Governor Shirley to my ancestor, Colonel John Stoddard, then in command of the Western frontier, together with sundry other documents of the last century, which have come down to me from my ancestors, and which may be found of public historical interest, and, as such, of some value to the Massachusetts Historical Society.

To that Society, should they deem them of any interest, I propose, through you, to present these papers, that any facts of the past, of interest to the present or future, may be gleaned therefrom.

I am, dear sir, very respectfully yours,

CHARLES STODDARD.

To Rev. CHANDLER ROBBINS, D.D.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. Stoddard for his valuable contribution to its archives.

The President nominated Messrs. Saltonstall, Warren, and Livermore, to nominate a list of officers at the annual meeting.

He also nominated, as a Committee on the Treasurer's accounts, Messrs. Lawrence, Tudor, and Forbes.

Mr. SAVAGE communicated the following paper from Joseph Lemuel Chester, of England, author of a recently published biography of John Rogers, the martyr:—

THE ROGERS GENEALOGY AND THE CANDLER MS.

BY JOSEPH LEMUEL CHESTER.

IN my Life, &c., of John Rogers, the martyr, recently published by Messrs. Longman and Company, in London, I have discussed at length the assumed connection of the Rogers families of New England with him through his alleged son and grandson,—Richard Rogers of Wethersfield, and John Rogers of Dedham; and shown, I think, conclusively, the entire fallacy of the claims so pertinaciously urged during the last few years. My investigations have been of the most careful and thorough character; and I am satisfied that there is little if any more to be learned on the subject from responsible sources at present accessible. Tracing my own descent distinctly from John Rogers of Dedham,—the name being preserved to my maternal grandmother,—I have felt the disappointment as keenly as any of the thousands of my American countrymen, with whom, in common, I have always heretofore indulged the agreeable delusion; and they may rest assured, that I spared no pains to establish as a fact, what I was finally compelled to pronounce, under an overwhelming weight of evidence, an utterly baseless fiction.

In the progress of that work, I necessarily collected a mass of information respecting various branches and mem-

bers of the great Rogers Family; and have since been pursuing my researches especially in reference to the history of John Rogers of Dedham and his immediate connections. The man himself was worthy of a more extended biography than has ever been written of him; and was also of still greater importance, as being the direct ancestor of most of the American families of his name. In the prosecution of these special researches, I have recently fallen upon a series of remarkable blunders, hitherto received as authentic statements, of a character so serious, considering their origin and the manner in which they have been perpetuated, that I feel justified in resolving upon their public exposure at once, instead of delaying until I may finally use the materials I am now collecting in another manner.

That the strictest accuracy in all genealogical statements cannot be too strongly insisted upon, is a maxim, the importance of which I need not discuss. The variation in a single name or date will often invalidate, or involve in inextricable confusion, an entire pedigree. It is sad, then, and as unaccountable as it is sad, to find now that a series of serious discrepancies in the Rogers pedigrees, as at present recognized, owe their origin to what can only be regarded as sheer carelessness in a man whose very name was, and ought to be, a sufficient guaranty for the correctness of any statement to which it is attached.

In my life of the martyr, I refer only casually to what is known as the "Candler Manuscript," in the British Museum; its contents, so far as the Rogers pedigree is concerned, being necessary for my purpose only as they tended to confirm my position relative to the absence of any connection between the martyr, and Richard and John Rogers of Wethersfield and Dedham. A recent more careful examination of it leads me to concur in the universal opinion of the best antiquarians, that it is a document of extreme value, and that the utmost reliance is to be placed upon its statements. The

known character and habits of Candler alone render him a safe authority; and another fact is also important: viz., that his volume is not a general collection of indiscriminate pedigrees, but is confined to those families living in his immediate vicinity, and with which he was more or less intimately connected and associated. He was not only the contemporary of those whose history he thus recorded; but they were always his personal friends, and, not unfrequently, his relatives. He possessed, therefore, every facility for insuring accuracy in his details: and it is remarkable, that, in this portion of his work, he confines himself almost exclusively to his contemporaries and their descendants, — very rarely going back more than a generation or two; as, for instance, he commences the Rogers pedigree with Richard and John, of Wethersfield and Dedham, — both living in his time, although he survived both many years, — simply giving them a common ancestor in “Rogers of the North of England.” It may also be said, that, in other instances, pedigrees otherwise legally established are found to agree strictly with those in his volume. His entries are, indeed, often indistinct, and sometimes cannot be readily reconciled; but a careful study of his system — and it certainly requires a careful study — will enable one generally to arrive at satisfactory conclusions.

Regarding the Candler Manuscript, therefore, as authentic testimony, — and, I repeat, it is so regarded by the best antiquaries in England, — I may now say, that if any additional proofs or arguments were wanted, after those I have adduced in my Life of the martyr, that Richard Rogers of Wethersfield, and John Rogers of Dedham, were *not* descendants of the martyr, the question would be for ever set at rest by the pedigree therein contained: for Candler unmistakably represents them as *brothers*; and, as boy or man, he knew them both. Now, John Rogers of Dedham died in 1636, at the age of sixty-five; which would establish his birth at about the year

1571, sixteen years after the martyr's death. If, therefore, this fraternal relation existed, the theory that Richard was a son of the martyr is necessarily exploded. If, on the other hand, Candler is repudiated, I fall back upon the other facts and arguments presented in my volume; and, in addition, defy the production of a solitary tangible proof, of any sort, that John of Dedham, as is alleged, was a grandson of the martyr. It is to be hoped that we shall all acquiesce quietly in the certainty that we have hitherto been laboring under a delusion, — an agreeable one, I admit, but still a delusion, — and be content with tracing our origin to our somewhat less illustrious ancestor; whose memory, however, is still revered, and whose name is still perpetuated as “the famous preacher of Dedham.”

To return to the primary object of this communication. I must direct your attention to a paper published in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. x., third series (1849), commencing on page 147, and which was presented to that Society two years previously. It relates chiefly to the genealogy of the early Suffolk emigrants, and is founded almost entirely upon the facts furnished by the Candler Manuscript; the value of which is there attested by the distinguished author of the paper, — the late Rev. Joseph Hunter, one of the most eminent of the English antiquarians, and one whose statements are usually, and very properly, received as authoritative. Indeed, the article is professedly a synopsis of that manuscript, so far as it applies to the families to which it refers. Relying upon the well-known character and antecedents of Mr. Hunter, not only as a general antiquarian, but as having passed almost his whole life officially among old English records, both public and private, not a suspicion ever arose that the valuable details he thus furnished might possibly lack the important element of correctness; and the statements thus made were unhesitatingly adopted as the basis of certain family pedigrees now recognized as authen-

tic. As I propose to confine myself, at present, to a single pedigree, — that of the Rogers Family, — I may say, that the author of the elaborate, laborious, and valuable statements concerning that family, published in the “Historical and Genealogical Register,” commencing in the number for April, 1851 (vol. v. p. 105), depended entirely upon Mr. Hunter’s paper for several of the items in the earlier portion of that pedigree. I have no hesitation in assuming this to be the case; because Mr. Hunter was the first to publish some of them to the world, and because they are to be found nowhere else than in the Candler Manuscript, whence Mr. Hunter confessedly obtained them.

Relying, like every one else, upon the reputation of Mr. Hunter, no suspicion of their possible inaccuracy was, until very recently, entertained by myself. An experience of several years in similar researches, and the frequent detection of similar errors, had led me, however, to the conclusion, never to trust any statements of the sort at second-hand when I could have access to the original authority; and so, in pursuit of every item of information bearing upon the history of John Rogers of Dedham, I sat down to a careful examination of the Candler Manuscript itself. The results I propose now to give you, in order that the necessary corrections may be made in your pedigrees at home. While I have no excuses to make for Mr. Hunter, I shall neither utter any reproaches on account of his numerous inaccuracies. It is, perhaps, due to his memory to suggest the probability, that his eye ran over the pages of the manuscript very hastily, and that he merely gathered the items embraced in the paper referred to, *currente calamo*; while his real object was the accomplishment of some other purpose. It is clearly apparent, that, whenever a difficulty arose respecting an entry, he jumped at a conclusion, instead of studying the matter attentively, and being guided by a previously acquired knowledge of Candler’s system. For his palpable mistakes in

names, there can be no excuse whatever; for Candler's writing is quite legible, when compared with the usual chirography of his time. It is to be regretted that the errors were committed, and have been so long perpetuated; but I have great pleasure in now correcting them, and in presenting to the members of the Rogers Family the *real* statements of the Candler Manuscript, — the only reliable authority yet discovered on the genealogical points in question. Referring you to Mr. Hunter's paper itself in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, I will notice them in consecutive order. They will also be readily found in the article in the "Register," already referred to.

Error 1st, p. 163. Speaking of Rev. Ezekiel Rogers, son of Rev. Richard Rogers of Wethersfield, who removed to New England, Mr. Hunter says, "Candler has preserved his wife's name, Sarah, daughter of John Everard, citizen of London." Now, the manuscript unmistakably represents Sarah Everard as the *second wife of Daniel Rogers*, brother of Ezekiel, by whom she had four children: viz., Hannah, who married Roger Cockington; Samuel, lecturer at Cree Church, London; and Mary and Margaret, who both died without issue, — her husband having had a son, Daniel, by his first wife, Margaret Bishop.

Error 2d, p. 164. Speaking of Rev. John Rogers of Dedham, Mr. Hunter says, "Candler informs us that he was thrice married. The family of the first wife is not named; the second was Elizabeth *Gold*, widow of John Hawes; and the third, Dorothy Stanton, widow of Richard Wiseman, of Wigborough in Essex." The manuscript in the Rogers pedigree says, plainly enough, that the name of the second wife was Elizabeth *Gale*. If there was room for any doubt in the chirography in this instance (which there is not), it would be thoroughly removed by an entry on another page (fol. 164), where the marriage of "Elizabeth Hawes, only daughter of John Hawes, by his wife, Elizabeth *Gale*, second

wife of John Rogers," &c., is recorded; where it is impossible to mistake the letters, and to which entry Mr. Hunter also refers.

Error 3d, p. 164. Mr. Hunter says, "Candler speaks only of one son and one daughter (of John Rogers of Dedham). The daughter married John Hudson, Rector of Capel," &c. The entry from which Mr. Hunter quotes is found in the Hudson, and not the Rogers, pedigree (fol. 227, *b.*), and gives the name of the daughter,—Mary. Its omission by Mr. Hunter is equivalent to an error.

Error 4th, p. 164. Mr. Hunter says, "The only son of John Rogers [of Dedham] of whom Candler speaks . . . was Nathaniel Rogers, *a son of Elizabeth Gold*, the second wife." In the manuscript, the usual connecting lines are distinctly drawn to indicate that Nathaniel was the issue of the *first* wife: but, if this were not sufficient to establish the maternity, Candler carefully adds to his description of the second wife, Elizabeth *Gale*, the words, "*She had no issue;*" while he also describes Dorothy Stanton as "the third wife of John Rogers, *by whom he had no issue.*" How Mr. Hunter could have overlooked both the connecting lines and the positive declaration of Candler is utterly unaccountable. This error is highly important; as the descendants of John Rogers of Dedham can no longer claim, as their great ancestress, Elizabeth Gale, *alias* Gold, but must seek her in some other lady, yet nameless, who was his first wife.

Error 5th, p. 165. Speaking of the children of Nathaniel Rogers, the New-England pioneer, Mr. Hunter says, "Candler, writing about 1660 [the manuscript gives the exact date,—1656], mentions four sons (John, Nathaniel, Samuel, and Timothy), but gives no more than the names. It seems, also, that there was a daughter married to William Hobert, who may be the William Hubbard who took his freedom, May 2, 1638." Mr. Savage adds the following note: "Margaret, daughter of Nathaniel Rogers, married William Hubbard, the

historian, H.C. 1642." Mr. Hunter derives this information about the daughter, whose name also he omits, from an entry in the Knapp pedigree (fol. 165), which, referring to a daughter of John Knapp and Martha Blossse of Ipswich, reads literally thus: "Judith Knappe, wife to Wm. Hobert. A daughter of hers married Mr. Knight, minister of St. Matthew's Parish in Ipswich. Wm. Hobart married Mary, daught. of Natha. Rogers." But, in the Rogers pedigree, Candler gives the children of Nathaniel Rogers as John, Nathaniel, Samuel, Timothy, and "Mary, married to William *Heley*." This entry, Mr. Hunter entirely overlooks. I shall not stop to discuss the question, whether this is a discrepancy of Candler's; or of what weight is Mr. Hunter's suggestion, that the former entry refers to the historian Hubbard. The names in the manuscript are, respectively, "Hobert" and "Heley," beyond a doubt. The name of Hubbard's wife was, I believe, unquestionably, *Margaret*. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Nathaniel Rogers had two daughters, — Mary and Margaret, — and that the former married Heley. One circumstance would seem to confirm this presumption. Immediately adjoining the entry, in the manuscript concerning this daughter Mary, is another, written at right-angles with it, and which has no direct connection with any other on the page, — though I cannot assert positively that it has any with this, — containing these words, "her second husband was Harsnet Clarke." Whether the latter is a surname, or intended to denote the profession of a Mr. Harsnet, cannot be determined. If this latter entry refers to Mary Rogers, wife of Heley, there must have been, as I presume there was, another daughter, Margaret, who married Hubbard.

Error 6th, pp. 165-6. Mr. Hunter says, "The best information given by Candler is, that the wife of Nathaniel Rogers, and the ancestor of his distinguished American posterity, was Margaret Crane, a daughter of Robert Crane of Coggeshall in Essex, by Mary, his wife, daughter of Samuel

Sparhouse of Dedham ; which Robert Crane married a second wife, Margaret, daughter of Robert Maidstone of Broxted Hall in Essex, relict of Walter Clopton. This may seem to bring the wife of Nathaniel Rogers into some distant affinity with John Winthrop, the governor, whose second wife was a Clopton." This paragraph embraces not only an important error, but also an absurdity, so gross, that I cannot forbear directing attention to it. First, the error: The manuscript in the Crane pedigree (fol. 233) very plainly gives the name of the first wife of Robert Crane, the mother of Margaret Crane, wife of Nathaniel Rogers, as "Mary, daughter of Samuell *Sparhawke* of Dedham in Essex." It is impossible to mistake the chirography. We therefore, who now represent that "distinguished American posterity" of Mr. Hunter's, must be content to be transformed from *Sparhouses* into *Sparhawks*, in spite of his persistence in the former orthography, which he introduces a second time on page 166. The absurdity alluded to is briefly this: Nathaniel Rogers's wife's *stepmother* was the *widow of a Clopton*; and John Winthrop *married a Clopton*. I leave the exact degree of "distant affinity" existing between Mrs. Rogers and the governor to be determined by some more mathematical genealogist than I can claim to be.

Error 7th, p. 166. Mr. Hunter says, "*Half-sister* to Nathaniel Rogers was Elizabeth Hawes; the only issue, of whom Candler speaks, of the marriage of John Hawes and Elizabeth Gold." This error is, of course, rectified in the remarks connected with *Error 2d*. Her mother's name was *Gale* (not Gold); and she was not Nathaniel Rogers's half-sister, as she was not the daughter of either his father or his mother.

The importance of this exposition of the foregoing errors will readily be seen from the corrections necessary to be made in the present received pedigrees of the Rogers Family. It is true, that the paternal line of descent is little, if at all, affected; but it is certainly of some interest, if we cannot

ascertain who our great-grandmothers really were, to be able to determine who they were not.

It will be, perhaps, more satisfactory if I now give you what is clearly the correct reading of the Candler Manuscript, so far as this particular family is concerned. The version by Mr. Somerby, in vol. iv. of the "Genealogical Register," p. 179, is incomplete and indistinct, owing to the impossibility of arranging and connecting, by the ordinary rules and spaces, the various entries as they appear in the manuscript. It also omits some important entries, and is otherwise defective. Nothing but a fac-simile, or photographic copy, could give you a correct idea of this particular page. The manuscript is Harleian, No. 6071; and the Rogers pedigree is to be found on fol. 238, *b.*, with two entries on fol. 239. It commences with—

"Rogers of —, in the North of England," who had two sons, — Richard and John.

John, "the famous preacher of Dedham," whose family is first mentioned, although certainly the youngest, had three wives. The first is not named; the second was "Elizabeth Gale, the relict of John Hawes;" and the third was "Dorothie, daughter of — Stanton, the relict of Rich. Wiseman of Wigborough in Essex, gent." By his second and third wives he had no issue; and the only child by his first wife, here named, was Nathaniel, "who married Margaret, daughter of Robert Crane of Coksall in Essex;" and of whom it is further said, "he died in New England. He left issue, John, Nath^l, Samuel, Timothy, [and] Mary (married to W^m Heley)."

Then follows Richard Rogers, the brother of John, who is described as "Lecturer at Wethersfield, who wrote the 7 treatise, & sundry other Bookes of great vse: a man of great woorth, & very faithful in his ministry." He had two wives. The name of the first is not given; but the second is thus described: "Susan, daughter of —, was, first,

the wife of John Ward [preacher at Haverhill in Suffolk]; &, after his death, was y^e 2^d wife to Richard Rogers, by whome she had no Issue." His children by his first wife are thus mentioned: 1st, "Daniell Rogers, who succeeded his father in y^e place of Lecturie at Wethersfield; an eminent schollar & preacher, who hath many workes in print: he, being one of the eminent fellowes in Christs Colledge in Cambridge, was the Aduancer of Dr. Amies, whome he brought in to bee fellow there." 2d, "Ezra, s.p." 3d, "Nath^l, s.p." 4th, "Ezekiel, an eminent preacher, yet liueing; but all his issue dead before this yeare, 1656."

Daniel Rogers, the eldest son, married, first, "Margaret Bishop," by whom he had a son Daniel. His second wife was "Sarah, daughter of John Euerard, a citizen in London;" by whom he had issue, thus described: "Hannah, wife to Roger Cockington; by whome she had two children,—Roger and Samuell. She hath had, since his death, two or three husbands."—"Samuel Rogers, Lecturer at Cree Church in London."—"Mary and Margaret, s.p."

Daniel Rogers, son of Daniel Rogers and Margaret Bishop, is thus described: "Rector of Wotton in Northamptonshire. He married Dorothis Ball, daughter of the then Maior of Northampton. His second wife was —, daughter of — Reading, Counsellor at Law." Candler gives the names of eight of his children, and seems to intimate that five of them were by his first wife; but it is impossible to determine how they should be distributed. They are mentioned as follows: 1st, "Daniel, s.p." 2d, "Dorothis." 3d, "Sarah; married to John Bedell, a citizen of London: she died of her second child; and all her issue is dead." 4th, "Richard, Rector of Clopton in Suff.," who married "Elizabeth, daughter of Charles Humphry, gent., the relict of Matthew Brownerig, Rector of Clopton in Suff.;" and had issue,— "Humphry;" "Elizabeth;" "Culverwell, s.p.;" and "Sarah." 5th, "Joseph, s.p." 6th, "Nath^l." 7th, "Abigail." And 8th, "Ezekiell,

of Shalford in Essex: he married daughter of Sr Rob^t Johnson, the relict of ——."

The foregoing is a complete synopsis of the body of the Rogers pedigree, as given by Candler. There are, besides, six distinct entries, closely huddled together, three written horizontally and three perpendicularly on the page, and neither of them having any direct connection with the principal entries or with each other. I give them literally and numerically:—

1. "Her 2^d Husband was Harsnet Clarke."
2. "William Jenkin, of Christs Church in London."
3. "Mary, ma. to Daniel Sutton."
4. "Elizabeth, m. to Tho. Cawton."
5. "John; Ezekiel; Anne, to Clarke, a minister."
6. "Abigaile."

The second, third, and fourth of these entries can be disposed of at once. It is well known that Rev. William Jenkyn, then of Sudbury in Suffolk, married a daughter of Richard Rogers of Wethersfield, and had a son of the same name, who was subsequently ejected from Christ's Church in London; and also that one of his daughters (Elizabeth) married Rev. Thomas Cawton, another eminent Puritan minister: while Candler, in another part of his manuscript (fol. 163), says that "Daniell Sutton" (son of Thomas Sutton of Leek in Staffordshire, and Margaret, daughter of Hugh Holinshed of Heyward in Cheshire, gent.), married, as his second wife, "Mary, d. of W Jenkin of Sudbury, Clarke, and of ——, d. of Richard Rogers, Cl.;" and had issue,—1st, "Daniel" (who probably died young); 2d, "William, s.p.;" 3d, "Daniell;" 4th, "Mary;" and 5th, "John."

The mystery attached to the fifth and sixth of these entries, I think, I am also able to clear up. I have in my possession a contemporary copy of the will of Rev. William Jenkyn the younger (of Christ's Church), dated in 1682, in

which he leaves legacies to his "*sisters, Anne Clark and Abigail Taylor*;" and it is thus rendered almost certain, that the persons named in these two entries were also the children of William Jenkyn of Sudbury, and consequently grandchildren of Richard Rogers of Wethersfield.

This leaves only the first of these entries to be disposed of. I have before suggested that it might refer to Mary, the daughter of Nathaniel Rogers, who married William Heley; but it may, on the contrary, be intended to indicate Elizabeth Jenkyn, the wife of Thomas Cawton. It is certain that she survived her husband, and that there were preachers, about that time, of the name of Harsnet. From the position of this entry on the page, it might refer to either; but as the other five of the group all relate, unquestionably, to the Jenkyn Family, I think the presumption is strong, that the Widow Cawton subsequently married Rev. Mr. Harsnet, and that Candler so intended to intimate.

You have now a clear and accurate version of the Rogers pedigree, as it appears in the Candler Manuscript. It may be interesting to possess an account of the ancestry of Margaret Crane, the wife of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers of New England; and with that, and the other occasional entries already quoted, you have every thing that Candler says in reference to this family. The Crane descent (fol. 233) is summarily as follows (I quote *literatim*):—

1. "Robert Craine, of Clifton, Esq., = Bridget, daughter of S^r Thomas Jernin, of Rushbrake, Knt., [and] Sister of S^r Ambrose."

2. "Henry Crane, Esq."

3. "Henry Craine, Esq., = — Jernegham: she had been wife to S^r Wymond Cariey, Knt."

4. "S^r Robert Craine of Chilton, Knt. and Baronet, = Susan, daughter of S^r Giles Alington, Knt."

5. "Robert Crane of Coxhall in Essex = Mary, daughter of Samuell Sparhawke, of Dedham in Essex."

6. "Margaret, married to Nathaniel Rogers, Rector of Assington; whence he went into New England."

It is, perhaps, proper that I should add, that, on a cursory examination of the rest of Mr. Hunter's article, I do not notice so many or such serious discrepancies in reference to the other families he mentions; but it is certainly extraordinary that he should have concentrated such a series of blunders into his brief synopsis of this single pedigree, and still more extraordinary that the errors should not have been detected until this late day.

It is also right to state, that the Rogers pedigree, as given by Candler, is certainly defective and incomplete, and only to be relied upon so far as it extends. In this communication, I have confined myself to a discussion of his manuscript; but hope, at some no distant day, to be able to furnish you with the complete and satisfactory results of the thorough and minute researches into the genealogy and history of this particular family, in which I have been for a long time engaged. Besides the mass of information I have already collected, I am becoming, since the publication of my *Memoir of the Martyr*, the depositary of the records and traditions preserved in numerous families in England, either bearing his name, or claiming descent from him; and design, eventually, to produce another volume, of a purely genealogical and anecdotal character, which, I have reason to believe, will prove acceptable on both sides of the Atlantic.

LONDON, Feb. 15, 1862.

Dr. LOTHROP communicated a *Memoir* of our late associate, Nathaniel I. Bowditch, which he had prepared in compliance with a vote of the Society.

M E M O I R

OF

NATHANIEL INGERSOLL BOWDITCH, ESQ.

BY REV. S. K. LOTHROP, D.D.

NATHANIEL INGERSOLL BOWDITCH was born at Salem, Mass., on the 17th of June, 1805. The first American ancestor of his family was William Bowditch, who emigrated from England, probably from the city of Exeter or its immediate vicinity, and settled in Salem, in 1639. He left an only child, William; who died in 1681, leaving also an only child, named William. This third William had a numerous family (eleven children); but only one of his sons, Ebenezer, left any male descendants. The fifth child of Ebenezer, Habakkuk, born in 1738, had seven children; of whom the fourth was the late Nathaniel Bowditch, LL.D.,—a man whose extraordinary genius and large contributions to nautical and astronomical science have procured him an endearing and world-wide fame, and caused his name to be known and his authority to be trusted wherever a ship spreads its sails upon the ocean; while the noble qualities of his heart, the perfect truthfulness of his character, the integrity, purity, simplicity, and benevolent usefulness of his life, secured him the respect and confidence of all who knew him, and the warmest affections and the most profound reverence of those who shared the honor of his intimate personal friendship.

This justly celebrated and honored person (Nathaniel Bowditch, LL.D.) died in March, 1838, leaving six children; the



eldest of whom was Nathaniel Ingersoll, the subject of this memoir. His mother was Mary Ingersoll, daughter of Jonathan Ingersoll, Esq. She was married to his father, who was her cousin, in October, 1800. Mrs. Mary Bowditch was a remarkable person: one of those women whose characters are so perfectly moulded and rounded out, without deficiency or redundance in any of the parts; in whom the higher elements of intellectual and moral thought are so blended with tenderness, compassion, sympathy, all soft, gentle, and graceful qualities,—that we find it difficult to tell whether love or reverence is the strongest emotion we feel towards them. Exceedingly attractive in person, winning and gracious in manners, cheerful in disposition, with a vigorous mind enriched by culture, and a warm and loving heart, full of all gentle and generous affections; her whole being impregnated, elevated, guided by religious faith and principle,—she was the moral sunlight of her dwelling; made her home a type and miniature of heaven, the scene of the highest happiness, the source of the holiest influences, to its inmates. Perhaps no woman ever had a nobler monument than that reared to her by her husband, who dedicates his great work, the “Translation and Commentary on the ‘*Mécanique Céleste*’ of La Place,” “To the memory of his wife, Mary Bowditch, who devoted herself to her domestic avocations with great judgment, unceasing kindness, and a zeal which could not be surpassed; taking upon herself the whole care of her family, and thus procuring for him the leisure hours to prepare the work, and securing to him, by her prudent management, the means for its publication in its present form, which she fully approved: and, without her approbation, the work would not have been undertaken.”

Family tradition has not transmitted any very striking incidents or indications in the childhood and school-days of our subject; but with such parents, and under the influences that pervaded his home, we are not surprised to find that he

was ready for college, so far as the acquisition of knowledge was requisite, at a very early age; and actually entered the University at Cambridge in August, 1818, a few weeks after he was thirteen years old. He was the youngest in his class: too young, probably, for the full benefit to be derived from the course of studies then pursued at Cambridge; and certainly too young to be exposed to perilous snares and temptations incident to the liberty which, to a certain extent, necessarily appertains to college-life. No stain of vice or moral wrong rests upon his pure spirit; but, led away by older students, he yielded to the temptations of college-life so far as to be guilty of some boyish follies, and such thoughtless waste of time and opportunity, that, toward the close of the freshman-year, his father, at the suggestion of the faculty, removed him from college for some months. In some brief but amusing memoranda of a speech he expected to be called upon to make at the alumni dinner in 1854, but at which he "happily escaped any molestation," there is an allusion to this:—

"I was," he says, "the youngest and smallest of my class, and was everywhere known as Little Bowditch. I was entirely verdant and unsophisticated, and almost immediately began to pick up college accomplishments, which occupied more of my time and attention than was consistent with a due regard to other studies, and which finally led to my having permission to visit my friends for a few months before I had finished my freshman-year. On my return, my old associations had been broken up; and I have always felt grateful to our Alma Mater for the discipline to which I was thus seasonably and happily subjected."

Undoubtedly this discipline, through the mortification and sorrow it caused him, aided by parental counsels and affection, and the sympathy and influence of a valued friend, Henry Pinckney, Esq., became a signal benefit and blessing to him. He returned to college, no longer a boy, but a man, with a just appreciation of the purpose of college and

the duties of life. He fully redeemed his character; passed the remainder of his college-life, not only with an unblemished, but with a distinguished, reputation for conduct and scholarship; and graduated, in 1822, with a high rank in his class. He had already decided upon his profession; and, immediately after graduating, he entered upon the study of law in the office of B. R. Nichols, Esq., then residing in Salem. In 1823, Dr. Bowditch, after repeated solicitations, accepted the office, for which he had rare and unsurpassed qualifications, of Actuary of the Massachusetts-Hospital Life-Insurance Company, and removed to Boston to discharge its duties. On the removal of the family to Boston, Nathaniel Ingersoll entered the office of that very distinguished counsellor, Hon. William Prescott; who had associated with him, at the time, his son-in-law, the late Franklin Dexter, Esq. Here Mr. Bowditch continued and completed his studies; and was admitted to the bar in October, 1825.

Immediately on his admission, Mr. Dexter received him as a partner in business. But this connection did not last long; as Mr. Bowditch soon began to manifest those tastes, and form those habits of study and investigation, which led to the adoption of the *speciality* (viz., conveyancing) in which he became subsequently so distinguished an authority, that scarcely a transfer of real estate was made in the city of Boston, without the title passing under his examination and approval. He seems to have been originally led into this department of his profession by his interest in genealogy, especially the genealogy of the Bowditch Family. His first studies in the musty volumes in the Register-of-Deeds Office were for the purpose of tracing or confirming genealogical descent. He wanted to find or establish some name; and he looked into old deeds to ascertain it. From the names attached, he passed naturally to the contents of the deed, its description of the property conveyed, its recital of boundaries, &c.; and thus what at

first was secondary began to be of primary interest to him, and he devoted himself to investigations in the Register-of-Deeds Office. At first, his father, who wished him to "practise law" and to become eminent as an advocate in the courts, was much annoyed at what seemed to him such a waste of time among old deeds; but the young man followed his instincts, and followed them to a great success. Early in his career, he argued two or three causes with great ability, and to the great acceptance of his clients; but he soon retired from the courts altogether as an advocate, and devoted himself exclusively to conveyancing, and to such studies and investigations as appertained to it. By the most thorough and laborious diligence, he made himself master of the history and titles of all the real estate in Boston; and a letter from Lord Lyndhurst, among his papers, shows that he had a reputation, and was regarded as an authority upon this subject, far beyond the limits of Massachusetts. The speciality to which Mr. Bowditch devoted himself is not, as some suppose, in a great measure mechanical and clerical, requiring only an accurate knowledge and a careful collation of recited facts. It requires a mind competent to classify and arrange these facts, understand their origin, and their relation to obsolete or existing statutes. It embraces and demands not only a thorough knowledge of these statutes, but a perfect comprehension of all the subtle and profound principles upon which all the laws in relation to real property, the creation of estates equitable or legal, and the determination of the powers and limitations under which conveyance or transfer may be made, are founded. The correspondence to which allusion has been made, the questions propounded by Lord Lyndhurst, and the answers made by Mr. Bowditch, afford clear indication that the latter fully comprehended these principles, their various sources and applications. In this correspondence, the then Lord Chancellor of England says, "The name and character of Mr. Bowditch has long been familiar to me; and the full

and accurate information upon the subject to which I referred has left me nothing to desire." A higher or more honorable testimony to Mr. Bowditch's reputation in that department of his profession to which he specially devoted himself, need not, as it could not, be adduced.

But though he thus devoted himself with singular assiduity to a specific department of his profession, and obtained in that speciality an honorable reputation at home and abroad, he was "well read in the law" generally, understood its great principles as they are embodied in particular statutes, and made applicable in the various questions arising in the business and intercourse of society; and though never appearing before the courts as an advocate, yet, in other ways, he often made good use and valuable exposition of his legal learning and acumen. In proof of this, reference might be made to various articles upon legal matters published from time to time in the newspapers; to his remarks before the Judiciary Committee of the Senate of Massachusetts, on "Wharf Property, or the Law of Flats;" and to his argument, made "merely as a citizen of Boston, anxious that its public faith and good name should be preserved inviolate," before the Joint Committee of the City Councils on Public Lands, in behalf of "a Catholic Church on the Jail Lands."

And here we pass naturally from the lawyer to the citizen and the man. It is in the high principles, the noble aims, the generous sympathies, the wise and benevolent usefulness, he exhibited in these broader relations, that we are to look for the chief interest that attaches to the character of Mr. Bowditch, and the honor and esteem in which his memory is held. He was public-spirited; recognizing all the claims of society upon its members; and always interested in whatever promised to promote the comfort, the happiness, the intellectual and moral improvement, of others. He was a close observer of passing events, and by his pen, through the daily press, frequently expressed his opinions upon them; and in articles

longer or shorter, often as full of wit as of wisdom, of humor as of sound judgment, brought his influence to bear on the various subjects, efforts, and enterprises that were attracting the attention of the public mind at the time. Upon principle, and from the impulses of quick and generous sympathies, Mr. Bowditch was charitable, a liberal giver from his private purse, and a faithful worker in the wise and efficient direction of public charitable or philanthropic institutions. For thirty-four years (from 1827 to 1861), he was connected with the Massachusetts General Hospital; nine years as secretary, fourteen years as trustee and chairman of the Board, and eleven years as vice-president. He did not simply discharge the routine duties of these offices. He was deeply interested in the institution itself, and an active agent in all measures to enlarge its means and increase its usefulness. In 1851, there was printed, for private distribution, a volume of four hundred and forty-two pages, — "A History of the Massachusetts General Hospital." The volume contains a full, minute, and accurate account of this noble institution, from its first inception in 1810 to its condition in 1851; and is a most valuable contribution to the local history of our city and state. It was prepared by Mr. Bowditch, and published at his own expense. This is modestly intimated by the closing paragraph of the preface, in which he says, "It is due to the institution to say, that this is not, in any sense, an official publication, but merely a private and humble contribution in its behalf, a slight and inadequate expression of the interest felt in its welfare, by one who has ever regarded as among his happiest hours those which he has been privileged to spend in its service."

As the Massachusetts General Hospital, through its distinguished surgeons, Dr. J. C. Warren and Dr. George Hayward, made the first public experiments in the use of sulphuric ether as an anæsthetic agent in surgical operations, the whole subject of the "Ether Discovery" is very fully treated in

this volume. One hundred and thirty pages are devoted to it. It will be remembered that this discovery, and the question whether Dr. W. T. G. Morton or Dr. C. T. Jackson had the best claim to be regarded as the author of the discovery, was the subject of an earnest discussion. Mr. Bowditch gives a list of all the publications on the subject, from 1846 to 1849, with a critical review of the most important of them; and presents the fairest, the most comprehensive, and the best account of the controversy, and of the question at issue, that can be found.

Here also, in his connection with the Hospital, Mr. Bowditch found ample opportunities for the exercise of his private charities; and, as various notes and letters found among his papers indicate, many of the patients at that institution had reason to be grateful, not only for its direct benefits, but for the circumstance, that, through confinement there, they found in him a friend and benefactor, who, by his judicious counsels, personal sympathy, and pecuniary aid, did much to lighten to them the weary burden of sickness and poverty.

On all political questions which came up in the progress of public affairs, Mr. Bowditch had, as in all other matters, very decided opinions, and, when necessary, gave utterance to them in conversation as a man, and expression to them by his vote as a citizen; but he took no active part in politics, and never held any civil office. In the large and generous culture of his mind; in the studies and duties of his profession, more particularly in the speciality to which he devoted himself; in the discharge of his duties as a trustee of the Hospital, the favorite sphere of his activity; and in the quiet exercise of a large and unostentatious charity, commonly bestowing its gifts in the Christian spirit, that permits not the left hand to know what the right hand doeth,— he passed on from the opening to the full meridian of manhood, when, just as his life and character seemed rounded out to perfect matu-

rity, giving promise of increasing usefulness for many years, an accident happened, which deprived him of the power of locomotion, confining him first to his chamber, and then to his bed; from which, after more than two years of suffering patiently borne, he was carried to his grave.

But though thus deprived of bodily activity, and denied daily intercourse with the world at large, his mind was still active, his heart warm, and his interest in all that affected the good of others continued unabated. This interest was manifested in various ways,—in numberless good deeds to the friends who visited him, in kind remembrances to many who did not see him, and in *one act*, the noblest and most important in his life; viz., the establishment, in the autumn of 1860, of sixteen scholarships at Harvard College, four for each class, with an annual income of two hundred and fifty dollars for each scholarship. The sum requisite for this noble foundation was seventy thousand dollars. In 1835, Mr. Bowditch married Elizabeth B., the second daughter of the late Ebenezer Francis, Esq. His professional income, both before and after his marriage, was not small; and a goodly portion of it was always devoted to charities. But, of course, it was from the property that came to his wife from her father's estate that he was enabled to make this magnificent contribution to the interests of education and learning. In the credit and honor, therefore, of this good deed, Mrs. Bowditch is entitled to share equally with him. If the first suggestion, the purpose, the earnest wish, originated with him, her consent and approval were necessary to the execution of that purpose, the accomplishment of that wish; and their joint action necessary to the result reached, while it is a testimony to the genuine interest which each felt in the College and the increase of its beneficent instrumentalities, is also a most beautiful testimony to their harmony of soul, to the mutual confidence and affection, which made their union holy and happy.

The importance of these scholarships, which are modestly described in the Catalogue of the University as "founded by a friend of the College, and called the 'President's Scholarships,'" may be estimated by the following extracts from President Felton's letters, in the correspondence which was held on the subject:—

"I am impressed," he writes under date of Aug. 13, 1860, "by the generous purpose, entertained by Mrs. Bowditch and yourself, in behalf of young men struggling with poverty in the effort to obtain an education. On this subject, I can speak from a most instructive experience; and I know, that, whatever may be the advantages of poverty in developing some of the sterner qualities of character, there is a limit beyond which the advantages are more than counter-balanced by the evils. The anxieties under which a young man suffers, who knows not, from quarter to quarter, how his bills are to be paid, are among the worst enemies of study. The mind should be calm, free from serious cares at least, or Latin, Greek, and mathematics will inevitably suffer. I have, therefore, no doubt that one of the most useful modes of employing wealth is in furnishing aid to young men of character and talent, who will render services to their country and mankind."

In another letter, under date of Oct. 8, 1860, President Felton says,—

"The new scholarships excite great interest throughout New England. I receive letters of inquiry almost daily. In truth, it is not only a most munificent act, but one which will for ever continue to bless the community. Your foundation will educate sixteen young men as long as the College shall stand. In a century, four hundred men of character and ability will have been added to the liberally educated workers in the community by this timely and generous gift. I am deeply gratified that such an addition has been made to the means of doing good possessed by the University, at the beginning of my presidency. I hail it as a favorable omen."

Possessing the ability, it must have been a glorious relief to the tedium of sickness, to perform such a noble act as the foundation of these scholarships; while the act itself is an

unequivocal evidence and illustration of character, of the wisdom that conceived and the benevolence that executed it.

In 1857, Mr. Bowditch, led thereto by his long studies and researches in the Registry of Deeds, had printed, for private distribution, a few copies of a collection of curious surnames. This volume was entitled "Suffolk Surnames." In 1858, the volume having awakened an interest beyond the circle of his personal friends, he printed another edition, with additional names, and a dedication "To the memory of A. Shurt, the father of American conveyancing, whose name is associated alike with my daily toilet and my daily occupation." In February, 1861, a few weeks before his decease, he completed the publication of a third edition of "Suffolk Surnames," a volume of seven hundred and fifty-nine pages, — seven times the size of that printed in 1859. The preface to this volume closes with a reference to himself, the facts, the humor, and the pathos of which seem to make it an appropriate close to this notice of him: —

"I will conclude with a few words of 'personal explanation.' I was born in 1805. Of a vigorous frame and active habits, I enjoyed, for fifty years, almost uninterrupted health. During the summer months, I seldom omitted a daily swim in Charles River; and the coldest weather of winter rarely induced me to resort to an outside garment. In 1835, on a bridal tour, I visited Niagara, and swam across that river, below the Falls, on two successive days; and once, when the thermometer was below zero, the gentlemen who had gathered round the fire in an insurance-office in Boston, proposed, as I entered the room, to subscribe to buy me an overcoat, because, they said, it made them cold to look at me. At fifty, however, I ceased to be a young man; and my dress was no longer such as to exert a chilling influence upon my friends. In February, 1859, I slipped upon the ice, but did not fall; and I supposed that I had escaped with only a slight sprain, and the laugh of the bystanders. I had, however, injured the head of the thigh-bone; and the result was a gradually increasing lameness. In June, I removed to my summer residence in Brookline. Here, in an apartment curtained by forest-trees, I sat, day after day, week after week, a prisoner;

my sole occupation being the collection and arrangement of the materials for the present edition, and the laborious preparation of the index. On Aug. 2, a visit was made by my attending surgeons. I arose to receive them; and, in the effort to open the drawer of a small writing-table which was partly behind me, I pulled it out so that it fell upon the floor. From this slight cause, a severe fracture of the thigh occurred while I was standing up. I have been thenceforth condemned to a state of horizontal meditation, which must last as long as I live. Twice already I have seen the foliage of summer give place to the snows of winter. My misfortune has received every alleviation which science could suggest, or the kindness of family and friends bestow; but my bodily pain and weariness soon made some fixed employment almost indispensable. I accordingly commenced the printing of this work in the autumn of 1859; and it has enabled me to attain a state of cheerful discomfort. . . . If my volume shall sometimes dispel the cloud of care or thought from the brow of manhood, or call forth a smile upon the face of youth and beauty, I may perhaps hope, if not for the sympathy, at least for the indulgence, of my readers."

It is hardly necessary to add, that Mr. Bowditch's cheerfulness was the product of religious faith. As he met the duties of life with a strong conviction of responsibility to God, so he met its trials and sufferings with a deep feeling of trust and submission to him. In a letter to a near relative, on the 1st of January, 1860, he says, —

"The arrival of a new year is always a matter of interest. These milestones of life are always looked at for a moment by the busiest and happiest traveller; and no one, situated as I am and must expect to be, can fail to be impressed with a conviction, that a much longer journey is hardly to be expected or desired. To be a burden to others (however cheerfully and kindly the burden may be borne) is not an agreeable prospect; and I cannot but fear that I am to have much and increasing pain to go through with in the coming months. However, no one stops by the way. Every thing proceeds as orderly; and I shall endeavor to reconcile myself to my changed prospects."

Bearing with great sweetness and patience "the increasing pain" which came with "the coming months," he was

mercifully relieved on the 16th of April, 1861, to enter upon "that world beyond," of which he speaks in the following lines, "Suggested by a Recent Discourse of the Rev. Dr. Putnam:" —

“ Science long watched the realms of space,
A planet's devious path to trace :
Convinced of heaven's harmonious law,
' A world beyond ' Leverrier saw.

Thus when he views earth's sins and woes,
With a like faith the Christian knows
There is ' a world beyond ' to prove
God's perfect wisdom, power, and love.”