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JUNE MEETING.

The stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, 10th of June, by invitation of the President, with the concurrence of the Standing Committee, at his house in Brookline, at half-past four o'clock, P.M.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the last meeting.

The Librarian announced the gifts to the Library the past month.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter of acceptance from the Rev. Edmund de Pressensé, of Paris.

The President then spoke as follows :—

You will not expect from me, gentlemen, any formal words of welcome on this occasion ; but I cannot omit to remind you that meetings of this kind have repeatedly been held in former years, and I hope this may not be the last of them. We had a most memorable meeting at the house of our lamented associate, George Livermore, in Cambridge, on the 26th of June, 1856. It would not be difficult to trace to that meeting the inspiration which resulted, soon afterwards, in our possession of the Dowse Library ; and I believe Mr. Deane has so traced it in the Memoir* of his friend, which forms so interesting a feature of our new volume of "Proceedings." During the summer of 1858, we held two such meetings ; one of them at the historic residence of Longfellow at Cambridge, and the other at the charming cottage of the late Frederic Tudor at Nahant. Not a few of those who were present on those occasions are no more ; but others have succeeded to their places, as still others will succeed to ours ; and I trust that an occasional social meeting in the country will long be something more than a tradition in our annals.

* See the Memoir as separately printed, at pages 45-47.

We are here, to-day, at what was known to the settlers of Massachusetts by the repulsive name of "Muddy River," and of which the first historical account is thus given by Governor Winthrop in his journal:—

"*August 30, 1632.*—Notice being given of ten Sagamores and many Indians assembled at Muddy River, the Governor sent Captain Underhill with twenty musketeers, to discover, &c.; but at Roxbury they heard they were broke up."

I will not take up your time in dwelling on the old associations of the place; but will content myself with reminding you that a succinct and excellent account of this locality is to be found, where so many other good things are also to be found, in our own "Historical Collections." In the second volume of the second series, printed in 1814, may be read an historical sketch of Brookline, "extracted from a discourse delivered there on the 24th of November, 1805, the day which completed a century from the incorporation of the town," by one whom so many of us remember with respect and affection, the genial, warm-hearted, and excellent Dr. John Pierce, "the fifth minister of Brookline," and a most active and valuable member of our Society.

In turning over the pages of that sketch, which, among other matters, contains a list of those who had been educated at Harvard University from Brookline, I observed but one name which I knew to be the name of a living man, and of which the notice is as follows:—

"Thomas Aspinwall, A.M., son of the Hon. William Aspinwall, Esq. For several years he was a lawyer in Boston. He is now a colonel in the United-States Army."

I need not say that this is our honored first Vice-President, of whom the description was true in 1814, when the sketch was revised for our "Collections," but of whom more might be said now than it would be quite fair to say before his face. I am sure we all feel that in having him here with us this afternoon, we have the best and fittest representative of old Brookline,—yes, of

old "Muddy River," — for his name and lineage go back, I believe, to the earliest settlement of the town.

Let me only add that I think no one who reviews the history of the place, not merely as given by good Dr. Pierce, but also as developed and illustrated since by those who have dwelt within its limits, can fail to be impressed with the rich and copious streams of benevolence and beneficence, of private virtue and of public usefulness and devotion, which have flowed out from that old "Muddy River," around which those ten Sagamores and their followers were assembled in 1632, when Governor Winthrop sent Captain Underhill and his twenty musketeers to discover and disperse them.

And now, gentlemen, let me devote a few closing words to something more practical. The year before us is destined to be an eventful one in our condition as a society. The approaching expiration of the lease of the lower story of our building, in Boston, renders it important that we should take seasonable measures for putting that building into a condition both for yielding us a larger rent, and for furnishing ampler and more secure accommodation for our own treasures; and I hope that at this very meeting the Standing Committee, or some other committee, may be authorized and instructed to employ a careful architect to examine the premises, and prepare plans and estimates for the work. Above all things, the building should, if possible, be made absolutely fire-proof.

One other matter seems to me worthy of our consideration. Our Society is now limited to one hundred members. We have ninety-nine living Resident Members on our rolls at this moment. A few of them, Mr. Savage, Dr. Felt, and Dr. Frothingham, we may hardly hope to see among us often, if ever, again. I cannot but think that the time is at hand for entering upon a moderate and gradual enlargement of our Society, or certainly for obtaining liberty for such an enlargement. We shall be obliged to go before the Legislature without much further delay, to obtain permission for holding

so large an amount in real estate as our building is now appraised at; and when we do this, we may well consider whether the addition of thirty or fifty to our number would not afford us greater opportunity of doing justice to the claims of others, as well as of subserving our own interests and promoting the cause in which we are associated.

With these general suggestions, I leave the whole matter with the Society; only expressing, in conclusion, the great gratification it affords me to find so goodly a gathering here this afternoon.

The President announced as a gift to the Library from the government of Nova Scotia, through Thomas B. Akins, Esq., Commissioner of Records, a volume of public documents, entitled, "Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia."

The President read a number of letters describing a valuable collection of Colonial and Continental currency, made by Dr. Joshua P. Cohen, of Baltimore; who wishes to sell it, and who asks \$5,000 for it. One of the letters, that of Colonel Brantz Mayer, President of the Maryland Historical Society, here follows:—

BALTIMORE, 23d June, 1868.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have lately had an opportunity of examining thoroughly the superb collection formed by Dr. Joshua P. Cohen, of this city, during the last forty years, of the *Colonial* and early *Continental* or *Congressional Currencies of North America*. This large assemblage of the various issues embraces nearly *three thousand specimens*, composed of the "bills of credit" (as they were called) put forth by the British Colonies in America before and after the declaration of independence, as well as by the Continental Congress, from 10th of May, 1775, to the last issue, on the 14th January, 1779.

Let me describe the sets with a little more detail. 1st. The Continental series made by Dr. Cohen—being the one issued wholly by Congress—is entirely complete. It embraces fine specimens of each denomination, and of each date *of every issue*, exhibiting, by *two specimens*, the obverse and reverse of each bill. Besides these, Dr. Cohen has, very properly, included in his collection many specimens

of *counterfeit* and *altered* notes, with a complete set of the extremely rare bills of May 20, 1777, and April 11, 1778, which, in consequence of the immense quantity of *forged notes* of the same date, issued from New York, then in possession of the British, were, on the 2d of January, 1779, ordered by our Congress to be recalled from circulation, and to cease being passed as values. This collection is contained in *one* large folio volume, neatly mounted, and in regular sequence.

2d. The bills issued by the Colonies or States, including those of Vermont in 1781, are very extensive, dating from a very early period in the history of this species of American currency. Many of them were printed at the press of Benjamin Franklin, while the cuts that ornament or distinguish them were in several instances either actually made by him or under his immediate direction. I am justified in saying, that this numerous series embraces some of the very rarest Colonial or State bills, and that no other set of equal value is now in existence, or could probably be formed by the most industrious of our collectors.

Dr. Cohen has made it by extensive correspondence, and by repeated visits to State capitals, and friends in other cities; and I know that it has been his zealous labor of love during a lifetime. This series is embraced in *thirteen* volumes, similar in all respects to the volume, previously described, containing the Continental series.

As a companion of these two sets of currency there is, also, a bound volume, compiled with care and skill by Dr. Cohen, embracing *in manuscript* all the enactments of Congress authorizing the various issues, all the scales of depreciation, a large collection of illustrative materials, and contemporary opinions of Washington, Franklin, Madison, Jefferson, and other illustrious founders of the republic.

As mere curiosities, these *fifteen* important volumes would be of inappreciable value to any enlightened collector. But, as a *unique assemblage of American currency during our early periods*,—an assemblage which it will *not* be possible to duplicate hereafter,—I regard the set as a national historical work; which (if Dr. Cohen parts with it) should not be suffered to pass into any other collection than that of our government. Congress should be eager to obtain it. If now neglected, in a few years our successors will be surprised at the indifference of an ancestry which allowed such a record to escape it.

I beg leave, most respectfully, to call your attention to the matter, as I understand Dr. Cohen would be willing to relinquish it for such a national destination.

The several letters were referred to the Standing Committee.

He also read a letter from Mr. W. A. Maury, of Richmond, enclosing a printed circular relating to the Virginia Historical Society, whose friends ask assistance to enable it to resume its operations.

Dr. ELLIS announced the volume of "Historical Lectures," delivered before the Lowell Institute, as ready for publication.

He presented a pamphlet entitled "A Letter to the Reverend Andrew Crosswell, &c. By Simon, the Tanner." Boston, 1771.

The President announced a new volume of "Proceedings," embracing the transactions of the Society for just two years, closing with the March meeting, 1869. Whereupon a vote of thanks to the Recording Secretary, and his associates of the Committee, was passed.

The President said he had received letters from our Honorary and Corresponding Members, Mr. Bryant and Mr. Grigsby, who had been invited to attend this meeting, and who regretted their inability to be present.

He read the following letter from Mr. Grigsby:—

EDGEHILL, NEAR CHARLOTTE C. H., VIRGINIA, June 5, 1869.

MY DEAR SIR,—I regret very much that I cannot be present with you at the meeting of the Historical Society at your residence on the 10th instant. I have derived so much pleasure and instruction from the intellectual productions of the members, that I should like to see and know them in the body, more distinctly than I do at present. Indeed, there is hardly a day that passes, without my deriving valuable information and delight from the works of your associates. To omit the more elaborate works of Mr. Prescott, of Mr. Ticknor, of Mr. Motley, of Mr. Palfrey, of Mr. Savage, of Professor Parsons, and of others in letters and law, who may be said rather to represent the whole country than any part of it, the lighter things which the members now and then throw off, as a tree parts with its leaves to the wind, are most acceptable to me. The Life of Warren I recur to again and again. The Memoir of Chief-Justice Parsons is a treasure to every lover of the law. The Life of Prescott is the most fascinating picture of student-life contained in the several literatures into which my excursions lead me. It is as if some one who knew Gibbon as

well as Gibbon knew himself, had undertaken to annotate his autobiography. It will incite the young student to high and sustained effort, for generations to come. It will breed young historians, like rabbits, from Maine to California. The life of your late Senior Member by his son (which I also read in the admirable Memoir of President Walker) presents an interesting account of the middle parties, as contrasted with the earlier and later, of New England, and is quite as fair a map of the *tertium quid* party of Mr. Jefferson's administration as any we possess. It also contains traits of John Randolph's history and character to be found nowhere else. I am waiting for the completion of Mr. Pickering's life of his father, before I begin the earlier volumes. The face of Mr. Timothy Pickering's old enemy, by Stuart, — Mr. Giles, — is looking down upon me as I trace these lines; but it says not a word, as John Randolph, Mr. Pickering's old friend, is looking over his shoulder.

I have already told you how much I was delighted with your two volumes of the life of your own glorious ancestor; and I think I have told you more than once that a life of his illustrious namesake and descendant, Professor John Winthrop, of Harvard, ought to be forthcoming. Judging from the rude materials which I possess or can recall, a very fair life of the philosopher is practicable. You know that with Franklin and Rittenhouse, he made up the philosophic trio of the Revolution. Where is Mr. Sibley, with such a theme at his elbow? But I would exhaust your patience, were I to proceed to enumerate the works of your associates which I have been reading for more than forty years, and which I still read, — for good books, like good wine, improve with age; and although so many of those eminent and excellent men have departed, I should like to see the survivors once more, before they, too, disappear. And here I ought not to omit the confession of the perpetual entertainment and instruction which I derive from the solid phalanx of your "Proceedings" and "Collections." On the topic of Virginia alone, they are very valuable.

But, liberal as have been the contributions of your associates and your own to letters, I am ready, like Oliver Twist, to ask for more. Here, on the banks of the Roanoke, and in the shadow of the forests that gird the stream of Shells; and at the distance of a morning's drive from the dust of Patrick Henry and John Randolph; and facing that far distant Land of Flowers, which is the fairest trophy of his genius, I call for a full, broad, overflowing Life of John Quincy Adams. It is one of the grandest themes in our history. Here is a man who may be said to have begun his career in 1777, when he went over with

his father to France,—for he was an observer from his childhood,—and who died in full harness as late as 1848; if I mistake not, in your own room in the Capitol; a lapse of seventy teeming years, during which he came in contact with the most remarkable figures of that vast range in Europe and America. Personally, he was in some departments a very great man, in many admirable, in all respectable. With the exception of Mr. Jefferson, he was the most self-reliant and fearless of all our statesmen. This is a striking trait with posterity. Had his profound sagacity been sustained by a Southern cabinet, Texas would have been ours, without a drop of blood or a word of quarrel, half a century ago. I know the delicacy of the task in some domestic aspects, but it must be done at one time or other; and it ought to be done at once by the hand of a son, whose large and liberal experience and knowledge of the world will teach him to sink the partisan in the patriot, and view men and things through the medium of a masculine and generous philosophy. What a flood of light the Diary of Mr. Adams will throw on the persons and events of more than three-fourths of a century past! He saw almost all that was worth seeing from Edmund Burke to Tom Marshall (on the last of whom he bestowed exalted praise) and Davy Crockett; and the images of them all may be reposing in his cabinet. By the way, I spent the morning with Mr. Giles, in 1828 or '29, the day after he received the "National Intelligencer" containing his letters, which Mr. Adams published at his defiance, and remember the animation with which he commented on each letter in detail.

There should also be a Life of Mr. Everett, before his classmates and early contemporaries all pass away. In exact, elegant, abounding scholarship, it may be said of him what Grattan said of the elder Pitt, that he stood alone. By all his contemporaries at home and abroad, he was, in some important respects, unapproachable; and he mellowed kindly. His latest works are his best. The last work which I received from him, and the last of his works that I have read, was his speech on the 4th of July, 1860. He is the only illustration that I can recall in recent times, of the possibility of thorough and almost universal scholarship in a public man in a land of universal suffrage. In this respect alone, his life would afford an invaluable lesson in this country to youth, to middle age, and to gray hairs. We must seek his prototype, not in this country or in the Anglo-Saxon race, but on the continent; and it has often occurred to me that a very fair parallel may be run, to some extent, between him and Grotius. There was in both the same amazing precocity in their early attainments, especially in

Latin and Greek ; both spent a term at the Dutch or German colleges ; both engaged, almost in boyhood, in the most responsible public offices ; both received the honors of the Universities wherever they went ; both put forth their tracts *De Veritate* ; both, forsaking their legitimate professions, embarked in political affairs ; both became Members of Congress, and, I think, Secretaries of State, and wrote State papers ; both were accredited Ministers to the Court of St. James ; if Mr. Everett was Governor of Massachusetts, Grotius was Pensionary of Rotterdam, a far more responsible office in the sixteenth century. Had Mr. Everett flourished during the administrations of Jefferson and Madison, we see from his writings that he, too, would have sent forth a *Mare Liberum*, which, in a certain sense, he has done ; both were engaged throughout their whole lives in honored literary pursuits that embraced many provinces ; there was the same mildness of character and purity of domestic life in both. Had Mr. Everett finished his long contemplated work on the Laws of Nations, of which he has given us a foretaste, we should have had a *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, as well as a *De Veritate* and a *Mare Liberum*. The fortune of the two men was very different. Imprisonment for life, exile, confiscation, the insatiable hatred of Richelieu, the base ingratitude of his adopted country, are the leading events in the life of Grotius ; and I am not aware that Mr. Everett ever met with discomfiture through life, except a failure to be re-elected governor by a single vote ; and I never heard that he had an enemy. On the score of speeches, or rather of the elaborate specimens of what Mr. Adams after Cicero calls demonstrative eloquence, there is no comparison, as these are the inventions of the present century. Grotius made his speeches at the bar, and at the bar he did not remain much longer than Mr Everett remained in the pulpit.

And while I am asking, let me add one thing more. The next year will be the semi-centennial anniversary of your Convention of 1820. That was an extraordinary gathering. Yet the memory of it is almost gone. Though I can call up many of the members who composed it, as I have no copy of the journal, I cannot tell whether Governor Gore was there or not. When a youth I knew the character of Gore, who was the colleague of William Pinkney in London as a commissioner under the British treaty ; and I knew he lived some eight or ten miles out of Boston. And, as I was making a pedestrian tour through Massachusetts, I looked, on leaving Boston, at every elderly person I met with on the road, hoping to see the fine old man walking into the city, as was his wont, from his home at Waltham. Had I met him, might I not have ventured to inquire whether William Pinkney did really

and truly stop chewing and smoking tobacco while he was a commissioner, or postponed the sacrifice until he became Minister Plenipotentiary? I still have my doubts on the subject. But no one should undertake the management of such a theme as your great convention, without a long notice, and without a deliberate design to do full justice to the subject.

If I seem to lay too great a stress upon this topic of the lives of men, it is because I am convinced that one of the chief elements of patriotism is the household growth of the names and deeds of their great and good men in the hearts of a people. This, more than any thing else, constitutes the homogeneity of a commonwealth. The tide of change and time and foreign blood is perpetually breaking away the continuity between the past and the present; and we are in constant danger of becoming an utterly new people, — a bastard people, — a people that know not father or mother, — that saddest and most dangerous of things, a people without a past. Now, the affections, if I may so speak, are practical; and, to be in earnest, must fix upon persons, rather than things. We think more tenderly and lovingly of a good deed, and so of the doer, than we think of a mountain, or a plain, or a stream, or a bit of paper, write on it what you will. Thus flesh and blood, though long reduced to dust, become reinvested with life, and are made our contemporary and friend and counsellor, and, far more than inanimate nature, kindle our love, quicken our aspirations, and tend to keep the great family, past and present, of the State one and the same. Moreover, we are told by a high authority, that men who do not celebrate the worth of those who preceded them, are not apt to leave any thing behind them worthy of remembrance; and I recall to your recollection the sentiment of Tacitus, which I am fond of repeating — *contemptu famæ contemni virtutes*, — that we do despise to Virtue herself, when we fail to keep alive the memory of those whom she has crowned with honor.

On my return from Massachusetts in 1867, I was frequently asked what struck me most of all that I saw. The field of observation was vast indeed. I observed the wonderful increase of your city in the interval of forty years, of Cambridge, and of the neighboring towns; your public schools with their twenty or thirty thousand pupils; your college with its new halls and overflowing libraries, borrowing fresh youth from the centuries; your private and public structures; the Dowse Library and the Winthrop manuscript; your many valuable institutions, your munificent endowments; your intellectual men and brilliant women and sweet children; the dust of your illustrious dead, reposing amid the

smoke and strife of the city, or beneath the fragrant airs of Mount Auburn; your unequalled and endless succession of rural villas, which looked as if your whole land was keeping holiday; and many other things; and I was chastened and delighted with them all. Yet there were two things, which, in such a harvest of life and art, were almost insignificant, but which touched me most of all. The first was the large number of lads and lasses in common apparel, who were ranged on the benches in the Public Library, quietly awaiting their time to be served with fresh books in place of those that had been returned; a moral spectacle, which, as my mind ran over its innumerable antecedents and consequents, affected me almost to tears. And the other thing was the marble statue of James Otis in the chapel of Mount Auburn. I was struck by it just as Benjamin West was struck by the first sight of the Apollo Belvidere. I was surprised and delighted to see and know that the spirit of the great patriot orator of the North was enshrined in so God-like a form. I shall never forget my indebtedness to the kind friend who showed me two such sights. I had never heard of the statue of Otis. He was my darling character of the more modern colonial New England, as John Winthrop was of the earlier time. He stands with us of the South in inseparable union with Patrick Henry. Then his afflictions and timely death placed him, like his compatriot, Josiah Quincy, Jr., by a peculiar and fortunate canonization, beyond the atmosphere of faction, and preserved his lustre undefiled by the passion and the dirt of later times. The beauty of his daily life; his literary accomplishments, which enabled him, not merely to draw some vague meaning from a Latin or Greek composition, which is too often the bound of the knowledge of many modern lawyers, but to enter into all the worth of its structure, and to relish the minutest graces of its rhythm,—an art he taught others to acquire in his tract on prosody; his splendid powers of argumentation, his vivid eloquence; his moral heroism ever so conspicuous, his patriotism ever so pure; the treatment of his person on that disastrous day so revolting, and his magnanimity in forgiving it all so majestic; that cloud that came over his lordly intellect when in full blaze and shut him out from communion with his kind; that memorable death, coming just as his country's independence was achieved and assured and soon to be acknowledged by the parent-land, and summoning him instantly away, as it were, by a special messenger from the Most High,—all these attributes and qualities, which would have imparted dignity to the humblest figure, embodied in the noblest, appealed with resistless force to my heart. As I gazed upon that statue, I strained

my ear and my memory to catch the tones of some patriotic harp that had hymned its praises, either in the bowers of the University which claimed the original as one of its brightest jewels, and in the presence of scholars and divines and statesmen, and those merchant-princes who so frequently take their coursers from the car of commerce and hitch them to the car of philosophy, or in the retirement of the closet, or in its own hallowed temple; but I strove in vain. The Muse of Song, if she ever deigned to pause in the presence of one of her most skilful worshippers, passed in silence by; and ever since that day I have watched the footsteps of Dr. Holmes and Mr. Longfellow more closely than ever. All know the genius of those two eminent associates of yours, and their glowing patriotism which has sparkled on many a brilliant occasion, and who, in their connection with you, handsomely and happily do homage to History, as one of the Sacred Nine; and I have an inward and cheering assurance that, though the statue itself may perish by time, or fire, or force, or, like our own Washington, be lifted from its pedestal and borne away by the invader, posterity, in common with the present generation, will behold the reflection of the image of New England's most illustrious patriot-orator of the era of the Revolution, in the immortal verse of at least two of her greatest poets. How blessed and enrapturing is the influence of true poetry! It embalms and popularizes the sublimest forms of sculpture and art. Even the Apollo has gathered new immortality from Childe Harold; and I never think of the Prescott Swords, but the pleasing strains of Dr. Frothingham come over me.

With an expression of renewed regret that I cannot be with you, and with the highest respect for the members of the Society,

I am, as ever, truly yours,

HUGH BLAIR GRIGSBY.

To the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP,
Boston, Mass.

The President recurred to the subject of the approaching expiration of the lease of that part of the Society's building now occupied by the Savings-Bank, and thought the Society should soon take some steps toward an alteration in the building, both for a future tenant and for the Society's accommodation. Whereupon it was —

Voted, To refer this whole subject to the Standing Committee, with full power.

The necessity of soon applying to the Legislature for leave to hold more real and personal property than the present charter allows, and of enlarging the number of our members, was again alluded to by the President, and it was —

Voted, To refer the subject last named to a committee, consisting of Messrs. Clifford, Ellis, Gray, Deane, and Davis, to consider the subject, and report to the Society.

Mr. PARKMAN, who had recently returned from a visit to Europe, alluded to some papers of considerable value which he had seen in possession of the Marquis of Montcalm in Paris; and particularly to one letter of some historical significance, supposed to have been written by General Montcalm, who fell at Quebec. Mr. Parkman's remarks were substantially as follows:—

During the last spring I had a number of interviews with the Marquis of Montcalm at Paris. He informed me that he had in his possession among his family papers the correspondence of his ancestor, General Montcalm, with his relatives in France during the last French war in America. He allowed me to examine these papers and have copies of them made. They proved to be of great interest and value, consisting of forty-nine letters, some of them very long, from Montcalm to his mother and sister, besides a considerable number of other letters written by persons in immediate connection with Montcalm in America. I caused the whole of them to be copied.

Among these papers was the remarkable letter written by Montcalm a short time before his death, in which he prophesies that the fall of Canada will eventually occasion the revolt of the British Colonies. This letter, together with several others purporting to be written by Montcalm, was published in London by J. Almon during the Revolutionary war.* Its

* The letter to which special reference is here made purports to have been written by General Montcalm to M. de Molé, from Quebec, Aug. 24, 1759. This was three weeks

authenticity was, it seems, called in question at the time, and has ever since remained in doubt. In course of conversation with the marquis, — before he had shown me the papers, — he remarked that the personal and military qualities of his ancestor were tolerably well known; but that he had one quality which was not sufficiently recognized, and this was his political foresight, which was proved, he added, by one of his letters in which he made a remarkable prophecy concerning the American Revolution. I told him I knew the letter to which he alluded, as it had been published in England in a small volume. He expressed great surprise and interest at this, saying that he had never seen the volume or heard of it,

before the fall of that fortress, which was coincident with the death of General Montcalm, and was followed by the surrender of Canada to the British power.

The letter was first printed, both in French and in an English translation (the pages of each made to face those of the other), in 1777, in a small pamphlet, with the following title: "Lettres de Monsieur le Marquis de Montcalm, Gouverneur-Général en Canada; à Messieurs de Berruyer & de la Molé. Ecrites dans les Années 1757, 1758, & 1759. Avec une Version Angloise. * * * A Londres: Chez J. Almon, vis-à-vis de Burlington-house, Piccadilly, M.D.CC.LXXVII." A corresponding English title follows on the opposite page, facing this. Besides the letter to Molé, the pamphlet contains two letters addressed to "M. de Berruyer, first Commissioner of the Marine of France," — one written in the year 1757, and the other in 1758, — both dated from Montreal.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine" for July, 1777, at page 342, is a notice of this publication, the writer giving an extract from one of the letters, and concluding thus: "The whole is worth perusal, and shows that M. de Montcalm was *tam Mercurio quam Marti*. It is proper to add, that the authenticity of the work was lately attacked in the House of Lords by Lord Shelburne, but ably defended by Lord Mansfield." This debate will be found in the Parliamentary Register (Supplement), vol. vii. pp. 122, 126, 127, under the date of May 30, 1777. On the titlepage of a copy of Almon's pamphlet, among the Ebeling collection in Harvard-College Library, Mr. Sparks has written: "The letters are unquestionably spurious." Of course, these criticisms apply to the two letters addressed to Berruyer, as well as to the letter to Molé.

A French writer, the Abbé Pierre de Longchamps, in a "Histoire Impartiale des Evénemens Militaires et Politiques de la Dernière Guerre," &c., published at Amsterdam and at Paris in 1785, at vol. i. p. 6, cites an opinion of an eminent Englishman (without giving his name), expressed during the French war; namely, that Canada was the guard of the English Colonies, and he wondered why the ministry wished to conquer it. Leading from the reference to this Englishman in the text, the writer has a footnote as follows: "L'auteur anonyme des Lettres imprimées sous le nom de *Montcalm*, & faussement attribuées à ce Général. Quoique publiées pour la première fois en 1777, elles avoient été composées dès 1757. C'est le premier ouvrage où l'on trouve la révolution actuelle de l'Amérique prédite d'un ton ferme & ses causes clairement énoncées."

Mr. Sparks, who copied this note of Longchamps upon the titlepage of the copy of Montcalm's Letters in the College Library, has written under the note the following: "Query. — Were the letters written in 1757?" — Eds.

though he was aware that a part of the letter had been published by Carlyle in his "History of Frederick the Great."* On the following day I called again, by appointment, upon the marquis, who had meanwhile arranged his ancestor's papers in the order of their dates upon a table for my inspection. The letter in question was among them, the ink and paper being apparently of the same age with those of the other letters. The handwriting, however, was different, being neither that of the general himself nor of his secretary. The letter was evidently a copy written with sufficient care to make it distinctly legible. Accompanying it, however, was what seemed to be the original draft, written in an exceedingly small and almost illegible hand, with many erasures and interlineations. It was in two columns on a small and soiled sheet of paper. Not being aware at the time that the authenticity of the letter had been seriously challenged, I cannot say positively whether or not the handwriting was that of Montcalm. My belief is that it was so, and that the small, cramped letters corresponded with those which caused so much trouble to my copyist in the other papers of the general. Being unable from weakness of sight to compare the original draft of the letter with the engrossed copy, I directed the person whom I employed to transcribe them to do so for me; making a copy of the engrossed letter, and noting on the margin of it any variations which might appear in the first draft. As he made no such notes I infer that the texts were substantially the same.

Two other letters ascribed to Montcalm were published in the London volume in connection with the letter in question. Neither of these was to be found among the family papers of the marquis.

Mr. Parkman further stated that he had compared the copy of the letter to Molé procured from the Marquis of Mont-

* In Volume V. of Harper's edition, at pages 449-451. — Eds.

calm's papers, with that published by Almon in 1777; and he had noticed many verbal variations, though both copies he believed would be found to correspond in meaning. These verbal discrepancies must have arisen, he supposed, from alterations made in the letter which was actually sent, from the wording of the original draft. The letter, published by Almon, we may conclude to have been printed from the despatched letter, which may have been captured by the English fleet, and thus diverted from its destination. The two copies may be seen below, the corresponding portions, side by side on the same page, and on the opposite page the English version as published by Almon.

[FROM THE PAMPHLET PUBLISHED BY
ALMON.]

*Copie d'une Lettre du Marquis de Montcalm à
Mons. de Molé, premier Président au Parle-
ment de Paris.*

MONSIEUR & CHER COUSIN, — Me voici, depuis plus de trois mois, aux prises avec Mons. Wolfe : il ne cesse, jour & nuit, de bombarder Québec, avec une furie, qui n'a guères d'exemple dans le siège d'une place, qu'on veut prendre & conserver. Il a déjà consumé par le feu presque toute la basse ville, une grande partie de la haute est écrasée par les bombes ; mais ne laissa-t-il pierre sur pierre, il ne viendra jamais à bout de s'emparer de cette capitale de la colonie, tandis qu'il se contentera de l'attaquer de la rive opposée, dont nous lui avons abandonné la possession. Aussi après trois mois de tentative, n'est-il pas plus avancé dans son dessein qu'au premier jour. Il nous ruine, mais il ne s'enrichit pas. La campagne n'a guères plus d'un mois à durer, à raison du voisinage de l'automne, terrible dans ces parages pour une flotte, par les coups de vent, qui regne constamment & périodiquement.

Il semble, qu'après un si heureux prelude, la conservation de la colonie est presque assuré. Il n'en est cependant rien : la prise de Québec dépend d'un coup du main. Les Anglois sont maîtres de la rivière : ils n'ont qu'à effectuer une descente sur la rive, où cette ville, sans fortifications, & sans défense, est située. Les voilà en état de me présenter la bataille, que je ne pourrai plus refuser, & que je ne devrai pas gagner. M. Wolfe, en effet, s'il entend son métier, n'a qu'à essayer le premier feu, venir ensuite à grand pas sur mon armée, faire à bout partant sa décharge, mes Canadiens, sans discipline, sourds à la voix du tambour, & des instrumens militaires, derangés par cet escarre, ne sauront plus reprendre leurs rangs. Ils sont ailleurs sans bagonettes pour répondre à celles de l'ennemi : il ne leur reste qu'à fuir, & me voilà, battu sans ressource. Voilà ma position ! — Position bien facheuse pour un général, & qui me fait passer de bien terribles momens. La connoissance que j'en aye m'a fait

[FROM THE MONTCALM PAPERS.]

*Lettre de Mr le Marquis de Montcalm, Général
des forces françaises en Amérique à Mr. Molé
en 1759.*

MON CHER COUSIN, — Depuis plus de trois mois Monsieur Wolf me presse vivement, il ne cesse de bombarder nuit et jour Québec, avec un acharnement dont on pourrait à peine citer un exemple dans le siège d'une place que l'ennemi désire de prendre et de garder. L'artillerie a détruit, quasi en entier, la ville inférieure, une grande partie de la supérieure est ruinée par les bombes ; mais quand il n'y resterait plus pierre sur pierre, les ennemis ne viendront jamais à bout de leur dessein, tant qu'ils continueront à nous attaquer par le côté que nous leur avons abandonné dès l'instant de leur descente. Aussi après trois mois de siège, ils ne sont pas plus avancés que le premier jour. L'ennemi nous ruine et ne s'enrichit point. La campagne ne peut durer guères plus d'un mois ; tant à cause des approches de l'automne, qui est terrible pour une flotte sur ces parages, que des vents périodiques qui y soufflent avec la plus furieuse impétuosité. Il semblerait donc qu'après de si heureuse commencemens, la sureté de la colonie n'est plus en danger : rien cependant, n'est moins certain. Le sort de Québec dépend d'une seule chose : les Anglois sont maîtres de la Rivière ; ils n'ont qu'à faire une descente du côté où la ville est sans défense, sans fortifications ; ils sont en état de nous présenter la bataille que je ne pourrai refuser, et que je ne puis espérer de gagner. Le Général Wolf, s'il entend son métier, n'a qu'à supporter notre premier feu, et s'avancer vivement en faisant une décharge lente et générale, mes Canadiens, sans discipline, n'entendant point le son du tambour ni des autres instrumens militaires, excités encore au désordre par le carnage ne sauront plus reprendre leurs rangs. D'ailleurs ils n'ont point de bayonnettes pour résister à celles de l'ennemi, il ne leur reste plus qu'à fuir, et je serai ainsi totalement défait.

Telle est ma situation, la plus pénible pour un général et qui me fait, en vérité, passer les plus cruels momens. La connoissance que

Copy of a Letter from the Marquis de Montcalm to Mons. de Molé, first President in the Parliament of Paris.

DEAR COUSIN, — For more than three months has Mr. Wolfe been hanging on my hands: he ceases not, night or day, to bombard Quebec with a fury, of which an example can hardly be produced in any siege of a place which the enemy wished to take and to preserve. They have already destroyed, by their artillery, almost the whole of the lower town; and a great part of the upper is demolished by their bombs: but, though they should leave not one stone upon another, they will not be able to carry their point, while they content themselves with attacking us from the opposite shore, which we have abandoned to them from the moment of their landing. Yet, after three months attempting it, they are no farther advanced in the siege, than they were on the first day. The enemy ruins us, but not enriches himself. The campaign cannot last above a month longer, on account of the approach of autumn, which is terrible to a fleet in these seas; as the winds then blow, constantly and periodically, with a most violent and impetuous fury.

It should seem, then, that after such a happy prelude, the security of the colony is not much in danger. Nothing, however, is less certain: the taking of Quebec depends on one masterly-stroke. The English are masters of the river: they have only to effect a landing in that part where the city is situated, unfortified and defenceless. They are in a condition to give us battle, which I must not refuse, and which I cannot hope to gain. General Wolfe, indeed, if he understands his business, has only to receive our first fire, and then advancing briskly on my army, and giving one heavy and general discharge, my Canadians, undisciplined, deaf to the sound of the drum and other military instruments, thrown likewise into disorder by the slaughter, would no more return to their ranks. Besides, they have no bayonets to make their ground good against those of the enemy; nothing remains for them but to run; and thus I shall be totally defeated. Such is my situation — a situation most grievous to a general, and which indeed gives me many bitter moments. The confidence I have of this, has

tenir jusqu'ici sur la défensive, qui m'a réussi; mais réussira-t-elle jusqu'à la fin? Les événements en décideront! Mais une assurance que je puis vous donner, c'est, que je ne survivrais pas probablement à la perte de la colonie. Il est des situations où il ne reste plus à un général, que de périr avec honneur: je crois y être; &, sur ce point, je crois que jamais la postérité n'aura rien à reprocher à ma mémoire; mais si la Fortune decida ma vie, elle ne décidera pas de mes sentimens — ils sont François, & ils le seront, jusque dans le tombeau, si dans le tombeau on est encore quelque chose! Je me consolerais du moins de ma défaite, & de la perte de la colonie, par l'intime persuasion où je suis, que cette défaite vaudrait un jour à ma patrie plus qu'une victoire, & que le vainqueur en s'aggrandissant, trouverait un tombeau dans son aggrandissement même.

Ce que j'avance ici, mon cher cousin, vous paraîtra un paradoxe; mais un moment de réflexion politique, un coup d'œil sur la situation des choses en Amérique, & la vérité de mon opinion, brillera dans tout son jour. Non, mon cher cousin, les hommes n'obéissent qu'à la force & à la nécessité; c'est-à-dire, que quand ils voyent armées devant leurs yeux, un pouvoir toujours prêt, & toujours suffisant, pour les y contraindre, ou quand la chaîne de leurs besoins, leur en dicte la loi. Hors de là point de joug pour eux, point l'obéissance, de leur part: ils sont à eux; ils vivent libres, parcequ'ils n'ont rien au dedans, rien au dehors, ne les oblige à se dépouiller de cette liberté, qui est le plus bel appanage, le plus précieuse prerogative de l'humanité. Voilà hommes! — & sur ce point les Anglois, soit par éducation, soit par sentiment, sont plus hommes que les autres. La gêne de la contrainte leur déplaît plus qu'à tout autre: il leur faut respirer un air libre & dégagé; sans cela ils sont hors de leur élément. Mais si ce sont là les Anglois de l'Europe, c'est encore plus les Anglois de l'Amérique. Un grand partie de ces colons sont les enfans de ces hommes qui s'expatrièrent dans ces temps de trouble, où l'ancienne Angleterre, en proie aux divisions, étoit attaquée dans ses privilèges & droits, & allèrent chercher en Amérique une terre, où ils puissent vivre & mourir libres, & presque indépendants; & ces enfans n'ont pas dégénérées des sentimens républicains de leurs pères. D'autres sont des hommes, ennemis de tout frein, de tout assujettissement, que le gouvernement y a transporté pour leurs crimes. D'autres, enfin, sont un ramas de différentes nations de l'Europe, qui tiennent très peu à l'ancienne Angleterre par le cœur & le sentiment. Tous, en général ne se soucient guères du roi ni du parlement d'Angleterre.

J'en ai m'a toujours fait tenir sur la défensive, qui m'a réussi jusqu'à ce moment: en sera-t-il de même jusqu'à la fin? L'événement le justifiera. Soyez au moins certain d'une chose: c'est qu'assurément je ne survivrai pas à la perte de la colonie. Il est des positions où il ne reste à un général qu'à mourir avec honneur. C'est là ma façon de voir. La postérité n'aura, à cet égard, rien à reprocher à ma mémoire. La fortune, quoiqu'elle décide de ma vie, n'influera en rien sur ma façon de penser, qui est celle d'un vrai François, et qui sera de même jusques au tombeau, là si nous sommes encore quelque chose, je me consolerais de ma défaite et de la perte de la colonie par la ferme persuasion que cette défaite sera un jour plus avantageuse à ma patrie que la victoire, et que le conquérant, en l'aggrandissant trouvera son tombeau dans le pays qu'il aura conquis sur nous.

Ce que je dis, mon cher cousin, vous semble un paradoxe; mais une seule réflexion politique, un seul coup d'œil sur l'état actuel de l'Amérique, et mon opinion est démontrée. Les hommes, mon cher cousin, n'obéissent qu'à la force et à la nécessité. C'est à dire lorsqu'ils voient devant eux des troupes toujours prêtes à les contenir, ou lorsque la chaîne des besoins les soumet à la loi; hors de ce cas, ils secouent le joug, ils n'agissent que pour eux: ils vivent libres par ce que physiquement ni moralement, rien ne les oblige à contredire cette liberté, l'ornement le plus aimable et la plus belle prerogative de la nature humaine.

Observez le genre humain, et vous verrez les Anglois sur ce point plus homme que les autres peuples. Cette espèce de contrainte leur déplaît plus qu'à tout autres; ils doivent respirer un air libre et sans bornes, sans quoi ils ne se trouvent pas en leur élément, si c'est là le génie des Anglois en Europe, ce l'est bien plus en Amérique. Une grande partie de leurs colons sont les enfans de ces hommes qui abandonnèrent l'Angleterre quand leurs droits et leurs privilèges furent attaqués au milieu des dissensions qui la bouleversaient; ils vinrent en Amérique chercher des terres où ils pourraient vivre et mourir libres et quasi indépendants. Ceux-ci n'ont pas dégénéré des principes républicains de leurs pères. D'autres, ennemis de toute contrainte et de toute soumission, sont ceux que le gouvernement y a fait transporter pour leurs crimes; d'autres enfin sont un ramassis de différentes nations de l'Europe dont le cœur n'est point animé de grands sentimens pour l'Angleterre. Tous en général ont peu de respect pour le Roi ou le parlement d'Angleterre. Je les connais

induced me always to act on the defensive, which has hitherto succeeded; but will it succeed in the end? The event must decide. But of one thing be certain, that I probably shall not survive the loss of the colony. There are situations, in which it only remains to a general to fall with honour: such this appears to me; and on this head, posterity shall not reproach my memory: though Fortune may decide upon my life, she shall not decide on my opinions — they are truly French, and shall be so even in the grave, if in the grave we are any thing! I shall at least console myself on my defeat, and on the loss of the colony, by the full persuasion that this defeat will one day serve my country more than a victory, and that the conqueror, in aggrandizing himself will find his tomb the country he gains from us.

What I have here advanced, my dear cousin, will appear to you paradoxical; but a moment's political reflection, a single glance upon the situation of affairs in America, and the truth of my opinion must appear. No, my dear cousin; it is to force and necessity only, that men obey; that is, when they see armies before their eyes, always ready and sufficient to controul them, or when the chain of their necessities reminds them of the law. Beyond this, they submit to no yoke; they act for themselves; they live free, because nothing internal or external obliges them to throw off that liberty, which is the most lovely ornament, and the most valuable prerogative of human nature! Search mankind; and upon this principle the English, whether from education or sentiment, are more men than others. This kind of constraint displeases them more than any other: they must breathe a free and unconfined air, otherwise they would be out of their element. But if this is the genius of the English of Europe, it is still more so with those of America. A great part of these colonists are the children of those men who emigrated from England when their rights and privileges were attacked in that country, which was then torn by dissensions; they went in search of lands in America, where they could live and die free, and almost independent: these children have not degenerated from the republican principles of their fathers. Others there are, enemies to all restraint and submission, whom the government has transported thither, for their crimes. Lastly, there are others, a collection of the different nations of Europe, who hold very little regard for England in their hearts and sentiments: all, in general, care very little either for the king or parliament of England.

Je les connois bien, non sur des rapports étrangers, mais sur des informations & des correspondances secrets, que j'ai moi-même ménagés, & dont un jour, si Dieu me prête vie, je pourrais faire usage à l'avantage de ma patrie. Pour surcroît de bonheur pour eux, tous ces colons sont parvenu dans un état très florissant : ils sont nombreux & riches ; ils recueillent, dans le sein de leur patrie, toutes les nécessités de la vie. L'ancienne Angleterre à été assez sotté, & assez dupe, pour leur laisser établir chez eux les arts, les metiers, les manufactures ; c'est-à-dire, qu'elle leur a laissé briser la chaîne de besoins, qui les lioit, qui les attachoit à elle, & qui en fait dependans. Aussi toutes ces colonies Angloises auroient, depuis long temps, secoué le joug, chaque province auroit formé une petite republique indépendante, si la crainte de voir les François à leur porte n'avoit été un frein, qui les avoit retenu. Maîtres pour maîtres ils ont préféré leurs compatriotes aux étrangers, prenant cependant, pour maxime, de n'obéir que le moins qu'ils pourroient ; mais que le Canada vint à être conquis, & que les Canadiens & ces colons ne fussent plus qu'un seul peuple, & le premier occasion, où l'ancienne Angleterre sembleroit toucher à leurs intérêts, croiez-vous, mon cher cousin, que ces colons obéiroient ? Et qu'auroient-ils à craindre, en se revoltant ? L'ancienne Angleterre auroit-elle une armée de cent ou de deux cens milles hommes à leur opposer dans cette distance ? Il est vrai, qu'elle est pourvue de vaisseaux, que les villes de l'Amerique Septentrionale, qui sont d'ailleurs en très petit nombre, sont toutes ouvertes, sans fortifications, sans citadelles, & que quelques vaisseaux de guerre dans le port suffiroient pour les contenir dans le devoir ; mais l'intérieur du pays, qui forme un objet d'un bien plus grande importance, qui iroit le conquerir à-travers les rochers, les lacs, les rivières, les bois, les montagnes, qui le coupent par-tout, & où une poignée d'hommes connoissans le terrain, suffiroit pour détruire de grands armées ? D'ailleurs, si ces colons venoient à gagner les sauvages, & à les ranger de leur côté, les Anglois, avec toutes leurs flottes, seroient maîtres de la mer ; mais je ne sçais s'ils en viendroient jamais à débarquer. Ajoutez, que dans le cas d'une revolte générale de la part de ces colonies, toutes les puissances de l'Europe, ennemis secrettes & jalouses de la puissance de l'Angleterre, leur aideroient d'abord sous main, & avec le temps ouvertement, à secouer le joug.

bien, non par les rapports des étrangers, mais par des instructions et des correspondances secrettes que je me suis ménagé et que je ferai servir si Dieu prolonge mes jours à l'avantage de ma patrie. Que manque-t-il à leur bonheur les planteurs sont parvenus à un état florissant, ils sont nombreux et riches, ils trouvent chez eux tout ce qui est nécessaire à la vie. L'Angleterre a été assez peu prévoyante pour y laisser introduire les arts, le commerce et les manufactures, par ou elle les a mis en état de briser les chaines de la nécessité qui les contenaient, les liaient à elle, et les mettaient sous sa dépendance. Les Anglais des colonies auraient depuis longtemps secoué le joug si la crainte des Français qu'ils voyent à leurs portes ne les eut retenus. Maître pour maître, ils aiment mieux être soumis à leurs compatriotes qu'à des étrangers, en observant la maxime de n'obéir que le moins possible. Mais quand le Canada sera conquis, et que les Canadiens et ce peuple n'en feront qu'un, à la première occasion où l'Angleterre semblera toucher à leurs intérêts, pensez-vous, mon cher cousin, que les colonies veuillent obéir ? et qu'auront-elles à craindre d'une revolte ? L'Angleterre pourrat-elle envoyer à cette distance une armée de cent ou deux cent mille hommes ? il est vrai que sa flotte est formidable, que d'ailleurs les villes du nord de l'Amerique Septentrionale sont en petit nombre et sans citadelles ou fortifications, et qu'il suffit de peu de gens dans leurs ports pour les contenir dans le devoir. Mais la partie avancée dans les terres qui forme un objet de la plus grande importance, qui osera entreprendre d'en faire la conquête, parmi les rocs, les lacs, les forests, et les montagnes qui la coupent partout dans tout les sens ? et où une poignée de gens suffirait pour détruire la plus grande armée ? Les planteurs attireront les sauvages dans leurs interests. Les Anglais avec leur flotte seront à la vérité les maîtres de la mer, mais je doute qu'ils puissent jamais faire une heureuse descente. Ajoutez que dans le cas d'une revolte de quelqu'une de leurs colonies, les autres puissances d'Europe, jalouses et en secret ennemis de la Grande Bretagne, les aideront, d'abord en cachette et ensuite publiquement, à secouer le joug. Il faut que je

I know them well ; not from the reports of strangers, but from information and secret correspondences, which I myself managed, and which, if God spares my life, I will one day turn to the advantage of my country. To add to their happiness, the planters have all arrived at a very flourishing situation : they are numerous and rich ; they centre in the bosom of their country, all the necessities of life. England has been so foolish and weak, as to suffer them to establish arts, trades, and manufactures, and thereby enabled them to break the chain of necessity which bound and attached them to her, and which made them dependent. All the English colonies would long since have shaken off the yoke, each province would have formed itself into a little independent republic, if the fear of seeing the French at their door had not been a check upon them. Master for master, they have preferred their own countrymen to strangers, observing, however, this maxim, to obey as little as possible : but when Canada shall be conquered, and the Canadians and these colonies become one people, on the first occasion, when England shall seem to strike at their interest, do you believe, my dear cousin, that these colonies will obey ? and what would they have to fear from a revolt ? Could England send an army of an hundred or two hundred thousand men to oppose them at such a distance ? It is true, she possesses a fleet, and the towns of North America, besides being few in number, are all open, without citadels or fortifications, and that a few men of war in their ports would be sufficient to keep them to their duty ; but the interior part of the country, which forms an object of much greater importance, who would undertake to conquer it, over rocks, lakes, rivers, woods, and mountains, which every where intersect it, and where a handful of men, acquainted with the country, would be sufficient to destroy the greatest armies ? Besides, should the planters be able to bring the savages into their interests, the English, with all their fleets, would be masters of the sea ; but I doubt whether they would ever make good a landing. Add too, that in case of a general revolt, of any part of these colonies, all the powers of Europe, secret and jealous enemies of the power of England, would at first assist them privately, and then openly, to throw off the yoke.

Je ne puis cependant pas dissimuler que l'ancienne Angleterre, avec un peu de bonne politique, pourroit toujours se réserver dans les mains une ressource toujours prête pour mettre à la raison ses anciennes colonies. Le Canada, considéré en lui-même, dans ses richesses, dans ses forces, dans le nombre de ses habitans, n'est rien en comparaison du conglobat des colonies Angloises; mais la valeur, l'industrie, la fidélité de ses habitans, y supplie si bien, que depuis plus d'un siècle ils se battent avec avantage contre toutes ces colonies: dix Canadiens sont suffisant contre cent colons Anglois. L'expérience journalière prouve ce fait. Si l'ancienne Angleterre, après avoir conquis le Canada sçavoit se l'attacher par la politique & les bienfaits, & se le conserver à elle seule, si elle le laissoit à sa religion, à ses loix, à son langage, à ses coutumes, à son ancien gouvernement, le Canada, divisé dans tous ces points d'avec les autres colonies, formeroit toujours un pais isolé, qui n'entreroit jamais dans leurs intérêts, ni dans leurs vûes, ne fut ce que par principe de religion; mais ce n'est pas là la politique Britannique. Les Anglois font-ils une conquête, il faut qu'ils changent la constitution du pays, ils y portent leurs loix, leurs coutumes, leurs façons de penser, leur religion même, qu'ils font adopter sous peine, au moins, de privation des charges; c'est-à-dire, de la privation de la qualité de citoyen. Persecution plus sensible que celle des tourmens; parcequ'elle attaque l'orgueil & l'ambition des hommes, & que les tourmens n'attaquent que la vie, que l'orgueil & l'ambition font souvent mépriser. En mot, êtes-vous vaincu, conquis par les Anglois? — il faut devenir Anglois! Mais les Anglois ne devraient-ils pas comprendre, que les têtes des hommes ne sont pas toutes des têtes Angloises, & sur-tout d'esprits? Ne devraient-ils pas sentir, que les loix doivent être relatives aux climats, aux mœurs des peuples, & se varier, pour être sage, avec la diversité des circonstances? Chaque pays a ses arbres, ses fruits, ses richesses particuliers: vouloir n'y transporter que les arbres, que les fruits d'Angleterre, seroit une ridicule impardonable. Il est de même des loix, qui doivent s'adapter aux climats; parceque les hommes eux-mêmes tiennent beaucoup des climats.

Mais c'est là une politique que les Anglois n'entendent pas, ou plutôt ils l'entendent bien, car ils ont la reputation d'être un peuple plus pensant que les autres; mais ils ne peuvent pas adopter un tel système par le système manqué & defectueux de leurs constitutions. Sur ce pied le Canada, pris une fois par les Anglois,

le dise, avec un peu plus de prévoyance dans sa politique, l'Angleterre aurait toujours eu en main, de quoi mettre les colons à la raison. Le Canada, considéré en lui même pour ses richesses, ses forces, et le nombre de ses habitans n'est rien en comparaison du reste des colonies anglaises; mais la valeur, l'industrie, et la fidélité de ses habitans supplée si bien au nombre, que pendant plus d'un siècle, ils ont combattu avec avantage, contre toutes les autres colonies. Dix Canadiens valent autant que cent colons Anglais. L'expérience l'apprend tout les jours. Si l'Angleterre, après la conquête sait la manière de se les attacher par la politique et la bonté, et les garder pour elle seule, si elle leur laisse leur religion, leurs coutumes, leur langage, et leur gouvernement le Canada séparé sous tous les rapports, des autres colonies, formera un pays distinct qui n'entrera jamais dans leurs vues, ne fut-ce que par principes de religion. Mais ce n'est point la manière des Anglais. S'ils en font la conquête, ils changeront assurément la constitution du pays, et y introduiront leurs loix, leurs coutumes, leur manière de penser, et leur religion; ce qui sera une double peine pour les vaincus. Enfin ils les écarteront de toutes les charges publiques, espèce de privation des droits de citoyen, persécution plus sensible que les supplices, parcequ'elle attaque l'orgueil et l'ambition des hommes; tandis que les supplices attaquent seulement la vie que l'orgueil et l'ambition nous font souvent mépriser. En un mot, soyez conquis par les anglais, vous serez bientôt anglais. Mais ils devraient se souvenir que tous les hommes n'ont pas la tête anglaise, et qu'ils en ont encore moins l'esprit. Ne devraient-ils pas s'apercevoir que les lois doivent être appropriées au climat et aux mœurs des peuples, et qu'elles sont prudemment variées relativement aux diverses circonstances. Chaque pays a ses arbres, ses fruits, et ses richesses particulières. Vouloir transporter ailleurs les arbres et les fruits d'Angleterre seroit une folie inexcusable. Il en est de même de leurs lois qui doivent être adaptées au climat, parceque les hommes tiennent eux-même beaucoup du climat. C'est là une espèce de politique qu'ils n'entendent point, ou, à mieux dire, qu'ils entendent très bien; car ils passent pour le peuple le plus réfléchi; mais que l'imperfection de leur constitution les empêche d'adapter.

En revenant au Canada: une fois pris par les Anglais, il souffrira beaucoup en peu d'an-

I must however confess, that England, with a little good policy might always keep in her hands a resource ready to bring her ancient colonies to reason. Canada, considered in itself, in its riches, forces, and number of inhabitants, is nothing to compare to the bulk of the English colonies; but the valour, industry, and fidelity of its inhabitants, so well supply the place of numbers, that for more than an age, they have fought with advantage against all the colonies: ten Canadians are more than a match for an hundred English colonists. Daily experience proves this to be fact. If England, after having conquered Canada, knew how to attach it to her by policy and kindnesses, and to reserve it to herself alone; if she left them their religion, laws and language, their customs and ancient form of government, Canada, separated in every respect from the other colonies, would always form a distinct country, which would never enter into their views and interests, were it only from principles of religion; but this is not the policy of Britain. If the English make a conquest, they are sure to change the constitution of the country, and introduce their own laws, customs, modes of thinking, and even their religion, which they impose under pain, at least, of disqualification to any public office; that is, depriving them of the rights of citizens. — A persecution more sensible than that of torments; because it attacks the pride and ambition of men, while torments affect only the life, which pride and ambition often make us despise. In a word, are you conquered, conquered by Englishmen? — You must become Englishmen! But ought not the English to remember, that the heads of men are not all the heads of Englishmen, and much less their minds? Ought they not to perceive, that the laws should be suitable to the climates and manners of the people, and that they should be prudently varied, according to the different circumstances? Each country has its peculiar trees, fruits and riches; to transport the trees and fruits only of England thither would be an unpardonable folly. It is the same with their laws, which ought to be adapted to the climate; because men themselves derive much from climate.

This is a species of policy which the English do not understand, or rather understand it well; for they have the reputation of being a more thinking people than others; but they cannot adopt such a system, on account of the imperfect and defective system of their own constitutions. Upon this account, Canada, once taken by the English,

peu d'années suffiroient pour le faire devenir Anglois. Voilà les Canadiens transformés en politiques, en negocians, en hommes infatués d'une pretendue liberté, qui chez la populace tient souvent en Angleterre de la licence, & de l'anarchie. Adieu, donc, leur valeur, leur simplicité, leur generosité, leur respect pour tout ce qui est revêtu de l'autorité, leur frugalité, leur obéissance, & leur fidelité; c'est-à-dire, ne feroient bien-tôt plus rien pour l'ancienne Angleterre, & qu'ils feroient peut-être contre elle. Je suis si sur de ce que j'écris, que je ne donnerai pas dix ans après la conquête de Canada pour en voir l'accomplissement.

Voilà ce que, comme François, me console aujourd'hui du danger eminent que court ma patrie, de voir cette colonie perdue pour elle; mais, comme général, je n'en ferai pas moins tous mes efforts pour le conserver. Le Roi, mon maitre, me l'ordonne: il suffit. Vous sçavez que nous sommes d'un sang, qui fut toujours fidele à ses Rois; & ce n'est pas à moi à degenerer de la vertu de mes ancêtres. Je vous mande ces reflexions, à-fin que, si le sort des armes en Europe nous obligeoit jamais à plier & à subir à la loi, vous puissiez en faire l'usage, que vôtre patriotisme vous inspirera.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, mon cher cousin, vôtre très humble, &c.

MONTCALM.

Du camp devant Quebec, 24 d'Août, 1759.

nées pour devenir Anglois. Les Canadiens deviendront des politiques, des marchands, et des hommes infatués d'une pretendue liberté qui dégénère souvent chez la populace anglaise en licence et en anarchie. Alors plus de valeur, de simplicité, de générosité et de respect pour tout ce qui porte l'empreinte de l'autorité; plus de frugalité, de soumission et de fidelité. Ils vont être bientôt en discussion et divisés d'intérêt avec l'Angleterre. J'en suis si assuré que je ne donne pour le voir pas plus de dix ans après la conquête du Canada.

Voilà ce qui, en vrai français, me console du danger imminent de perdre la colonie. Cependant je ferai comme général, tout ce qui sera en moi pour la défendre. Le roi, mon maître, me l'ordonne ainsi; et cela me suffit. Vous savez que nous sommes d'un sang qui a toujours été fidèle à son autorité, et je ne dégénérerai pas de cette vertu de mes ancêtres. Je vous envoie ces reflexions, afin que si jamais le sort des armes nous obligeait à céder et à recevoir la loi, vous en fassiez usage de la manière que l'amour de la patrie vous fera paraître le plus avantageuse.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, mon cher cousin, votre cher cousin, votre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur,

MONTCALM.

Du camp devant Quebec, 24 Août, 1759.

[While the Publishing Committee were preparing these several copies of the Montcalm letter for the press, a careful comparison of the English and French copies, as published side by side by Almon, was made, when it was soon perceived that the English copy could not be regarded as a literal translation from that of the French. The same comparison was made at the same time with the other French copy recently obtained from the papers of the Marquis of Montcalm, and with a similar result. The English copy, it was found, could not have been translated from either of the French taken separately: sometimes it corresponds with one, and sometimes with the other. The question then suggested itself to the editor of this

would, in a few years suffer much from being forced to be English. Thus would the Canadians be transformed into politicians, merchants, and men infatuated with a pretended liberty, which, among the populace in England, sinks often into anarchy and licentiousness. Farewell then to their valour, simplicity, generosity, and respect to every thing in the shape of authority; farewell to their frugality, obedience and fidelity: they would soon be of no use to England, and perhaps they would oppose her. I am so clear in what I now assert, that I would not give more than ten years after the conquest of Canada, to see it accomplished.

See then what now consoles me, as a Frenchman, for the imminent danger my country runs of losing this colony; but, as a general, I will do my best to preserve it. The King, my master, orders me to do so: that is sufficient. You know we are of that blood, which was always faithful to its kings, and it is not for me to degenerate from the virtue of my ancestors. I send you these reflections with this view, that if the fate of arms in Europe should ever oblige us to bend and to receive the law, you may make use of them in such manner as the love of your country shall direct you.

I have the honour to be, my dear cousin, your most humble, &c.

MONTCALM.

CAMP BEFORE QUEBEC, Aug. 24, 1759.

volume whether the English copy should not be regarded as the original, and the French copies as two independent translations from that. Such an hypothesis, of course, suggests another; namely, that the letter is a forgery. The importance, therefore, of ascertaining with certainty, whether the copy seen by Mr. Parkman in the possession of the Marquis of Montcalm, "on a small soiled sheet of paper," and which "seemed to be the original draft" of the French letter, "with many erasures and interlineations," was really or not in the handwriting of General Montcalm, will be obvious to all. Mr. Parkman kindly offered to write to the Marquis on the subject, and the printing of the "Proceedings" was accordingly suspended in the mean

time. The following is the correspondence between Mr. Parkman and the Marquis of Montcalm:—

(TRANSLATION.)

Boston, Sept. 10, 1869.

MONSIEUR LE MARQUIS, — When I had the honor of meeting you at Paris, I made mention of a book printed at London during the American Revolutionary War, and containing three letters of your illustrious ancestor. One of these letters is that in which he predicts the revolt of the British-American provinces as likely to follow the fall of Canada. There are two copies of this letter among the papers which you had the goodness to place in my hands. One of them is clearly written, but in a hand different from that of the other letters. The other is written on a defaced sheet of paper, in a hand very small and difficult to read, with many erasures and interlineations. It appears to be the first sketch of this famous letter. It is on this point that I wish to gain definite information, and I write in order to inquire whether or not it is in the handwriting of the celebrated Marquis.

I make this inquiry for the following reason: Since my return, I have learned that the authenticity of this letter was seriously questioned at the time of its publication. It was said, in the British parliament, to have been forged for political reasons. To answer these doubts, I produced the copy of the letter made in your house, before the Massachusetts Historical Society. I was listened to with much interest, and those present agreed that its authenticity was almost certain, since a copy of it was found among the family papers of its author. But if the original itself were to be found there, the proof would be unanswerable. I therefore take the liberty of asking you if this be the case, and I shall be greatly obliged to you for any further information which you can give me on the subject. I have compared the copy made for me by M. Jeanne with the printed letter. The ideas are the same, but the words are different throughout. As for the other letters in the English publication, I found none of them among the papers in your possession. They relate solely to the condition of the English colonies in America.

Again thanking you for your extreme kindness, I beg you to accept the assurance of the distinguished consideration with which I am, etc.,

FRANCIS PARKMAN.

*The Marquis of Montcalm to Mr. Parkman.**

MY DEAR SIR, — On my return to Paris from a journey in Germany I found your kind letter of August last. Let me at once ask a thousand pardons for my long silence, which was caused entirely by my absence from France.

It will be impossible for me to give you any real information as to the genuineness of the letter attributed to my great-grandfather. The only thing I can distinctly assert is that the copies found among my papers are not in his handwriting. They were, I think, sent over from England at the end of the last century, and then translated into French. This will explain the discrepancy you have noticed. The style, however, is that of my grandfather, concise, and a little jerky; and the personal sentiments expressed in the letter agree with those found in his other correspondence. I am well aware that this is not enough to establish the genuineness of the letter.

There is a tradition in my family that there exists somewhere in the national archives of England, a large number of papers relating to the Canada war, probably delivered to the English by a faithless secretary after my ancestor's death. Is it not possible that among them was the rough draft of the letter addressed to the First President

* This correspondence was conducted in French, on both sides. The following is the original letter of the Marquis of Montcalm: —

C'est en revenant d'un voyage en Allemagne, Monsieur, que j'ai trouvé à Paris votre aimable lettre du mois d'Août. Laissez-moi d'abord vous demander mille pardons de mon long silence, dont la cause seule est mon éloignement de France.

Il me sera difficile de vous donner un enseignement sérieux sur l'authenticité de la lettre attribuée à mon arrière-grandpère; ce que je peux uniquement affirmer c'est que les copies trouvées dans mes papiers ne sont pas écrites de sa main. Elles ont, je crois, été envoyées d'Angleterre à la fin du dernier siècle, et traduites alors en français, ce qui explique les différences de termes que vous avez remarquées, pourtant le style a bien du rapport avec celui de mon grandpère, concis, un peu saccadé, et les sentiments personnels qui y sont exprimés sont d'accord avec ceux qu'on trouve dans le reste de sa correspondance. Mais cela, je le comprends, ne suffit pas pour établir une réelle authenticité.

La tradition de ma famille est qu'il y a dans les archives nationales anglaises de nombreux papiers relatifs à cette guerre du Canada, papiers qui auraient été livrés aux Anglais, à la mort de mon ayeul, par un secrétaire infidèle. Ne serait-ce pas là qu'on aurait trouvé le brouillon de cette lettre adressée au Premier Président Molé, ou même la lettre elle-même interceptée par quelque croisière anglaise? En somme, je ne saurais, je le répète, Monsieur, lever les doutes que vous pouvez avoir à ce sujet.

Je suis toujours heureux que cette circonstance me donne l'occasion de vous dire combien j'ai été charmé des trop courtes relations que nous avons eues. J'espère que malgré la largeur de l'Atlantique elles se renouvelleront encore, et que je pourrai de vive voix vous exprimer, Monsieur, les sentiments de réelle sympathie et de haute considération avec lesquels, je suis

Votre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur,

PARIS, le 2 Octobre, 1869.

MONTCALM

P.S. — Carlisle, dans l'histoire de Frédéric le Grand, a donné la lettre en question, et il la cite en Français; à quelle source a-t-il puisé le document?

Molé, or even the letter itself, intercepted by some English cruiser? After all, I can only repeat that I cannot solve your doubts in the matter.

I am very glad that this incident has given me a chance to say to you that I have had much pleasure in our too short relations; and to express my hope that, notwithstanding the extent of ocean separating us, they may at some time be renewed, and I may express in person the sentiments of real sympathy and great consideration with which I am

Your very humble and obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

PARIS, 2d October, 1869.

P.S. — Carlyle in his History of Frederic the Great gives the letter in question, and cites it in French. Whence did he get the document?

The result of this correspondence will not tend to strengthen confidence in the genuineness of the letter in question, as it appears that neither copy in the Marquis of Montcalm's possession is in the handwriting of his distinguished ancestor; but both are copies of a later French version made from an English copy, procured from England. If Almon's publication were the source whence the letter in its English form was procured and sent to France at the time mentioned by the marquis, the question might be asked, why that which was represented to be the French original published side by side with it, and which we have reprinted above, did not accompany it?

May we not reasonably conclude that the letter attributed to General Montcalm was written originally in English, and that the general was not its author?]

NOTE. — There were present at this meeting fifty-one members. Before calling the meeting to order, the members were grouped on the steps and the lawn in front of the house, and were photographed by Black. — Eds.