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MARCH MEETING

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the senior Vice-President, SAMUEL A. GREEN, in the chair.

The record of the February meeting was read and approved; and the list of the donors to the Library during the last month was read by the Librarian.

The Recording Secretary, in the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, reported that Dr. J. Collins Warren had accepted his election as a Resident Member, and Edward Doubleday Harris his election as a Corresponding Member.

The Editor announced the deposit with the Society, subject to recall, of the manuscripts of Major-General Jacob Brown, of the War of 1812, by William Allen Hayes, of Boston. The papers are for the use of the Society while in its keeping. He also spoke of the deposit of the first four books of the records of the Second Church of Boston, covering the services of Increase and Cotton Mather in that church. They are to be used in connection with the forthcoming issue of the Mather diaries.

Harold Murdock, of Brookline, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, and Professor Eduard Meyer, of Berlin, an Honorary Member.

The senior Vice-President reported the appointment by the Council of the following Committees, in preparation for the Annual Meeting in April:

- To nominate Officers for the ensuing year,
Messrs. Roger B. Merriman, Andrew McFarland
Davis and Frederic Winthrop.
- To examine the Treasurer's accounts,
Messrs. Thomas Minns and James F. Hunnewell.
- To examine the Library and Cabinet,
Messrs. John O. Sumner, M. A. DeW. Howe and
Ephraim Emerton.

Professor CHANNING presented a copy of a pamphlet entitled "Notes on the Plants of Wineland the Good," by Professor M. L. Fernald, giving the results of his researches into the meaning of certain words used in the Norse Sagas.

The senior Vice-President said :

Since the last meeting William Everett, by seniority of election one of the oldest members of the Society, has died. A man of critical scholarship and great learning, and a person of marked peculiarities withal, there is now no one in the community to fill completely the niche left vacant by his death. Dr. Everett was both a preacher and a teacher, a scholar and an orator, and in all the activities of life he displayed a remarkable mentality and versatility. He was a great wit and ever ready with an apt quotation from either the classics or from English literature. He had strong views on most subjects and was always able to defend them. A graduate of Harvard College and of the Dane Law School, he was thoroughly versed in legal lore, and his fund of knowledge in every department of learning was vast and well-nigh inexhaustible. Admitted to the bar in Suffolk County, on April 8, 1867, he never practised law, and licensed by the Boston Association of Ministers to preach he never was settled over a parish.

Among Dr. Everett's latest literary efforts was his address before this Society on the Tercentenary of the birth of the great English Puritan, which was a masterly production and well worthy of the subject. It was a keen analysis of the character of a matchless poet ; and the peroration was a noble and eloquent tribute paid by a scholar in close sympathy with the views of a defender of liberty against royal prerogative. He saw a vision representing Milton, about the age of thirty, visiting the Continent and passing considerable time in the chief cities of Italy.

Dr. Everett was chosen a member of the Society on March 8, 1876 ; and his death took place at Quincy on February 16.

Agreeably to a long usage on such occasions, the Reverend Dr. McKenzie, a classmate and for four years his college chum, will pay a tribute to the memory of our late associate ; and Dr. James Schouler, another classmate, will also give his reminiscences of Dr. Everett.

Dr. MCKENZIE spoke substantially as follows :

I am glad that I can speak of my friend and companion, as I am asked to do. But it is not altogether easy to say all which I would, while I fear that in any case I should be obliged to talk of myself and more than I like. My knowledge of William Everett began at our entering Harvard. His father desired that he should be associated with one older than himself, and Dr. Taylor of Andover gave him my name, and referred him to Mr. Samuel Lawrence, in whose counting-house I was for four years. The result was that I was invited to Mr. Everett's house on Summer Street, where I met the father and the son. Mr. Everett gave me some account of William, who had, he said, at an earlier time possessed a phenomenal memory. As his years increased this distinction was lessened. This is the only fact which I now recall. More could have been said. Mr. Everett advised me to call on President Walker, whose account of William was not altogether assuring. He spoke of the hazing which was then in practice, and remarked, "You will have no trouble; your chum may, for he is conceited and green." This was quite in the President's manner. But as a matter of fact we had no trouble worth mentioning. To have your window broken at night was not a serious disaster, especially as it was remedied the next morning as a matter of course. Mr. Everett had secured for us one of the best two freshman rooms, Holworthy 1, under Tutor Sophocles, and there our common life began. My chum proved a congenial companion. His character was complex to one outside of it, but it was simple in itself. There were times of quietness and times of very decided speech and action, as we have seen later. He was much like the deep sea, which keeps its identity while it changes its appearance. But there was no rudeness or thoughtlessness in his relations with me. I do not recall a rude word or an unkind act in the years we spent in the same rooms. For we remained together to the end. Mr. Everett said it was one of the rare instances in which two men lived in this manner and came out friends. But friends we have been through these fifty years. He wrote to me freely and often, and always signed himself with a word of affection. His ability was unquestioned. I think he could easily have led

the class in rank. But he was not, in the phrase of those times, what was known as a "dig." He learned readily and trusted to his rapid survey of his lessons. Sometimes he relied too much on his superficial work, and was tripped at some point which he had regarded too hastily. He was cheerful, and inclined to be playful, but he had no particular college sports. His favorite game was checkers, which out-ranked chess in his regard. His close companion in this pursuit was Frank Hopkinson, and they had much in common. He carried himself in a friendly way toward his classmates, though he had a habit of expressing himself with unnecessary force concerning some lapse in learning, like a false quantity in Latin. But he was not unkind, nor did he make any parade of his inherited name and reputation. He felt the dignity of his house, but was not eager to assert it. He had high rank, but made no display. He was of the eight who had orations at Commencement, and his theme is a suggestion of his habitual thought. It was "Athens, the Universal Teacher." The reporter described it as "an able and thrilling performance, full of emotion and enthusiasm."

I presume it is Everett's abrupt and at times severe manner of speech which will be best remembered by those who had only an acquaintance with him, and possibly not even that. This was characteristic, as we all know — whence he received it I cannot say. I doubt if the psychologists could explain it. It is a common opinion that a young man is greatly affected by those with whom he is in close association. William Everett was the son of his father, who was the perfection of courtesy and quietness. He was intimate with his father. They talked and walked together, and the son learned many things. It would seem inevitable that he should unconsciously come under the control of one whom he so greatly revered. Yet two men were never more unlike. Whether he inherited a different manner from some other source I cannot say. Dr. Andrew P. Peabody might bring the instance under his theory of a succession of inheritances, so that when one was spent the other could assert itself. Mrs. Everett I saw but once, when she walked with me in the garden at Medford, and was full of kindness. The problem is interesting, but is quite beyond me.

That William did derive much knowledge of men and

events from his father is beyond question. He could talk English history as if he had been a part of it. Many of its men he had seen, and all of them he knew. Yet there seemed nothing of conceit in his conversation and addresses. He never seemed to regard it as remarkable that he knew so much.

His comments and opinions on general subjects were distinctive. The sentence which he would almost readily throw out had a good basis of truth and reason. I have had an increasing confidence in his judgment. If I have not followed it as of authority, I have felt its sustaining force. I have found myself falling back upon it, and when he was talking with a friend the manner of his counsel was convincing.

His career after leaving college is well known: his study at the English Cambridge, his return to Harvard as a teacher, his term in Congress, and then the later years. His life has been called a tragedy. It had that aspect, but I regard it rather as a disappointment. He would have liked to tread in his father's steps. He turned naturally to the Christian ministry. When we were together we had daily prayers in which we alternated as leaders. This was an extension of his home life. Theology we never discussed. Whether his father had cautioned him against this, or whether it was his own good sense, I do not know. Afterwards he consulted me upon his thought of obtaining ecclesiastical authority for preaching. I advised him to get it, and he did, and he filled my own pulpit more than once. I think he would gladly have become a parish minister had he been asked to do so.

It was with this feeling that he entered on his latest work as the principal of a boys' school. He believed in his boys and loved them, and took all pains to serve them. He was a religious teacher. He prepared sermons for the school, writing many of them with great care. They are good sermons, rich in thought and even more rich in a controlling purpose to help the boys to be men. For this he cared most. You could not more readily provoke him than by a careless question, "How many boys do you send to college, this year?" Then he would storm. "That's what they all ask: how many boys do you send to college?" That was not the great thing with him. Numbers he could not control. It was the kind of boy he sent, and his equipment, which most concerned him.

This is a very informal presentment of a man whom I knew and loved. In his learning, his ability, his integrity, and in his opinions and methods I have large confidence. I have spoken of him as I knew him. I am glad to conclude these simple words with one remark. If I were entering Harvard College now, there is no man in the Class of 1859 whom I would sooner have for a chum than William Everett.

Mr. QUINCY followed, saying :

It is probable that I have known Dr. Everett longer than any one who is present. For I made his acquaintance in the year 1846, and saw more or less of him during the sequent years of my college course. He was then presented to me as well as to my fellow students, not as Dr. Everett, nor even as the Willie Everett known to his family, but as the " Infant Phenomenon." ¹ The name of course was borrowed from Dickens and was not misapplied to the little fellow who could talk fluently of the deep things in history, diplomacy and even theology. As his brother was a classmate of mine with whom I was on intimate terms, I had frequent opportunities of hearing this younger member of the family discourse upon the current events of the day in a manner that was interesting, as well as amazing from its maturity and confidence.

I knew him afterward when he came to live in Quincy and took charge of the Adams Academy, of which I was one of the trustees. He was a most entertaining visitor at my house — always retaining the same positiveness in his judgments which characterized them in the earlier days. Tennyson tells us that his friend Arthur Hallam objected to the rough world of business and enterprise by which we are environed, "for, ground in yonder social mill, we rub each other's angles down." Now this same social mill never ground hard enough to rub away the decorative angles of our friend. And so — to offset Hallam's complaint — here was a case in which the friction did *not* "merge in form and gloss the picturesque of man and man." And I am disposed to think that this picturesqueness was a notable by-product of the scholar, orator and poet. It broke the monotony of our daily ex-

¹ The use of this title as applied to young Everett was confirmed by Dr. Green, immediately after the reading of this tribute.

perience. If one said, "How do you do, Dr. Everett?" the response was likely to be something more than the conventional "Pretty well, I thank you." His was an intense mind that pushed away the trite commonplaces which so easily present themselves. And like other intelligences of this fine quality he paid the penalty in a certain narrowness of interest and outlook. He was, I think, always conservative. He was in no haste to cast aside the old garments of custom and belief which had done good service to those who preceded us. And this had its value in a time when so many conflicting ideals were presented for adoption, and varying speculations floated in the atmosphere.

While we accept the homely saying that it takes all sorts of men to make up a world, we necessarily consider the differing values of these components. And when we can recognize among them the presence of a salient personality, — like that of William Everett, — we feel that here is an important counter-force to the hasty tendencies of the day which are always seeking to have their way with us.

Mr. SCHOULER, a Corresponding Member, paid the following tribute:

Dr. William Everett was by instinct, training and tradition a public character; and of the thousands in our Boston neighborhood who in the course of the last fifty years or more have met and spoken with him, and noted his unique and striking — even eccentric — personality, few, very few of his own generation have known him intimately — none, indeed, unless they held from himself the rare talisman of his inner confidence.

Long years ago, during my brief connection as a school-boy with the Boston Latin School, of which that strongly individual character, Francis Gardner, had just been made head master, and on a public Saturday when we all gathered in the upper hall, the highest class capped verses from Virgil. In this contest a young stripling of about my own age, with red hair, bore off the honors over fellow-students most of whom must have been at least four years older. This, I was told, was a son of the famous Edward Everett. When, therefore, after some changes of school life and parental domicile I entered Harvard in the Class of 1859, this same youth as a fellow-freshman appeared to me no stranger; though evidently his precocity

in the classics had not brought him into college life earlier than his age would warrant. In those undergraduate years the classes, so small in number as compared with what they are now, met familiarly in recitations and socially, so that during the four years' course we came to know one another through and through, and could judge quite fairly of the traits and probable careers in life of our fellows. Everett, of our number, was marked for high distinction, with his marvellous fondness for books and literature, his scholarship, and his eager emulation of the great orators of Greece and Rome; and, withal, as one whose coming zeal was to lead and direct the people, "and read his history in a nation's eyes."

The flower of his life's achievement has closely corresponded with the germ. Great faults, great virtues, were mingled in his inner nature. Had he thus early or in later life found the tender and softening influence of some devoted woman's companionship, to smooth his pathway and polish off his angularities, he might have reached and grasped more firmly, more readily, the ideals of public influence he so bravely sought and so constantly strove for, not always heedful of the enmities his manners and methods might provoke. He might thus have been kept to a closer continuity of effort. But under any circumstances this gnarled, knotted, complex personality was bound to be remarkable. He was genuine, outspoken, forcible, in every utterance.

William Everett was ardently, earnestly, ambitious of distinction, whatever sphere might be open to him. In the first newspaper which I read, announcing his recent death, I found it stated, and stated truly, that he had struggled above the fame of being the son of his father, by his own attainments. I recall that when at college he wrote an article on "Great Names Forgotten" for the "Harvard Magazine" — a students' periodical, long since extinct, of which I was an editor during my senior year; and in this essay he carefully collated historical examples, both ancient and modern, where the public renown gained by some great family leader had eclipsed or obscured the fame of later scions bearing the same name. "He is anxious about himself," was my comment upon that article; and later observation of his manhood confirms that impression. Edward Everett, indeed, the father, was one of our most influential Americans in his own generation and en-

joyed while he lived the highest rewards of fame, as orator, academic scholar and statesman, that his native State or the nation itself could confer, short of that supreme presidential station which comes to so few of us Americans and only as the gift of the whole people. Nor should it be forgotten that while conservative for a space, in honest efforts to keep North and South bound fraternally by the old compact of freedom and slavery, he ceased those efforts the moment Fort Sumter fell and for the rest of his noble life upheld earnestly the cause which finally triumphed. No real biography of Edward Everett has yet issued from the press, so far as I am aware — not even in the “Statesmen” or other popular series of handy volumes; and for this, perhaps, the son was partially at fault, who gathered materials long ago, for a filial memoir, but never fulfilled the task himself nor delegated it to others.

Any such seeming neglect, however, on the son’s part, I would not impute to a rival ambition, but rather to the diversity of his own ambitious efforts, which weakened their final effect. Had he concentrated his talents and energy upon some master task requiring long and patient work, or sought in his lofty flights some particular direction, he would have achieved splendid results. When he returned to Massachusetts after a graduate course at the Cambridge University across the ocean, — and non-professional graduate work in those days our young men seldom pursued, — it seemed as though each avenue to fame in this vicinity stood wide open to his choice. In the old Archway building on Washington Street, opposite the head of Franklin, where Lowell Institute lectures were then delivered, he began a course on the English university life which I attended, before a large and expectant audience, with several of Boston’s solid men on the platform, and our Society’s distinguished President, Robert C. Winthrop, to introduce him. Thus well was he started as a public lecturer.

It was not very long after this that he joined the faculty of his alma mater as a tutor and assistant professor, and it seemed as though his vocation in life were fairly opened at our own leading University. But he gained, beside, a license to preach; and when the society of Brattle Square Church moved to Commonwealth Avenue, and its minister, Dr. Lothrop, resigned with advancing years, Everett sought earnestly to be chosen the successor. He took steps also for membership in

the Boston Bar. And, more than this, he showed an incessant eagerness to enter political life, which developed throughout his prime, and became in a partial measure gratified.

Two notable changes in Massachusetts routine were made, if I mistake not, in furtherance of William Everett's political aspirations: (1) that article of our venerable constitution which forbade a "president, professor, or instructor of Harvard College" to sit in the legislature was repealed in 1877; (2) under a provision which permits members of Congress to be chosen in districts where the candidate does not reside, he captured once a seat as Representative, after the English Parliamentary fashion, when Independents and Democrats fused under Cleveland's lead against the Republican party.

That non-resident victory at the polls, in 1892, was doubtless the most auspicious of Dr. Everett's whole career, and to him the most inspiring. On the floor of the famous representative arena at our nation's capital he found himself well equipped for debate and at once made friends and fame by his gift of oratory. The jesting phrase of his speech there as to "depositing in a cavity" has become a national expression. I have often since wished for his sake that he might have gained a constituency both loyal and appreciative, so as to become by successive re-elections a national figure at Washington, like John Randolph or John Quincy Adams of our earlier annals; for his unique and vivacious personality would surely have become historic in renown among those impressive surroundings, while an honest and independent speech and an intelligent vote might have been expected from him on all critical occasions. But this was not to be; and a single congressional term rounded his service to the national public. In politics he was a "mugwump" and an opportunist in affairs; desirous always of good government as he understood it; but not strongly identified with special reforms; and unfitted at all times for submission to party discipline for the sake of a party success, beside being quite disqualified from organizing a personal following.

Hence our associate's fame must rest mainly upon his conspicuous scholarship and gifts of eloquence and written composition, as shown on occasion; and, moreover, upon his good record as a teacher of the young. His long and honorable career as head master of the Adams Academy stands pre-eminent in point of

practical service, and, as he lately testified, the friendships he made there among his own pupils afforded him the chief solace and happiness of his life. Yet even in that excellent vocation of training the young it may be thought that if he had let political diversions alone and confined himself to building up another Rugby like a Dr. Arnold, the final outcome of his efforts at Quincy would have been more lasting and more successful.

So marked a figure and type of character cannot but be long missed in this Society and wherever else he has made his presence familiar. And here, in the region of Massachusetts Bay, where successive generations have seen him, heard him, told anecdotes about him, commented upon his looks, his figure, his manners, the substance of his edifying exposition, whether on lecture platform, at political gatherings, or in the conclave of learned societies; or have read his many letters to the local press, correcting errors of the times, literary, social or historical, after his brusque and incisive fashion, with copious and convincing citations and a wealth of accurate information — all will miss his pungent and brilliant censoriousness. Among the most finished and thoughtful productions of his fertile pen we may place his scholarly address on John Milton, delivered at the celebration of this Society in December, 1908, and his Phi Beta Kappa oration read at Cambridge a few years earlier, on Peace and War; to which may be added the volume of his collected Lowell lectures upon "Italian Poets since Dante." To witty versifying he had turned for variety in old age with something of his youthful effervescence; for in a number of the "Harvard Graduates' Magazine" issued within a twelve-month may be seen a light poem on "The College Bell," which he contributed in humorous parody of Edgar A. Poe.

We should almost have thought that time touched William Everett lightly, like another Anacreon, had we not marked how aged and saddened he looked at Harvard's last Commencement; or had we not attended his last Lowell Institute course, scarcely five months ago, when, lecturing upon a most congenial topic, "The Orators of Great Britain," — his last public appearance in this familiar city, — he found himself so feeble that he had to be helped up stairs and to sit at the desk while he read quietly from his manuscript.

To recall fitly the two Everetts and describe graphically the

successive careers of illustrious father and son may some day engage one of our younger biographers; but his pen should be a sympathetic one, capable of delicate delineation and contrast.

Mr. SANBORN read extracts from a paper on "Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson," to disprove the charges made against them of being unbelievers and atheists. He also dealt with Gouverneur Morris's conduct towards Paine in France.

Mr. WINSLOW WARREN read the following paper:

At the April meeting of this Society in 1898 I made some informal remarks as to the closing of the Boston Custom House under the Boston Port Bill in June, 1774, and also as to the loss of the Customs Records at the time of the evacuation of Boston in March, 1776.¹

I then stated my doubt of the truth of the tradition that the Customs Records were carried to Halifax. This doubt has been much strengthened by later investigation notwithstanding the statements by Edward Winslow, Sen., who was Registrar of Probate for Suffolk County in 1776,² and the last acting Royal Collector in Boston, in the letter following, that the Records of the Probate Office, Registry of Deeds, and Custom House were packed up and sent on a transport to Halifax.

It seems that George W. Murray, of New York, wrote to Edward Winslow in New Brunswick March 4, 1811, stating that Judge Cushing made application soon after the organization of the State of Massachusetts for the records that had been taken away, and that the request was not complied with until after the Revolution, when, however, not all the missing books came back; and that he — Murray — was informed that a gentleman named Fitch had found in a trunk two books marked on the back "Suffolk" that he would like to regain possession of.³

The reply⁴ to this letter is in the possession of Rev. W DeLoss Love of Hartford, Connecticut, and is as follows:

¹ 2 Proc., XII. 192.

² Winslow's commission to this office, dated July 24, 1775, is printed in 2 Proc., II. 233.

³ "Winslow Papers," 1901, published by the New Brunswick Hist. Soc., 666; ⁴ 655.

KINGSCLEAR, N. BRUNS'K, 7th. April, 1811.

DEAR SIR, — Your letter of the 4th March from N. York has been handed to me by Gen'l Coffin, and I regret that it is not in my power to give you full satisfaction upon a subject which cannot fail to excite considerable Interest and Concern. The following facts however, adverted to in your letter are within my recollection :

When Boston was evacuated, F. Hutchinson Esq: was Judge, and I was Registrar of Probate, for the County of Suffolk, and I was at the same time Acting Collector for the Port of Boston.

On the morning of the evacuation the Public Buildings were in possession of a Licentious Rabble, the doors of the Offices were forced, and the Records and papers were exposed to instant destruction. Having a party at my Command, and impressed with a due sense of the importance of preserving them, I found means to pack up and place on board a Transport not only the records of the Probate Office, but also those of the Registry of Deeds and Custom House. The latter office had been peculiarly exposed having been occupied as a Military Guard Room the preceding night. At that time Sam'l Fitch Esq., who was Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty, had been several days embarked on board ship with his family; one of them (a very interesting daughter) was dangerously ill.

On our arrival at Halifax I made application to the Governor of the Province to take the Books and papers into the protection of his Government. Accordingly a place was assigned them in the Surrogate's office in Nova Scotia, under the care of the Surrogate Gen'l Mr. Morris reserving a right of access to them upon any emergent occasion by Judge Hutchinson, who was to remain there.

The Packages were at that time in perfect good order, but whether every Book (particularly of the Register of Deeds Office) was included in the packages (formed amidst scenes of such confusion), it is impossible for me to say. The Anecdote respecting Mr. Fitch I never heard mentioned, altho' I was upon the terms of great intimacy with him and his family, nor do I conceive it probable that he should have encumbered himself with two large folio Volumes of Public Records, in which he had neither interest nor connection, and that at a time when he was sinking under the pressure of Domestic anxieties and afflictions; if such volumes were by any accident found in his possession, I should conjecture that they belonged to the Court of Vice Admiralty, which were ex-officio in his charge.

I left Halifax with the King's Army, and remained with it till the end of the war. Several applications were made for the restoration of the Records, which were rejected, and after the publication of the Treaty they were delivered by Judge Hutchinson, under proper authority, to a committee appointed by Governor Hancock to receive

them, safe and entire as I afterwards understood from the Judge. I believe a Mr. Kent¹ who was at one time State Attorney was one of the Committee. . . .

ED. WINSLOW.

Ordinarily this letter would seem to be conclusive as to the Customs Records, but it was written thirty-five years after the event, and there are many circumstances to show that Mr. Winslow's memory was defective, or that the books he thought were shipped, were not all sent, and in fact that only the Probate Records actually went. The letter states that the Records sent were to be subject to the order of Foster Hutchinson, Judge of Probate, and were all returned after the Peace Treaty to Governor Hancock.²

I have recently come into possession of a letter from Foster Hutchinson to Thomas Cushing, of the Governor's Council in Massachusetts, which has never been published, and which not unlikely was the "application" referred to by Mr. Murray. It will be noticed that it refers only to the Probate Records. The following is a copy :

HALIFAX, 16th Janry, 1778.

SIR, — By a Cartel which arrived here a few days since I recd. a letter from you inclosing an order from what you call the Council of your State, setting forth that I had carried away the papers belonging to the Probate Office of the County of Suffolk, and that I should be desired to return them to be lodged in the said office for the benefit and relief of the poor widows and orphans to whom they more immediately relate. Agreeable to which order you desire me to deliver them to the Capt. of the Cartel and address them to your care.

In answer I think proper to let you know that the order is founded upon what is false in fact, and the pretended motive for making such order [is] not the true one as I believe. I am very certain it is not the most prevailing one, but as many of the orders I have seen from your pretended Council are of the like sort, I am the less surpris'd at this.

The papers were not carried away by me, but sent on board a transport by express order of His Excellency General Howe, and by him delivered into the custody of the Government here, where they will remain until I, or whoever may succeed me in the office, shall apply for them.

¹ Benjamin Kent.

² The papers now printed supplement those given by Mr. John T. Hassam in 2 Proc., xvi. 113-120.

As to the motive assigned for desiring them to be sent back, viz. the relief of widows and orphans, it is not likely any great regard can be had for those unhappy persons by those who, exciting the people to an open revolt, have contributed all in their power so amazingly to increase the number of these miserable objects.

You say the presumption is the papers were carried away to prevent them from ruin and destruction. I believe you are right in supposing that to be one of the principal reasons. Another I take it was to prevent their being made use of by persons who were in open rebellion against their lawful Sovereign. That reason still subsists, and perhaps the other also. I think you may rest assured the papers will not be returned, whilst you pretend to act in the office, or any other person, without authority derived from the King.

I am at a loss which most to wonder at, the assurance or weakness of the order. To suppose that a person, who is one of the legal Council of the Province of the Massachusetts, would give any attention to an order from persons who have no legal title to a seat in that Council, and deliver papers belonging to an office of which he was in the legal possession to one, who had usurped that very office, and whose every act must be null and void, is such effrontery as is unparalleled anywhere but among yourselves.

I apprehend the time is not at a great distance when the poor deluded misled people, who have already suffered greater inconveniences and miseries from the tyranny of their new fangled Government, than the most inveterate enemy of Great Britain could ever pretend their posterity would suffer from any acts of the British Legislature, will have their eyes opened and again feel that happiness which is only to be enjoyed under the British Constitution, and of which they have so long been deprived by their wicked oppressors; and when those persons who have usurped legislative authority, conscious of their incapacity to govern a State, will shrink back to their respective occupations, if the extreme clemency of the best of earthly Sovereigns shall permit them to escape with impunity. Your most humble servt.

FOSTER HUTCHINSON.

Honble Thomas Cushing Esq.

George W. Murray's letter says that he was informed that a gentleman named Fitch had found in a trunk two books marked on the back "Suffolk." Supposing the information to have been correct, those books could hardly have been Customs Records, for it is not likely that Royal Customs Records would have been so marked. The mark would indicate County Records or possibly Court Records.

The fact that, as Winslow says, the Records sent were put

in charge of the ex-Judge of Probate, Foster Hutchinson, points to their being Probate Records only. Further there is a letter of Governor Parr in Halifax to Governor Hancock now in a private collection in Boston which I am permitted to copy, as follows:

HALIFAX, 12 Nov. 1784.

SIR,—I should have done myself the honor of answering your Excellency's letter long ere this, but delayed from day to day until I could get the Records of Probate out of Mr. Hutchinson's hands. He has at last delivered them to Mr. Kent who forwards them to Boston by this conveyance. If any should be wanting you will be pleased to inform me.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

J. PARR.

His Excellency Governor Hancock.

The files at the State House, Boston, show the correspondence relating to these Records, and their proper return and receipt given. There is no reference to anything but Probate Records, yet Winslow's letter says the *entire* records taken away were returned.

As to the Records of Deeds there is nothing whatever to indicate that any of them were ever sent to Halifax. At the session of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts November 21, 1776, the following resolve was passed:

Whereas by a late Act of the General Court the Town of Dedham was made the Shire Town for the County of Suffolk in consequence of which the Register's Office for that County with the Books and Papers thereto belonging were Removed to the said Shire Town, by which Removal two Volumns of Records were lost and several others much defaced. And whereas the Removal of the said Books of Records to the Town of Boston, where (by the Repeal of the said Act) the said Office and Records ought now to be kept, would be attended with much Risque and Danger in this unsettled State of public Affairs: Therefore,

Resolved, That the Register of Deeds for the County of Suffolk for the time being, be and he hereby is directed and impowered to keep said Office, together with the Records and Papers belonging in the Town of Dedham, within the said County of Suffolk, until the further Order of the General Court; any law to the Contrary notwithstanding.

Dedham had been made the Shire Town of the County of Suffolk by an Act in 1775. The Records were subsequently

returned to Boston and, except those two volumes lost in the original removal, covering parts of years 1767, 1768, and 1769, are now intact at the Registry of Deeds.¹ The Probate Records and Records of the Registry of Deeds are therefore fully accounted for.

Investigations at Halifax at the official request of the Government of the United States produced no results as to Customs Records, and, October 9, 1899, Mr. Piers of Halifax, Keeper of the Provincial Records of Nova Scotia, stated in an official letter that no evidence existed that the Custom House Records were ever brought to Halifax, and that the authoritative opinion there was settled in the conviction that the tradition that they were ever deposited there was erroneous.

It is not probable now that any further light will be thrown upon the subject, but it is suggestive that within a few years a volume of inward and foreign entries of that period was discovered in a junk shop near Salem. It is possible that the Customs Records, though stated to have been sent to Plymouth when the Port of Boston was closed, may in fact have gone with the Commissioners to Salem, and perhaps not have been returned before the evacuation, and so have been lost or destroyed; they may have gone to Plymouth and not have been returned, or in the confusion and practical anarchy upon the eve of the evacuation, they may have been destroyed in Boston, instead of being shipped to Halifax as Winslow thought.

If they really existed at Halifax at the close of the Revolution, it is hardly conceivable that they should have been overlooked, or no reference made to them during the period of the correspondence and arrangement for the return of the Probate Records. My conclusion therefore is that they never were sent to Halifax at all, and that their fate will never be determined unless, by accident, portions should turn up like the volume at Salem.

Mr. DAVIS presented the following paper:

TWO FORGOTTEN PAMPHLETERS.

In August, 1730, Jonathan Belcher assumed charge of the government of the province of Massachusetts Bay. About

¹ Dedham Hist. Reg., v. 153; 2 Proc. xiv. 60-62.

that time the privy council and the board of trade had become alarmed at the freedom with which the province had been emitting bills of public credit by way of loans to counties or towns as well as for the purpose of meeting the current expenses of the government. Very shortly after taking charge of affairs of state Belcher called the attention of the assembly to the sixteenth and eighteenth of the royal instructions given him when he assumed office. These were in effect that he should not give assent to any act whereby bills of public credit were to be issued unless such act contained a clause requiring the approval of the board of trade before it could become operative. Annual issues to the extent of £30,000 were, however, permitted without approval being first obtained, provided they were made for the current expenses of the government. Not more than £30,000 of such bills were thereafter to be current at one time, and all outstanding bills were to be called in at the times specified in the acts of emission. In the year 1730 £13,000 were emitted, the fund for the redemption of which was the most remote of all the then existing funds. The bills emitted at that time were not to be called in until 1741. The effect, therefore, of these royal instructions was that during the next ensuing eleven years all the outstanding currency, in amount probably something like £300,000, was to be called in, and that thereafter the province was to get along with £30,000 of bills of public credit as a medium of trade unless more were specifically authorized by the board of trade. It was supposed by observers of the period that the total amount of silver in use in the four New England colonies at the time when the paper money was first put in circulation was about £200,000, and the impending conditions which would result from the enforcement of the royal instructions, unless there should be some organized effort to supply coin to fill the vacancy which would thus be created in the circulating medium, were little short of calamitous. Men of speculative temperaments began to suggest remedial plans, and beginning with the year 1738 the pamphleteers took a lively hand in the debate. One result of the discussion was the emission of bills of public credit couched in a different form of phraseology from those that were already in circulation. These latter, which from that date onward were known as "old tenor," were declared on their face to be

“in value equal to money.” The new bills, known thereafter as “new tenor,” had a specific value stated in troy weight in silver or gold, and were made receivable for taxes, public dues and in payments generally on the basis of one of the new tenor for three of the old tenor. The efficacy of the new tenor bills was thereby greatly magnified, and as this ratio could be approximately maintained through the different rates at which they were received for taxes, they greatly aided the government in coping with the situation for a few years.

In 1738 and again in 1739 two abortive attempts were made to return to specie payments, through schemes to secure from the province five and ten year loans to merchants who would agree to pay back the sums borrowed in silver or gold, on the terms proposed. The schemes fell through in consequence of the failure to procure the requisite subscriptions to the loans, but the proposed borrowing in 1738 brought forth a publication from the pen of one of the pamphleteers with whom we are concerned which precipitated a discussion between him and Dr. Douglass, a man whose reputation is well known, not only to the medical profession of our day, but also to our economists.

The pamphlet in question was anonymously published in Boston in 1738 and was entitled,

Some observations on the scheme projected for emitting 60,000 l. in bills of a new tenour, to be redeemed with silver and gold. Shewing the various operations of these bills, and their tendency to hurt the publick interest. In a letter from a merchant in Boston, to his friend in the country. Boston: Printed and sold by S. Kneeland and T. Green in Queen Street, MDCCXXXVIII.

It was a small octavo, twenty-five pages in length, and was, as its title indicates, written for the purpose of opposing the scheme of the Boston merchants which had been inaugurated in the hope that through and by means of it the province might be brought to a specie basis.

“Some observations” was in the form of a letter, and this letter was dated “Boston, Feb. 1. 1737, 8.” Its publication was followed by the appearance of an anonymous pamphlet without date, issued by the same publishers and bearing the following title:

An Essay concerning silver and paper currencies, more especially with regard to the British Colonies in New-England.

This was from the pen of Dr. Douglass and was evidently inspired by the appearance of the former pamphlet. The doctor, although he did not approve of the scheme of the Boston merchants, nevertheless felt called upon to expose and refute some of the heresies contained in "Some observations." The Essay is twenty-three pages in length, and the first fourteen pages of it are devoted to the discussion of silver currencies. Then paper currencies are taken up, and finally the last nine pages contain criticisms of separate paragraphs extracted from "Some observations." The Essay was obviously written in 1738, immediately after the appearance of the pamphlet which brought it forth, and was unquestionably published at once, the probability being that this took place in the fall of that year.

Dr. Douglass, through his work on the Essay, evidently became much interested in the subject of the currency, and in 1740 when the Land Bank and the Silver Bank engaged in their struggle to secure, each for itself, a charter from the province under which they might respectively emit bills of credit, he again entered the field as the defender of hard money and in addition thereto as the denouncer of the Land Bank and the exposé of its iniquities. His contribution this time, through the same publishers, was

A Discourse concerning the currencies of the British plantations in America. Especially with regard to their paper money; more particularly, in relation to the province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New England.

The pamphlet was forty-seven pages in length, was anonymous, and the place and date of its publication were given as Boston, 1740.

The author of "Some observations" was prompted by the cavalier way in which his pamphlet was torn to pieces by Dr. Douglass in his "Essay concerning silver and paper currencies" to return to the field of battle and defend himself as best he could. He was deliberate in his motions and published in 1740, through S. Kneeland and T. Green, a pamphlet entitled,

An Inquiry into the nature and uses of money; more especially of the bills of publick credit, old tenor. Together with a proposal of some proper relief in the present exigence. To which is added, a reply to the Essay on silver and paper currencies.

Following the plan of Douglass, he devoted the first part of his pamphlet to his general topic, and on the forty-fifth page took up the specific subject of the teachings of the "Essay" which he proceeded to riddle for eighteen pages more. While he was running the pamphlet through the press, Douglass's Discourse came out, and to this he felt called upon to reply. He therefore added a hasty postscript of fifteen pages, and in this form, with the postscript appended, the "Inquiry" was anonymously issued, making a volume of seventy-eight pages.

To the "Inquiry" Douglass proceeded to make answer at once, and notwithstanding the fact that the Discourse had been in the hands of the booksellers for some time, and that the Inquiry actually contained a reply to the Discourse, he published his refutation of the doctrine of the "Inquiry," in the form of a postscript to the Discourse, beginning with page forty-nine and ending with page sixty-two. Naturally we find today on the shelves of our libraries the Discourse without the Postscript, the Postscript without the Discourse, and the Discourse and the Postscript together.

The five pamphlets which have been heretofore described were put upon the market separately and were also collated, stitched together, bound with a paper cover and sold as a whole, the order of their arrangement in this book being "Some observations," "An Essay concerning silver and paper currencies," "A Discourse concerning the currencies," "An Inquiry into the nature and uses of money," and the "Postscript to the Discourse," or the "Postscript to the Discourse" as the title was actually given.

These details concerning the publication and chronological arrangement of this series of pamphlets may seem to be of little consequence, but their comprehension is essential because we have in "Some Observations," and in "An Inquiry," two pamphlets from the pen of Hugh Vans, one of the pamphleteers with whom we deal today, while on the other hand it was through the detachment of the postscript to Douglass's "Discourse," from the body of that pamphlet and its separate publication, that the fact became known to me that in 1720 John Valentine, then attorney general of the province, published a small three-page brochure under designation of "The Postscript."¹ It is true that this Postscript is referred to in

¹ Reprinted in Colonial Currency Reprints, Prince Soc., i. 444-448.

1720 by title by one or two of the participants in this polemical discussion, but the references were so contemptuous and brief that it did not convey to me a clear idea that a separate pamphlet had been actually published under that name. The narrative of the circumstances under which I became aware of this fact will reveal the curious manner in which Douglass's Postscript aided in the contribution of a new number to the list prepared by me of currency tracts of the eighteenth century.

In the course of my work as editor of a set of reprints of the currency tracts of the eighteenth century which are about to be published by the Prince Society, I made out a list of those which were known to me, and forwarded the same in a circular letter to several of our most prominent libraries, asking each library to designate which of the publications named were to be found on its shelves. In the preparation of this list, the question arose, Was the Postscript to Douglass's Discourse a separate publication? After some reflection, I determined, notwithstanding the fact that it began with page forty-nine, that it was separately issued and was entitled to reproduction in my series, in chronological order after the "Inquiry into the nature and uses of money." The response to my circular letter from the Library of Congress stated that their copy of the Postscript was published in 1720, not 1740. This led of course to further investigation, and to the disclosure that in this little three-page brochure having for its sole title the words "The Postscript" we had a tract connected with the currency controversy entirely new to me. It was possible that it might be found in other libraries. My inquiry had been as to the presence of the Postscript to the Discourse published in 1740, and in answering the question, there was no special reason why any librarian should have gone outside the direct answer to the specific question. Special inquiry revealed the fact that the American Antiquarian Society has a mutilated copy of the Postscript. This copy was originally folded so that it might be filed away in a letter file, and in the course of time the paper became weak at the folds, and the strips at the edges dropped off and were lost. Whoever filed it away wrote upon the upper right-hand corner of the first page the words, "By Mr. Valentine ye []". It was a fair presumption that the miss-

ing words required to fill the blank were in substance some term descriptive of Valentine's position which originally was written upon the strip of paper that had become detached and was lost.

If in our examination of the careers of these two pamphleteers, Vans and Valentine, we take up that of the author of "The Postscript" first and seek to ascertain who "Mr. Valentine" was, we find that his mark upon the controversial literature of the period was confined, so far as we can learn, to this three-page production. The pamphlet was published in 1720, at a time when the currency controversy was particularly active. The tentative list prepared by myself of pamphlets connected with this subject which were published from 1714 to 1751 inclusive, comprehended, exclusive of newspaper communications many of which were long enough to have made good-sized pamphlets, fifty-two titles, and of these nineteen were issued in the years 1719, 1720, and 1721. Four of them preceded the Postscript, and of these four "The Distressed state of the town of Boston considered" was one. This latter pamphlet, although published anonymously, was generally recognized as from the hand of John Colman, a Boston merchant of considerable notoriety and an advocate in a general way of paper money, but especially of paper money to be furnished by a private bank of emission. He was one of the signers of the "Vindication of the bank of credit" in 1714.

The Postscript contains nothing which should especially have excited any individuals other than the author of the "Distressed state" and his personal friends, but its appearance evidently caused some commotion, and the cudgels were immediately taken up in Colman's behalf by the author of

A Letter from a Gentleman, containing some Remarks upon the Several Answers, given unto Mr. Colman's, Entituled, The Distressed State of the Town of Boston.¹

This letter has been identified as from the pen of Dr. Oliver Noyes, a well-known Boston man of the day, and in it (p. 3) Noyes says :

I have also seen a piece of sulled paper Intituled, *The Postscript*, which I hastily ran over, but thought it not worth while to give it a

¹ Reprinted in "Tracts relating to the Currency," 279 *et seq.*; also in Colonial Currency Reprints, Prince Soc., II. 3 *et seq.*

second reading, being sensible that none but some very mean wretch could be so simple to think the Cause (of which he would be thought a Patron) could receive any benefit by the railing of such a *Rabshica*.¹ However, I put it in my Pocket, thinking it might serve (as dirty as it was,) for a necessary occasion; but Sir, I can assure you, you 'l suffer nothing by such Scurrility.

One other person had participated in the discussion which had taken place in 1720 up to this time, and that was Reverend Edward Wigglesworth. He had anonymously communicated to the Boston News-Letter, April 18, 1720,

The country-mans answer, to a letter intituled, The Distressed state of the town of Boston considered,²

and under date of April 23, 1720, had published a pamphlet entitled,

A Letter from One in the country to his friend in Boston, containing some remarks upon a late Pamphlet, entitled The Distressed state of the town of Boston, &c.³

Neither of these letters was signed, but it is evident that when the author of the Postscript refers to previous publications in the controversy, by Rusticus and Agricola, it was to the News-Letter contribution and the pamphlet of Wigglesworth, both of which purported to come from the country, that he meant to allude. With this knowledge of the place occupied by the Postscript in the currency discussion of the period we may turn to a consideration of the traces left behind him by its author and of his probable relations to his fellow citizens.

In these days men who aspire to the elective offices in our municipalities oftentimes pay large sums of money for the mere chance of being elected, but in the middle of the eighteenth century Boston expected and even demanded public service from all of her prominent citizens. The town records and the records of the selectmen are filled with lists of the names of persons elected as representatives, selectmen, constables, viewers of fences, viewers of shingles and measurers of boards, timber, etc., clerks of the market, hog-reeves, over-

¹ 2 Kings, 18. 27.

² Reprinted in Colonial Currency Reprints, Prince Soc., 1. 409 *et seq.*

³ Reprinted in "Tracts relating to the Currency," 247 *et seq.*; also in Colonial Currency Reprints, Prince Soc., 1. 415 *et seq.*

seers of the poor, sealers of leather, surveyors of highways, tithing-men, scavengers, school committeemen, and fire wardens. If the name of a male resident of good standing in Boston at this period does not appear in the records of the town and of the selectmen, and that, too, many times, it is a violation of the rule and raises at once a doubt as to the authenticity of the claim that the person named was in fact a resident at that time of Boston.

To these records we naturally turn, therefore, in expectation of finding some recognition of "Mr. Valentine" the author, provided he were a Boston man. The answer of these volumes to our question is that the family name of Valentine is not to be found in the indexes of the records contemporary with these events. Nevertheless it is extremely probable that John Valentine of Boston, for many years a notary public and a justice of the peace, and later the attorney general¹ of the province, was the author of the Postscript, and this too in spite of the further facts that his name is not to be found among the attorney generals given in Whitmore's list of civil officers in the province, and that it is missing in that reservoir of information concerning prominent residents in Boston in early days, the "History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company." How the name of a man filling so distinguished a position as that of attorney general escaped Whitmore is not easy to say, although it must be remembered that the subsequent publication of Sewall's Diary, where Valentine is spoken of in his official character, and the greater facilities recently placed at the disposal of the searcher of our court records would render such an oversight far more culpable today than it was when Whitmore published his list. It is quite likely that Valentine's appointment as notary public,² June 3, 1698 and again October 24, 1712, and December 10, 1715, and his elevation to the position of justice of the peace³ April 16, 1718, all of which appointments are mentioned by Whitmore, may explain the absence of his name from the Boston records. The simple fact that the appointments were made is equivalent to pages of biography of the man. They stamp him even before he was elevated to the conspicuous position of attorney general, as one

¹ 2 Proc. x. 289.

² Whitmore's Mass. Civil List, 162; ³ 126.

of the hated class of office-holders through governmental appointment, with whom in the days of political excitement in the province the townspeople of Boston had little to do and for whom in the management of their daily affairs they had no use whatever. It is not unlikely that the holder of a commission of notary public was the object of more than ordinary suspicion. Mr. Goodell points out in a note in the first volume of the Province Laws,¹ that in 1720 the assembly as a whole asserted its rights under the charter to elect these officers, a function which up to that time had been exercised by the governor and council. He also quotes a resolution of the assembly in December, 1720, forbidding one Joseph Marion from performing the duties of a notary, the right to do which was claimed by him under a commission issued by the Archbishop of Canterbury.² It will be seen that through this quarrel over the right of appointment, the office had become a political sport and holders of a gubernatorial commission were probably especially unpopular.

Valentine's services as notary have left traces of his career on our records.³ The most prominent of these was his *ex-officio* service as register of the court in the trial of Captain Quelch and his company for piracy in 1704.⁴ So also the principal events of his domestic career, his marriage with Mary Lynde, the daughter of Samuel Lynde, by the Reverend Benjamin Wadsworth, April 16, 1702,⁵ and the births of his five children⁶ are recorded and will be found in the book of marriages and the book of births.

Judge Washburn found traces of his work as an attorney in the records of our courts, and left upon the pages of his Judicial History of Massachusetts the following appreciation of his legal capacity: "he manifested great familiarity with legal principles as well as ability as an advocate. He is said also to have been 'an agreeable and expressive speaker.'"⁷ Mr. Goodell has collated a number of Valentine's pleas and briefs, doubtless the same as those which gave rise to Judge Washburn's favorable opinion, and they are to be found in the

¹ Mass. Prov. Laws, I. 731; ² I. 732; X. 64.

³ New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg., XIX. 142.

⁴ Mass. Prov. Laws, VIII. 391.

⁵ Boston Rec. Com. Rep., 28. 6; ⁶ 24. 17, 24, 88, 110, 125, the births of Samuel, Elizabeth, Thomas, Mary and Edmund.

⁷ Sketches, 186.

eighth volume of the Province Laws. His name occurs also in the House Journal, and is to be found in the volumes in the Province Laws devoted to resolves. He was a petitioner to the General Court, December 1, 1719,¹ for an allowance for travelling expenses and to the representatives November 11, 1720,² for an allowance for his official services as attorney general for the last two years.³ He is described in this last petition as "late Attorney General." He was one of the Boston citizens who received a vote of thanks from the General Court for their patriotism in taking the loan of £40,000 in aid of the Hill and Walker Expedition in 1711.⁴

He showed good judgment in the selection of real estate investments, for his name is associated with property on what was then known as Marlborough, but which we now call Washington Street.⁵ His will was probated in 1724 and is to be found under number 4850 Suffolk files.

A sketch of his life is to be found in "The Valentines in America,"⁶ in which it is stated that the family came from Lancashire, England. This fact enables us to identify him, at least conjecturally, with the person who is represented in a contemporary pamphlet entitled "Reflections upon reflections,"⁷ as having interfered with the proceedings of a Boston town meeting held June 10, 1720, for the election of representatives. This being the Pretender's birthday, the intruder proposed that the oaths of allegiance and abjuration should be administered to all the inhabitants of the town. The writer says, "This extremely exasperated the Town, to be challenged by such a d—— D——, when perhaps there are not 400 more *true* and *loyal* subjects (with humble submission to Lancashire Jack) in the King's dominions." In an advertisement appended to "A letter to an eminent clergy-man,"⁸ the Postscript is alluded to as the "Lancashire Postscript." These facts, that is to say, his family coming from Lancashire and his Postscript being called the Lancashire Postscript, taken in connection with the additional fact that his name was John, seem to furnish sufficient warrant for connecting him with

¹ Mass. House Jour., 56; ² 18.

³ Mass. Prov. Laws, ix. 694; ⁴ 191.

⁵ Boston Rec. Com. Rep., 29. 198.

⁶ p. 110; New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg., xx. 221.

⁷ p. 10; Reprinted in Colonial Currency Reprints, Prince Soc., II. 110 *et seq.*

⁸ p. 241 of Reprint in Colonial Currency Reprints, Prince Soc., II. 227 *et seq.*

“Lancashire Jack” and with the intrusion at the town meeting. The published record of the meeting contains no reference to the disturbance.

Sewall in his Diary¹ furnishes us with a few interesting notes. November 27, 1718, the judge speaks of him as our “new Attorney General,” and records the fact that Valentine entertained the governor, the lieutenant governor and the judges at supper. If Valentine was a new attorney general in November, 1718, and if in November, 1720, as “late attorney general” he petitioned for “an allowance for services during the last two years,” we have a close approximation to his term of service in that office.

Judge Sewall² gives us a hint as to his convivial habits in noting his presence, January 29, 1719, at Captain Douse’s, where the party drank several bowls of punch. The author of “Reflections upon reflections,”³ the tract from which we have already quoted, speaks of him as sitting down “to blot with his detestable Scurrility, a Paper call’d the *Deadham Postscript*; in which posture were it not just to paint him (something as I’ve seen King *J*——) with the Father of Lyes at his right hand to *instigate* and *dictate*, and an huge Bowl of exhilarating PUNCH at his left to *intoxicate*.” Even this bitter attack is not enough for the writer. Continuing his abuse for about a page of the pamphlet, he makes in the course of it one more hint as to Valentine’s habits which if it may not necessarily be accepted as true is nevertheless an infallible sign of the extent to which the man was hated. “But,” says the writer after a reference to a verse in the New Testament, “what has this man to do with the Gospel? Has he ever read Psal. 50. 16, and onward? Or doth Paul give a toleration for men to *be drunk*, and in their Merry Cups to *thresh their wives* contrary to Light and Law of Nature as well as the Gospel?” If we turn to the fiftieth Psalm, the nineteenth verse being fairly representative of the sixteenth and onward will sufficiently indicate why one writing in the mood of this author should have referred Valentine to it. “Thou givest thy mouth to evil, and thy tongue frameth deceit.”

It would be a relief in recording the death of Valentine, February 1, 1723-24, if we could close this melancholy story

¹ 5 Coll. VII. 204; ² 211.

³ p. 8, Colonial Currency Reprints, II. 114.

of rancor, hatred, and abuse with some signs of relenting on the part of his enemies, but with characteristic complacency Sewall winds up his reference to the whole matter with a contemptible and malicious thrust at the widow which was almost inhuman in its malevolence. It appears that Valentine, February 1, 1723-24, committed suicide by hanging himself in the attic of his own house. A coroner's jury returned a verdict of *Non Compos*. Arrangements were made for holding the funeral on Tuesday, February 4, and Sewall narrates what then took place as follows:

Persons and Bearers were invited, and the Bells Tòld as customarily at Funerals. Judge Davenport, and Col. Fitch were invited to be Bearers, and came. But when they saw Mr. Myles refused to read the Office of Burial, they ask'd excuse, and went away. Bearers were, Mr. Secretary Willard, (a titular brother) Mr. Jno. Nelson; Mr. Attorney Genl Read, Mr. Robt Auchmuty; Mr. Overing and Mr. Robinson. Four Justices were there; Mr. Secr. Willard, Mr. Daniel Oliver (a Relation of the Widow) Capt. Timo Clark, and Mr. John Ruck. Five Ministers; Mr. Benjamin Wadsworth, Mr. Thomas Foxcroft, Mr. Samuel Myles, Mr. Henry Harris, and Mr. Mosman of Marblehead, and much people. This Funeral seem'd to me as if the Widow would brave it out against the Terrible Providence of God: which caused me to insert in the News-Letter of Feb. 6.

Boston, Feb. 1, 1723.

*Quid valet innumeras scire, atque evolvere causas?
Si facienda fugis, si fugienda facis.*¹

On the tenth of February Sewall² records that against the advice of Mr. Auchmuty "a fair character" of Valentine had been inserted by the widow in the "Boston Gazette," and in the "New-England Courant," and that the "Boston News-Letter" had been paid to publish it in the number of that paper forthcoming on the thirteenth.

This made me publish Dr. Increase Mather's Sermon, which was preach'd about ten days after Merchant [William] Taylor³ hang'd himself with a new Snaffle Bridle. Advertisement of the sermon printed is inserted in the News-Letter March 19.

Sure enough in the News-Letter of that date we find advertised as for sale,

¹ 5 Coll. VII. 330; ² 331.

³ July 12, 1682, — 5 Coll. v. 49.

A Call to the Tempted. A Sermon on the horrid Crime of Self Murder, Preached on a Remarkable Occasion, by the Memorable Dr. Increase Mather. And now Published from his Notes, for a Charitable Stop to suicides. Sold by Samuel Gerrish, at his Shop near the Brick Meeting-House in Corn-hill, Boston.¹

Not content with seeking to deprive the poor widow of what comfort she could get from the fact that many friends stood by her in spite of the calumnious attacks in "Reflections upon reflections," and in disregard of the refusal of the Reverend Mr. Myles to read the office of burial and of the declination of the two bearers to serve at the funeral, he had inserted the ill-tempered lines in the News-Letter of the sixth, and now to offset what satisfaction she could get from the publication of the eulogistic notice in the newspapers, he had caused the Mather sermon to be published. Did he send the widow a copy? Doubtless he did.

It is but fair to the memory of Valentine that his friends should have the last inning. The notice published in the News-Letter, February 13th, 1724, read as follows:

On Tuesday the 4th instant, The Corps of *John Vallentine Esq;* His Majesty's Advocate General for the Provinces of the *Massachusetts-Bay, New-Hampshire* and Colony of *Rhode Island*, was here decently Interred: He was a Gentleman for his Knowledge & Integrity most Eminent in his Profession, Clear in his Conceptions, and Distinguishable happy in his Expressions. It pleased GOD, some short time before his Death to deprive him of these Excellent Endowments by afflicting him with a deep Melancholly which brought on the Loss of his Reason, and was the Cause of his much Lamented Death.

Hugh Vans, the author of "Some observations on the scheme projected for emitting 60,000 l." and of "An Inquiry into the nature and uses of money," was a Boston merchant of good standing, who was obviously quite facile with his pen, but who did not, like Dr. Douglass, his adversary in this controversy, gain renown from his contributions thereto. The side that he took would today prejudice the public against him and would militate against the reception by his writings of the praise to which they are entitled, for he placed himself on the side of the paper-money men. It must be said in fairness to him that the quality of his work as a controversialist

¹ On Valentine, see Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*.

was superior to that of most of the advocates of paper money. In his first pamphlet he entered into calculations to show how the scheme which he had under discussion might in its operations affect borrowers or lenders, quoted from the province laws and from writers on finance, and even though he promulgated doctrines which are not acceptable today, his treatment of the subject in this as well as in the second of his pamphlets was on a much higher plane and betrayed far more studied preparation than that which characterizes most of the publications of the day.

Attention was first called to the fact that Vans was the author of the "Inquiry," in the sixth number of the twelfth volume of the Bulletin of the New York Public Library, page 394, where the following entry is made. "'By Mr. Hugh Vance, Mercht.' is written on the titlepage in an eighteenth-century hand." This carries with it the authorship of "Some observations," which, notwithstanding the views on finance to be found therein, has been erroneously attributed to Dr. Douglass. It ought never to have been assigned to Douglass, for, as we have already seen, the last part of Douglass's Essay was devoted to an answer to "Some observations," but, however that may be, Vans himself settled the question of authorship on page 45 of the "Inquiry," where he acknowledged that "Some observations" was the product of his pen. The identification of the author of these pamphlets, through the endorsement on the titlepage of the copy of the "Inquiry," in the New York Public Library, is corroborated by a somewhat similar endorsement on the titlepage of the copy in the "Boston Athenæum," the legend on which reads, "The Gift of the Author Mr Hugh Vans Me[] in Boston, to — J. Lowell." There may be some doubt as to the termination of the name of the author in this inscription, for some indiscreet person has made an entry in ink, resembling a shelf-mark, directly over the name. With the knowledge to aid us that the New York copy was attributed to "Hugh Vance," one can see that the final letters of the name which are obscured by the numbering placed over them were probably "ns" and not "nce." A merciless binder has by indiscreet trimming eliminated what followed the "Me," but we could readily supply the remainder of the word "merchant" without the aid of the writing on the New York copy of the "Inquiry."

The name of the family is supposed to have been at one time De Vans, then to have become Vans, and finally the spelling has been altered in many instances to Vance.¹ The suggestion of French origin for the family carries with it the idea that they were Huguenots. A hundred years later a grandson of Hugh, who had inherited the pamphleteering instincts of his ancestor, gave vent to his feelings as a disappointed litigant by publishing the story of his grievances. He referred to his grandfather Hugh Vans as a respectable merchant in the city of Boston.² An allusion to the fact that his ancestry were French Huguenots is couched in language too fantastic for reproduction as historic evidence, but the fact that he did so may be cited as a tradition as to the origin of the family.

Our first trace of the career of "Hugh Vans, Merchant," is furnished by himself in "An Inquiry," page 54, where, speaking of Douglass's statement that about twenty years ago, that is, in 1718, Sweden had imposed upon the people government notes instead of specie, Vans says,

I was in Stockholm, the capital, in the year 1718, being the last of Charles XII and never then or since heard of any State-Bills passing about that time, . . .

In 1725 he was elected constable, but was excused from service.³ He joined that year in an agreement made by the greater part of the Boston merchants not to purchase from Marblehead fishermen dried codfish at above a certain stipulated price.⁴ In 1726 he was elected constable and was again excused.⁵ August 17, 1726, he was married by the Reverend Joseph Sewall to Mary Pemberton, a daughter of Reverend Ebenezer Pemberton of the Old South Church,⁶ and between that time and the year 1733 inclusive there were registered, as offspring of this marriage, four children, three sons and a daughter.⁷

¹ Hayden's Virginia Genealogies, 457.

² "A New Edition of the demand of William Vans, on Stephen Codman," Boston, 1824, 11.

³ Boston Rec. Com. Rep., 8. 194.

⁴ Winthrop papers, Mass. Hist. Soc., 21. fol. 2, ms.

⁵ Boston Rec. Com. Rep., 8. 201.

⁶ Boston Rec. Com. Rep., 28. 135; also "An Appeal to the Public by William Vans," Salem 1827, 99.

⁷ Boston Rec. Com. Rep., 24. 184, 195, 200, 210.

March 10, 1735-36, Vans was put on a committee to audit the Boston treasurer's accounts,¹ and on the 28th of April, 1736, was one of the committee regularly appointed from year to year to prepare instructions for the representatives from Boston to the General Court. The proposed instructions were submitted on the 21st of May, but the report was not considered until May 24. The committee asserted that our laws, liberties and properties were in danger. They therefore requested the representatives "to guard against, and defend us from, all encroachments that may be attempted against our natural rights or charter privileges." They called attention to the royal instructions relative to calling in bills of public credit and said that the distressing condition of the province rendered compliance with these orders impracticable if not impossible.²

July 23, 1736, Vans was chosen assessor, but exercising the same facility for evading a duty that he did not care to perform as had secured him relief from service as constable and as overseer of the poor, he was again excused.³ September 21, 1737,⁴ he was put on a committee to address the General Court in behalf of the town of Boston in regard to the disproportionate charge for the expenses of the representatives, under which it was believed that the town was suffering. This committee reported on the 23d.⁵

May 10, 1738, Vans was again put on the committee to draw up instructions for the Boston representatives in the General Court.⁶ They were to deal with the trade of the province; the paper currency; the extraordinary proportion of the public taxes, which it was apprehended that the town was paying; and also they were to discuss the proposed division of the county of Suffolk. The report of this committee, submitted May 17, fills nearly four pages in the published reports of the commissioners of records.⁷ It deals with the Rhode Island bills of public credit, which the committee say "our necessities compel us to use." It discusses the proportion of taxation borne by Boston, and it enjoins the representatives

not to consent to any further Supply of the Treasury for any growing Charge of the Province Unless the Funds for discharging the same be put on suitable Years after Seventeen Hundred and Forty One.

¹ Boston Rec. Com. Rep., 12. 135, 138, 143; ² 145-147; ³ 151; ⁴ 175.

⁵ Boston Rec. Com. Rep., 12. 177, 178; ⁶ 195; ⁷ 197-201.

The representatives are also enjoined

to Oppose the foreclosing the Deliberations of future Assemblies between this, and Seventeen Hundred and Forty One, relating to the Bills of Public Credit of the Old Tenor; but that they may be left free to Act when the Years shall come, According as they shall judge most Advisable for the safety of the Province.

The representatives were practically urged to get rid of the new tenor bills and to re-instate the old tenor. The general purport of the instructions was,— Do what you can to impede the enforcement of the royal instructions in the currency matter.

November 21, 1738, Vans was on another committee whose function was to prepare a report, this time being appointed chairman.¹ May 2, 1739,² he was again on the committee to prepare instructions to the representatives. A lengthy report of the same general style and character as the one before referred to, was submitted by this committee May 18.³ March 9, 1740, he was chairman of a committee to inquire into encroachments upon the town's rights on Fort Hill.⁴ He was put to further service in this matter by being put on a committee to wait upon the captain general.⁵

In 1746 he was apparently a selectman, and as such was made ex-officio a member of a committee on the 22d of September,

to wait upon his Excellency the Governour, and the Honorable the Council to Inform them that the Town apprehending great Danger arising to em by such a number of persons Subjects to the French King, being allowed to pass and Repass the Streets as they now do, desired the Selectmen to Apply to two of His Majestys Justices of the peace (Quorum Unus) to Grant a Warrant to Apprehend and Secure 'em in prison pursuant to a law of this province, which the Selectmen accordingly did, and the Constables of the Town by Virtue thereof apprehended about one hundred French Persons and Carried 'em to his Majestys Goal in Boston, but the High Sheriff of this County treated the said Warrant in a very Contemptious manner and Would not receive the said persons therein mentioned, nor suffer 'em to Remain there and so they again go at large,⁶ . . .

This committee reported, September 25, that Governor Shirley demanded that the charges against the sheriff be put in writ-

¹ Boston Rec. Com. Rep., 12. 203; ² 222; ³ 224-229; ⁴ 264; ⁵ 287.

⁶ Boston Rec. Com. Rep., 14. 104, 105.

ing. Such charges were prepared and were submitted September 27th, and again Vans as selectman was ex-officio a member of the committee to wait upon the governor and council, and present the charges.¹

April 11, 1748, the wardens of King's Chapel petitioned for a grant of land for the enlargement of the chapel. Vans was put on the committee to consider the propriety of the grant.² The last mention of his name that we find in the records, if not so pathetic as that with which the notice of Valentine was closed, is nevertheless of a sort to excite our sympathy. February 6, 1758, in his old age, after a career of activity in his own and in town affairs, he was adjudged a bankrupt.³

Our review of the traces left behind them of these two forgotten pamphleteers has revealed to us, on the one hand, the career of an office-holder, obviously haughty in manner, and aristocratic in his way of life, a follower of the little provincial court set up by the governor, a cultivated lawyer, an adroit special pleader, and a looker down upon the crude attempts of his fellow citizens to wrest from the governor and council some of the powers of government which had been taken from them through the annulment of the colonial charter and the substitution therefor of a provincial government. Fiercely hated, he was atrociously maligned. Let us hope that there was no foundation for these assaults.

On the other hand, as we follow the career of Vans, we have glimpses of a man who has been something of a traveller and who evidently was a free and easy writer. The presence of his name year after year upon town committees the main functions of which were to prepare reports indicates that his fellow citizens appreciated his capacity as an author. It is plain that he was radically opposed to Valentine upon every political point.

As a currency writer he was on the paper-money side, and it has already been said that his methods betrayed some study of the subjects upon which he wrote and placed him as a writer upon a higher plane than most of his compatriots on that side of the question. We have already had occasion to call attention to his reply to Douglass's statement as to the government notes of Sweden in 1718. To what has been already quoted

¹ Boston Rec. Com Rep., 14. 106; ² 145.

³ Mass. Prov. Laws, iv. 108.

Vans added that what Gortz did was to emit copper coins with nominal ratings of value, such that they were mere tokens, and that the trouble was caused by the fact that to these there was attached a legal tender function. In speaking of the Bank of Venice, Vans makes no mention of notes emitted by the bank, but discusses fully the function of the bank credit which was made use of in place of notes. Douglass had spoken of the bills of the Bank of Venice, a statement for which he could have found justification through the use of the same words by many other writers, but when the doctor in his criticisms in the opening portions of the Postscript to the Discourse came to what Vans had said of the Bank of Venice, he did not undertake to refute him, but turned the subject off with a mere assertion that Vans had given "an imperfect account of the Bank of Venice and Amsterdam, of Baron Gorts Mint tokyns in Sweeden," etc. In other words, he was not quite prepared to discuss this question in detail.

On the whole, it may be said, then, that our pamphleteer on the patriotic side makes a fairly good record for himself. He appears before us as an honored citizen of Boston, whom his fellow citizens made use of from year to year upon important committees. He published pamphlets which contain within their pages marks of study and of intellectual capacity for independent analysis. His whimsical theories must not be judged by the standards of today. The paper-money men of that time were the pioneers in the promulgation of the doctrines of credit, which have resulted in the wonderful development of the use of money in our day, through bank-bills, checks and drafts. The doctrines of the hard-money men applied to their full extent would have held the world back in its progress. Neither side in the discussion appreciated fully what they were talking about. It is for us today to recognize merit where we can see it, whether on the one side or the other.

Dr. GREEN communicated the following facts relating to the Harvard Triennial:

Ever since my graduation at Harvard, alas! so many years ago, I have taken a deep interest in the Triennial, as it used to be called. Many a time I have worked over dates and other facts about graduates, as Mr. Sibley, the editor, if he were

alive, could testify; and my experience in such matters has been amusing, even if not important.

For instance, the name of Matthew Bridge Parker appeared in the catalogue among the medical graduates of 1830, where it remained for fifty years. Following different clues, I had tried in many ways to trace his subsequent life, but all to no purpose. Seeing that he was at the Medical School in the same class with Dr. Willard Parker (A.B. 1826 *et* M.D. 1830), — a distinguished physician of New York, — whom I knew very well, I determined to ask him.

One evening while calling at his house I inquired after his namesake, when he replied at once that a singular error had been made in regard to the name in the catalogue, which he himself had intended to correct, but for one reason or another had neglected to do so. He told me that the Doctor had settled in Springfield and that his name was not Parker at all, but Baker; and furthermore that he had been dead many years. Acting on this intelligence, I wrote promptly to the late Dr. David P. Smith of that city, who informed me that Dr. Baker's widow was living at Deerfield, and that I must look in that direction for further facts. On writing to Mr. Sheldon, the antiquary of the town, I was told that Mrs. Baker was then living in Cambridge, and that she was the proper person to furnish the desired information. On giving to Mr. Sibley the result of my inquiries he, knowing her quite well, expressed some surprise, as Mrs. Baker was not only a neighbor of his, but he was in the habit of seeing her often. This instance is a good illustration of hunting in distant places for what may be found near to one's own door-stone.

Another amusing instance is that connected with the name of Dr. James Barr (M.D. 1817), of New Ipswich, New Hampshire, though his name did not appear in the catalogue until the edition of 1830. At that period names were printed in Latin, and his name is there given as "Johannes Barre." While trying to trace him, it occurred to me to examine his signature as he wrote it when he entered the Medical School. Much to my joy, I there found that the final "e" was simply a penman's flourish at the end of his name. For more than fifty years this stupid mistake was kept up in the catalogue, and the change was not made until the issue of 1885, when the name was correctly given as James Barr.

Dr. Barr was a physician well known in his neighborhood ; and I went to school with his son at Groton as far back as the year 1841. I knew the father as a boy knows a man much older than himself. The late James Barr Ames, Dean of the Law School, was a grandson of the physician.

Mr. FORD submitted some letters from the James Murray Robbins papers, now in the Society's collections, and a copy of a letter from John Brown, the uncompromising critic of Benedict Arnold, the original of which is in the possession of Mr. Archibald M. Howe, of Cambridge. The first of the Stuart letters is concerned in the famous decision of Lord Mansfield in the case of the slave James Lancaster.

WILLIAM TRYON TO JAMES MURRAY.

NO CAROLINA, BRUNSWICK, 19th July, 1766.

SIR, — I have had the pleasure to receive both your letters wherein you request a Renewal of your leave of absense for another year. My Compliance to this request, was it in my power to gratify it, would at present be of no signification ; as by His Majesty's Instructions bearing date of the 19th Feby 1766, I am ordered to call together, the Persons, whose Names are inclosed, whom His Majesty has appointed to be the Members of His Council for this Province. In my next Dispatches to the Lords of Trade, I shall acquaint their Lordships Mr. Richd. Spaight was Dead before I came into this Province ; and that on my Arrival here, I found you Senior Member of His Majestys Council. If you are of opinion your being excluded from the Council, arises from any Mistake in Office, it is necessary you should write Home on that Subject, and if reinstated to obtain His Majesty's permission for your longer absenting yourself from this Colony. The Assembly of this Province, I had prorogued to the 30th. of October next before I knew anything of the Repeal of the Stamp Act. At which time, I hope the Legislature will meet, with United Hearts, and Generous Sentiments. I am Sir, with my Complts. to Mrs. Murray and family, Your Obedient Humble Servt.¹

P. S. I have desired Mr. Elwin to answer the other parts of your letter and acknowledge your Civilities to me.

JOHN BROWN TO MRS. ELIZABETH ARNOLD.²

Y[ALE] COLLEGE, April 7th, 1771.

DEAR RELATIVE, — I received your Letters dated March 17, 1771, the Favour of Mr. Channing, for which I return you sincere thanks.

¹ Tryon had qualified as lieutenant governor April 3, 1765.

² Of Providence, R. I.

You wrote to me concerning the late Mrs. Arnold Books which was reserved for me according to my request. Madam, I must tell you that there has been much disorder in College since I wrote you my former Letter. We complained that we were oppressed in respect to Commons which was most manifestly the Case; but the authority of College not being of our opinion, and refusing to redress us in our way, we left College and went home, and in about 3 weeks I with several others of my Class were cited to meet the Trustees of said College on the 23d. of instant April: and what the Inquisition or Star Chamber Court may determine concerning the matter is uncertain. They intend to expel several, but as we have the civil authority on our side, we do not intend to be expelled. So that it is impracticable for me to come to Providence until after our trial.

Madam, as to the Books I would have you put them to sale at your Pleasure, and send me a line as to the time when (for I suppose you will make the sale publick) and if it be possible I will attend. I left all Friends well at Sandisfield on the first of Instant April. From your loving Brother.¹

TO WILLIAM CHANNING.

Sr. Permit me to give you thanks for your Kindness to Mrs. Arnold, and pray you to take such care of her affairs as she may request or your Prudence may direct.

I shall be at Providence most certainly after examination, and before, if I get out of my case as I hope to. Sr, as I have nothing of News, I shall conclude by subscribing myself your most humble servant.

CHARLES STUART to JAMES MURRAY.

LONDON, 15th June, 1772.

DEAR SIR,— We had a long tract of easterly winds after you sailed, which I hope gave you a short and pleasant passage, and that you found Mrs. Murray and all your friends happy and well. There is but little alteration among those you left here. C. Murray is married, and must think of going to Madeira soon, for Mr. Cheap has come home. He was sued by the Master of the London tavern; the damages were laid at £100 and the jury gave 30; he came off pretty well; but had it been worse his friends could not advise him to make the concessions demanded on the other side after the steps that had been taken against him. Nothing is done yet in the proposed arrangement about the Collector at Charlestown; the objection I'm told is that it is thought too good a thing for the Gentlemen who offered to change. My namesake D— stands still fair for a seat at the board, when

¹ See Archibald M. Howe, "Colonel John Brown, of Pittsfield," 1908.

there is an opening; he had taken his passage in this ship, but has deferred going for some time on account of a formal complaint lodged against him at the treasury by Mr. W——s for malpractise in his office. He has been told by Lord North and both Secretaries that the complaint was not taken up, that it made no impression to his prejudice, and that he need not pay any regard to it; but his Highland pride will not allow him to go abroad and leave any charges of that kind unanswered, and he has got a promise that they shall be both heard on the subject at the board next thursday. Whenever they are heard I have no doubt but the charge will retort with shame and disgrace on the accuser, who has this merit, however, as he says himself, that he makes it entirely from a principle of conscience, for he never was officially in Mr. S[tuart]'s post; but some will be ill-natured enough to ascribe it to a more ungenerous motive, a mean low resentment for standing between him and a favourite object. I am sorry the man should expose himself so much.

I suppose you will be desirous to hear how the negroe cause goes on. There have been two more hearings in it. I did not attend either, but am told that some young Council flourished away on the side of liberty and acquired great honour. Dunning was dull and languid, and would have made a much better figure on that side also. Lord Mansfield said it was a cause of the greatest importance, that great inconveniences and ill consequences must attend the decision of it either way, and therefore he would not give judgement in it except insisted on by the parties. In that case he would take the opinion of all the Judges. If they agreed, judgment should be pronounced; if not, the cause must be argued again before them all; in the meantime he strongly recommended to make it up, hinted at emancipating the slave, and advised the West India merchants, etc. to apply to Parliament for an act for farther securing their property. Upon the whole, every body seems to think it will go in favour of the negroe. The West India Planters and Merchants have taken it off my hands, and I shall be entirely directed by them in the further defence of it. It has brought my name forward, or rather that of Capt Stewart, James Stewart, Esqr. etc., much more than I would wish. The papers however have been tolerably decent with respect to me; but I am very sorry for the load of abuse thrown on L[or]d M[ansfield] for hesitating to pronounce judgement in favour of freedom. Dunning has come in also for a pretty good share for taking the wrong side.¹ This general subject of conver-

¹ "The court of King's Bench gave judgment in the case of Somerset the slave, viz. that Mr. Stuart his master had no power to compel him on board a ship, or to send him back to the plantations. Lord Mansfield stated the matter thus: The only question before us is, Is the cause returned sufficient for remanding the slave? If not, he must be discharged. The cause returned is, the slave absented himself, and departed from his master's service, and refused to return

sation, of which I have been involuntarily the cause, is now suspended for a time by a most unhappy event which has reduced many worthy families from easy, and some of them opulent, circumstances to absolute ruin.

Fordyce the Banker has failed for, some say, £300,000, others half a million, all gone in the Alley, where he had at one time made upwards of £100,000, — a sum too trifling to gratify his ambition, and has pulled down with him a numerous and respectable set of friends, connections and relations. Several houses have already stop'd, but as he was engaged in an immense paper circulation, this ruin spreads like a deluge, and no body can guess where it will end. It falls chiefly on our Country-men, except his three partners in the banking business, who had no concern in his other schemes. My particular friends are no otherways affected by it than in their feelings for some worthy genteel families, some with 6, others 8 young Children, reduced from affluence to real want. One good man of my acquaintance in the decline of life told me lately that he had arranged his little matters and settled a plan for being easy and comfortable the rest of his days. He too is by this stroke strip'd of nearly his all. Poor Lady Margaret, though brought up with genteel œconomy in a large noble family, Lord Belcarras's, on a small fortune, must now feel a sad reverse in falling from the high, gay and expensive way of living to which his pride and vanity had introduced her. In short nothing like this has happened since Touchits bankruptcy, and that came far short of it.

I wish I could now contrast this scene of distress that I have given you some faint idea of; for that I must refer you to yourself, and I most sincerely hope you will ever find the reverse of the picture in your worthy family, friends and connections. Happy in these, with an easy competency, in a genteel retreat under the shade of your own fig tree, and undisturbed by the folly and frauds of ambitious villains, (otherways than by the pain a good mind will ever feel for the distresses of his fellow creatures,) you will not envy even those you left here behind you dancing attendance on the great, dreading their frowns und court-ning their favour.¹

and serve him during his stay in England; whereupon, by his master's orders, he was put on board the ship by force, and there detained in secure custody, to be carried out of the kingdom, and sold. So high an act of dominion was never in use here; no master ever was allowed here to take a slave by force to be sold abroad, because he had deserted from his service, or for any other reason whatever. We cannot say the cause set forth by this return is allowed or approved of by the laws of this kingdom, therefore the man must be discharged." — Annual Register, 1772, 110. See also Campbell, "Lives of the Chief Justices of England," III. 316; 20 State Trials, 1.

¹ June 11. "The banking-house of Messrs. Neal, James, Fordyce, and Down, stopped payment. Other failures have since happened in consequence of the former. The consternation at first was general throughout the city; but by

All the world is now at the installation of the Knights of the Bath. I think three guineas may be better bestowed some other way, and myself better employed in conversing with an absent friend. I have not seen your Brother since you left us. Mr. and Mrs. Elmsley etc. are pretty well. Palmer does not seem to gain ground; I'm afraid his disorder is too well fixed; you will receive a letter from him by Mr. Harrison. Sir Sam Duckingfield has come home to settle his affairs here, sell his estate, and return to Carolina. Who wou'd not do the same that could? My best regards to Mrs. Murray, Mrs. Gordon and her young folks, Mr and Mrs Inman, Miss Murray and all your friends. Adieu. I shall hope to hear from you soon, and am, My Dear Sir, your affectionate, humble servant.

LONDON, 22 June, 1772.

DEAR SIR, — I wrote to you twice by Mr Harrison juu' under cover to Mr. Coffin. In one of them I mentioned Fordyce's bankruptcy and some of the unhappy consequences of it; but that letter can give you but a faint idea of the dreadful scene that is now opened by the Bank refusing to discount an amazing quantity of Scotch bills now in circulation. In consequence of this, several capital houses here and at Edinburgh have already stop'd, many more are expected, and there is an almost general stagnation of credit. The Bank of Douglas, Heron & Co. is the chief cause of this by issuing their notes too liberally. Their bills have been refused acceptance here and are returned upon them, which must throw all Scotland into the utmost confusion, and an almost generall bankruptcy must be the consequence. In short the present confusion and distractions were never equalled since the South Sea year. The Dukes of Queensbery and Bucleugh have offered their credit, and landed property to the amount of millions is bound, but that will not pay bills when due, and could not the spirit of the merchants, and the timely interposition of the Bank of England, many of the numerous bankruptcies that were expected, it is hoped, are prevented, and that trade will resume its former channel.

"The news of Messrs. Neal, Fordyce, James, and Down, having stopt payment, was received at Edinburgh, just 43 hours after it happened at London. Edinburgh is distant from London above 425 miles.

June 22. "It is beyond the power of words to describe the general consternation of the metropolis at this instant. No event for fifty years past has been remembered to have given so fatal a blow both to trade and public credit. An universal bankruptcy was expected, the stoppage of almost every banker's house in London was looked for. The whole city was in an uproar; many of the first families in tears. This melancholy scene began with a rumour that one of the greatest bankers in London has stopped, which afterwards proved true. A report at the same time was propagated, that an immediate stop of the greatest must take place. Happily this report proved groundless: the principal merchants assembled, and means were immediately concerted to revive trade, and preserve the national credit." — Annual Register, 1772, 109, 110.

avert the present storm. You will grieve to hear that the Adelphi may probably become a heap of ruine, and the noble plan of the projection never be completed, for they are gone. I was unhappily premature in saying that my particular friends were no otherways affected than by their feelings for others whom they loved and esteemed; they thought so then, but they are now in the number of the fallen, with a large sum of mine in their hands. I don't mention the sum to Mr. Coffin or any person, indeed it is of no consequence to any one but myself, for no body else can suffer by it (except perhaps some poor orphans who will now have a less generous protection than I wished to afford them.) However I will tell you that the sum is £3000. I do not exactly know the state of my private account with the office, but as far as I can judge of it at present, if Mr Coffin agrees to the proposal of paying £450 per annum, (which he seems to like better than any of the others,) and of leaving £1000 in my hands without interest, and will credit my account by all the bonds, bills, etc., due to me in his hands, the balance will not be great, and may be discharged by my salary etc. as it becomes due. Such of these bonds, etc., as he does not chuse to take to his own account, I must now desire that he will endeavour to get payment of them as soon as possible; but the chief purport of my writing now is to desire that he will not draw upon me. Indeed I do not suppose he will, as there does not appear to be any cause for it. I have still left here about six months subsistence, and for the rest, shall depend on remittances from Virginia where I have considerably more than I owe to the office. How happy my lot compared with the accumulated distress all around me! I dare say Mr. Coffin has already accepted one or other of the propositions I made him, and I hope the one mentioned above: but if he should have drawn on me before this reaches you, I must entreat that he immediately make a remittance to answer it, otherways his bills must be returned. I shall make no apology for drawing you from your pleasant retreat, if the business of an absent friend in such a general calamity calls you to Town to talk this matter over with Mr Coffin; your goodness will excuse it. I can say no more, am just going to that scene of woe, the City, to try to serve a friend and brother sufferer, with this great addition to his distress — he has a wife and three children. Adieu, My Dear Good Sir, Your's affectionately.

JOHN MURRAY TO JAMES MURRAY.

NORWICH, July 10, 1772.

DEAR BROTHER, — As I wrote you a long letter 16th April last I have little more at present to say, yet as I have wrote lately to my other friends and your Sister is writing to the Girls I would not let

slip the Opportunity. — I hope this will find you safe at Brush-hill and refreshed after the fatigue of your European excursion which I shall be glad to hear has answered your purpose. — You will be informed by the public Papers of the Bustle which has been among the Bankers and the allarm among the monied people of London. Matters are apparently put to rights but paper Credit is in a manner destroyed and fresh Bankruptries are happening every day. Norwich was thought to be pretty safe as few here speculated much yet one Mr. Scot a very worthy Manufacturer has run the risque of losing L. 7000 by the failure of a Mr. Hague Merchant in London his Son-in-Law. — An eminent Manufacturer has sold off in time it is said to prevent a Statute, two more and those Quakers too have not been so prudent, and it is whispered that a very considerable house is about to decline trade which has of late been very indifferent owing as it is said in part to foreign failures; in part to goods being fabricated elsewhere at a cheaper rate, but with me unbounded Luxury operates more powerfully against us than any other cause, and it is so general that it seems odious for any individual not to live up to his income.

With regard to my concerns I have to inform you that an unexpected Success in two particular cases opposite to the peremptory prognostic of two of the most eminent of my Bretheren has at the same time increased my Reputation and the Jealousy of those Bretheren who are nevertheless openly complaisant. Our New Hospital opens to-morrow for out Patients but it will not come to my Turn to prescribe before 3d next Month, soon after which I shall inform you of my success. . . .

Your most affectionate and obliged Brother.

CHARLES STUART TO JAMES MURRAY.

LONDON, 5th August, 1772.

DEAR SIR, — I have done myself the pleasure of writing to you several times since you left us, and was extremely glad to hear lately of your safe arrival. Though your passage was long, I hope it was not otherways disagreeable, and that you found Mrs. Murray and all your friends as well as you would wish them.

The unhappy situation of affairs here with respect to credit and mercantile business, of which I attempted to give you some idea in my last letters, is something mended, but a general suspicion still prevails, and failures and stoppages happen daily. The Bank of Douglas, Heron & Co. (or Scotch Bank of Air, as John Bull's Sons affect to call it) have been raising money on most disadvantageous terms, by granting annuities of 7 years for any one life, or 8 years for two, and it is said have compleated their Sum. The Alexanders of Edinburgh have obtained a credit from the Bank of England, and it is expected the

Adams will be enabled to go on, at least to finish their present plans. Messrs. Bogle & Scott have made out a state of their affairs which is to be laid before their Creditors this Evening. They have good Debts and Effects sufficient to pay 17/6 in the pound, and a large list of bad and doubtful debts which they think may make up the other 2/6, but this will be a work of time, and until the fate of the bills now running with their names on them, but which should be paid by others if they are able, is known, no judgment can be formed how their Affairs will turn out.

I have several letters from Mr. Coffin¹ up to the 29 May, which last is one of the most unpleasant I ever received, for it contains nothing but evasive excuses for not sending the Accounts, I have been writing for most earnestly ever since the beginning of December, to be laid before the Auditors, and which he wrote me a month or six weeks before (for there is no date to that and some other of his letters,) were in such forwardness that he expected to send them by the Boston in three weeks, but in his last letter he plainly tells me he cannot say when they will be sent. One excuse is that he waited for the Board's directions for the application of the salaries by establishments, though it appears by an account transmitted at the same time by their Secretary that such application was actually made for a longer time than he mentions. But if he had given the least attention to the directions I sent him the 4th of December he would have seen that no application of money to the different branches of the Revenue for which it is either paid or received, is necessary in the Accounts I wrote for. Another excuse is that Mr Porter had not examined them, but I know that they were examined for more than one year before I left Boston, and I intreated him to send one year's accounts, that is, to the 5th of January, 1769, as soon as possible, that a beginning might be made here, by which I might see their mode of business, and could give more certain directions with regard to the future accounts. His other pretence is as trifling and unsatisfactory as the rest, that there is no time lost as Mr. Porter's accots will not be sent a long time. I am directed by my patent to send my Accots but not the Comptroller's which may come at his leisure, and all my payments or, as it is called here, my discharge, which make by far the greatest part of my Accounts and will take up the most time with the Auditors, do not depend on the Comptrollers Accounts. I have now written a long letter to Mr Coffin on the Subject. As my Friend Mr. Stewart knows my anxiety and uneasiness on this occasion, I have given him a Copy of it and some other papers, which he will deliver to you. Let me entreat you, my Dear Sir, to talk seriously to Mr Coffin about it. I am told, and believe, that he does the business of the Office very well and to the satisfaction

¹ Nathaniel Coffin, King's Cashier of the Customs at Boston.

of the Board, etc, but some other things that I have recommended to him, and have too much reason to think are neglected, though not so immediately, are as essentially necessary as the daily duty of it. He says he has done every thing on his part, but from his contradictory manner of writing, and his idle excuses, I fear that assertion was premature. And he hopes I will not leave England till I settle these matters with the Auditor. That depends entirely on himself. Lord North was pleased to say to the Sp[anish] Ambassador lately (without my asking such indulgence which I consider as connected with my Patent,) that I may stay in England as long as I please; but for any thing I can see at present, Mr Coffin will oblige me to go to Boston to bring my accounts home to be audited. I need not say how disagreeable that would be to me, and perhaps to himself, and I must rely on your good Offices and Mr Stewart's, to prevent it. I hope he has done with Apologies about my private Account, it is idle to make so many about a thing that may be done in half an hour. I have indeed many to make to you for giving you so much trouble in my Affairs. I am truly concerned for the cause of it, and hope the agreeable Companion and honest fellow (sometimes improperly so called) will suspend his jovial humour for a time, lay aside that ruinous Procrastination which too many of us are apt to give way to, and set in earnest about the Business on which his Interest and my honour and Credit so much depend. One word more, and I have done on this disagreeable subject I have had a hint that he risks too much, and makes too free with the public money. For God's sake caution him on that head.

Mr Stewart will tell you all our news here, and later than any I can give you by this Ship. He has been detained by W——'s malicious Charges, and his delay will I hope prove of service to him on the whole. Lord North has settled with Mr Robinson the Secretary, the heads of the minute to be made upon it, which, from what I have heard of it, is in favour of Mr. Stewart, but it cannot be finished until it is approved by the other Lords, and they are now adjourned for six weeks. Our other Custom house Friends continue as you left them. A great point has been carried against Lord Hillsborough in his own department, the settlement of a Colony on the Ohio, which he has uniformly opposed, first in the report of the Board of Trade with the unanimous concurrence of the other Lords, and afterwards in Council. He cannot therefore with honour affix the Seals of his Office to a measure that he has so warmly opposed from Principle, and it is said, will resign.¹ I have not waited on him since you left us, nor for a long time before, but intend to make my bow to him to'morrow. Lord Weymouth and Lord Dartmouth are talked of to succeed him. I shall endeavour to give you the earliest opportunity of worshipping the rising Sun.

¹ Writings of Benjamin Franklin (Smyth), v. 465.

Something it is said will be done with Rhode Island, but what or when I know not, and possibly the matter may end in some ineffectual threats.

I beg you will give my respectful Compliments to Mrs Murray and all my good Friends, and am with the greatest regard, My Dear Sir,
Your affectionate humble Servant.

Mr. FORD also submitted two letters from the Bigelow MSS., now in the keeping of the Society, relating to an early incident in the career of Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford.

HOPESTILL CAPEN TO JOHN APPLETON, OF SALEM.

BOSTON, 11 Octo 1769.

SIR, — I understand that you have had a young Ladd, not long since, that live with you, named Benja Thompson. He now offers himself to live with me, saying that he was sick was the Occasion of his coming from you, and that now Business is Dull, you dont want him. I should be greatly oblig'd to you if you will Inform me by the first oppertunity If he be clear from you or not; if he is, please to give me his True Character, as to his Honesty, Temper and Qualifications as a Shop Keeper. Such a lad will suit me if he can be well Recommended, and as he is a stranger to me I know of no body else that can be so good a Judge of him as you. Which I hope you will favour me with. Till which I am your most obedt Humble servt.

THOMPSON TO JOHN APPLETON, OF SALEM.

BOSTON, Octo. 19. 1769.

SIR, — I take this oppertunity to inform you that I am Come to Live with Mr Hopestill Capen. I like him and his Family very well as yet. I am Greatly obliged to you for your kind Recommendation of me to Mr. Capen, and shall always retain a Gratefull Sense of the many other Kindness's I always Rec^d Whilest I remained with you. Never shall I Live at a place again that I delighted so much as at your house nor with a Kinder Master.¹ My Guardian says he will Come to Salem and pay you some money very soon, which he expects dayly. Sir I would beg of you not to Give yourself any Concern or Trouble about it as you may depend upon having the Money Very soon.

Sir if you would Give yourself the Trouble to send Round my things that remain at your house I shall Be obliged to you, and if you will send down the two trunks which I improved whilest at your house and Charge them to me I will send you the money. Please to put up all my small thing you can find, vizt scates, hautboy, some Blue paper, a

¹ A memorandum shows that Thompson came as apprentice to Mr. Appleton, October 14, 1766.

box of Crayons, or dry Colours, some Books, Together with all my Things remaining at your house. Please to stow them in the Trunk that stands in the Kitchen Chamber and please to put that, that stands in the Garret on Board Mr West with it and desire him to Bring them down the first opportunity. I shall Come to Salem the first opportunity that I can be Spared. Heartily Wishing you all Proseperity and Happiness, I Remain your Much Obliged Hum Servt.