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THE LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
JARED SPARKS





JARED SPARKS

1857

From a bust by HIRAM POWERS

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THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

JARED SPARKS

Biog
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COMPRISING SELECTIONS FROM HIS JOURNALS
AND CORRESPONDENCE

BY

HERBERT B. ADAMS

PROFESSOR IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY

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1893





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THE LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
JARED SPARKS.

CHAPTER XV.

THE WASHINGTON MANUSCRIPTS AND THE
DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE.

ON the 19th of December, 1826, Mr. Sparks left Boston for New York and Washington, on his third historical journey, which is chiefly interesting because of his work in our national archives and among Washington's papers at Mount Vernon. Selections from Mr. Sparks' correspondence with Judge Washington and Chief Justice Marshall, at this period, are interwoven with selections from his journal, for the sake of unity of subject-matter, which largely concerns Mr. Sparks' relation to the writings of Washington.

1827.

January 15th, Tuesday.—Wrote Judge Washington that I am ready to call upon him and close the business respecting General Washington's papers. . . . Called on the President of the United States [John Quincy Adams]. . . . The President conversed with me on the materials for history in the offices, and said there were many in the State Department, to all of which he presumed I could have access ; although he hinted something about

secret papers of early date. I wonder what there is about the Revolution which it is now necessary to keep secret. A fig for such secrets! . . .

January 16th, Wednesday. — . . . Conversed with Mr. Callhoun, Vice-President and formerly Secretary of War, on the Revolutionary papers in the war office. He said they were few, and those principally in the pension office, being documents gathered for the purpose of the pension list. In the year 1801 the war office was burnt, and nearly all the old papers it contained were destroyed. It was again burnt when the British were here in 1814, so that little now remains. Dine at Mr. Barrell's. Evening at Mrs. Adams' drawing-room.

January 17th, Thursday. — Met Judge Washington by appointment, and closed the affair of General Washington's papers. I am to have full access to the whole, and publish such as I think proper, and divide the profits of the whole equally between him and me, after all charges are paid; or, in other words, the agreement is confirmed exactly as proposed in my letter to him; and I am to have all the privileges expressed in my letters. The papers are not to be taken from Mount Vernon, except some of them by his consent. Judge Washington does not expect to return to Mount Vernon till the end of the summer, but he has left the papers so that they can be examined, and I shall probably pass the months of April and May in that occupation. Judge Washington told me that Wayne, the publisher of Marshall's life, gave him one dollar a volume, as the price of the copyright, for all the copies printed. The edition amounted to 10,000,¹ and five volumes in each set. Consequently he received for the copyright \$50,000. Judge Marshall has a second edition of this work nearly ready for the press, very much improved, and to be printed in three volumes, without the

¹ Mistake; see Journal, May 22. The number was 7,000. — J. S.

original introduction, which has already been reprinted separately. Dined at Mr. Little's. . . .

January 18th, Friday. — . . . Called on Colonel McKenney, superintendent of the Indian Department, who has a work in press giving an account of the treaties made with the Indians by Governor Cass, and other observations made during his travels among Indians within the last year or two. He introduced me to the pension office, where I made inquiries, but found few materials. The most valuable are the lists of the names of officers and soldiers in the various lines of the army; and this list is said to be nearly perfect. In the Navy Department I could hear of nothing important; and I presume that the chief materials to my purpose are in the Department of State. Future inquiries may perhaps lead to something. Dine with the President at six o'clock. . . .

January 20th, Sunday. — . . . Converse half an hour with Judge Story on the Washington papers, and the means of consulting and using them. Judge Story engages to review Judge Marshall's "History of the Colonies," to be ready by the middle or the 20th of August. The article will give a short account of that work, and then be chiefly occupied with a full account of Judge Marshall's character, and his influence as a lawyer and judge on our government. Judge Story expresses the most lively interest in the prosperity of the "North American Review," and says he shall omit no opportunity to aid it in every way in his power.

January 21st, Monday. — . . . Dr. Lovell introduced me to several of the clerks in the office of the Secretary of State; and at last we found the apartment in which are deposited the papers of the Old Congress. A clerk has been employed during a large part of the last year in arranging them, and they are now in excellent order. They are much more full and perfect than I imagined.

Indeed, I think that nearly every paper belonging to the Old Congress, and relating to Revolutionary times, has been preserved. The correspondence is mostly copied into books. There are nine bound volumes of General Washington's letters to the president of Congress, embracing also copies of nearly all the inclosures which he sent. There are two volumes of Greene's letters, two of Gates's, and two of Schuyler's. The letters of the other military officers are not copied into books, but are preserved on file. The Foreign Correspondence during the Revolution is very extensive, and seems to be in a perfect state of preservation. It is copied into about thirty volumes. In the year 1818 Congress passed a resolution authorizing the President to publish such parts of this Foreign Correspondence as he might think proper. Mr. Adams told me the other day that he examined the books with this view, but found them so voluminous, and that so much labor would be required to select and arrange the letters for publication, that it was not in his power to prepare them when he was Secretary of State. Congress made no appropriation for employing any suitable person to execute such a work, and it was therefore left untouched. These materials are so important, however, as matters of history, that I intend to apply to the President to have them published in compliance with the resolve of Congress. The labor of preparing them will, to be sure, be a good deal, as a large portion of them are in French and must be translated. Dine at Mr. Everett's in company with Mr. Walker and Mr. Camberling. At Mrs. Johnston's in the evening.

January 22d, Tuesday. — All the morning among the papers in the office of the Secretary of State. Glad to find on further inquiry that the Revolutionary papers are quite as full and valuable as I supposed. Dine at Mr. Barbour's, Secretary of War. Mr. Southard, Secretary

of the Navy, was present ; also Mr. Little, Mr. Walker, and others. Mrs. Barbour gave me a kind and pressing invitation to visit them at their place in Virginia in the spring. I was formerly acquainted with her son and daughter. Short interview with Colonel Hayne, who called on me. He married a daughter of Dr. Ramsay, the historian ; says Dr. Ramsay left no manuscript papers of any value. . . .

January 24th, Wednesday. — Stage-coach to Baltimore in company with Mr. Walker.

February 1, Wednesday. — Wrote to the President of the United States proposing to publish the Foreign Correspondence relating to the Revolution, which is now in the office of the Secretary of State. By a resolution of Congress on the 27th of March, 1818, this correspondence was ordered to be printed, under the direction of the President. In a conversation which I had with him a few days ago, he said that the resolution was passed when he was Secretary of State ; that he looked over the papers, but found them so numerous, and so much labor was required to prepare them for publication, and for this Congress had made no appropriation, that the resolution was not then carried into effect. I have written to him, saying that if the resolution is still in force, I will engage to examine the whole correspondence, and prepare it for publication, and take the entire trouble and charge of the same, if the government will give me the copyright of the work. What will be his decision, or whether he will consider himself authorized to make such an arrangement, I cannot say. I inclosed a copy of the letter to the Secretary of State, and also desired him to look into the matter. His principal object in making the proposal is to advance my project of a History of the Revolution. I shall be obliged to examine these papers with great care, and if I can prepare them for publication at the same time I shall be effecting a double purpose.

February 2d, Thursday. — Colonel Howard, so distinguished in the Southern campaigns under Greene, and particularly at the battles of the Cowpens and at Eutaw, called on me to-day. He has written remarks on Judge Johnson's and Colonel Pickering's account of the battle of Germantown. He proposes to give me a copy to send to Colonel Pickering. He says he has written notes on Johnson's "Life of Greene," and no man now living is better qualified to do it, as he was personally acquainted with almost everything relating to Greene's Southern campaigns. Colonel Howard says that at Hobkirk's Hill, the affair of the retreat stands thus: Gunby was colonel and he lieutenant-colonel of the Maryland troops. After the action commenced, part of the regiment retreated up the hill, and the lines became broken. At this time a company under Captain Armstrong was descending at some distance and pressing toward the enemy. Gunby told Howard to bring Armstrong back into the line, and he rode forward and gave the order, and the company retreated. General Greene represented this retreat of Gunby as the cause of the failure, and the loss of the battle. Colonel Howard doubts this, though he says it is not easy to decide what would have been the result if the Maryland line had recovered itself and marched upon the enemy at the moment Armstrong was recalled; but the probability is that the men could not have been rallied, and that the case was too far decided at that time to be altered by any such movement or attempt. A court of inquiry sat on Gunby's conduct, and Colonel Howard says he was examined as a witness, but no censure was passed.

February 3d, Friday. — Dined this day with Colonel Howard, in company with V. Maxcy. The colonel had invited me to-day with the view of conversing on Revolutionary matters, and the time passed very agreeably.

He read to me a long letter which he has just written to Colonel Pickering respecting the battle of Germantown, and with reference to Colonel Pickering's letter in the "North American Review." In the main particulars of the battle they agree, but Colonel Howard saw some things, and relates some particulars, which did not come under Colonel Pickering's observation. The letter is a good historical document in relation to that battle. No individual perhaps was in more engagements during the Revolution than Colonel Howard. He was in the army during the whole war, and rarely absent from his post. He was in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, Camden, Hobkirk's Hill, Guilford, Cowpens, Eutaw, and several others of less note, and in some of them, as the Cowpens and Eutaw, he distinguished himself very highly. His knowledge of the Southern campaign under Greene is very full and accurate. He has written notes on Johnson's "Life of Greene," and Lee's "Memoirs," which are now in Washington, and which I am to see. . . .

March 3d, Saturday. — From Baltimore to Washington. Have been employed for the last three weeks principally on the "Life of Ledyard."

March 5th, Monday. — With Mr. Everett in the morning. Met Judge Washington at the room of the Supreme Court. Made an appointment to meet him again to-morrow morning. Called on the President of the United States and conversed half an hour respecting my proposal to publish the Diplomatic Correspondence of our Ministers abroad during the Revolution. He spoke of difficulties, but said he thought the work might be done under the resolution of March, 1818, to which I had referred. He said the unhappy differences which occurred between our first ministers, viz., Silas Deane, Arthur Lee, Dr. Franklin, and John Adams, and the consequences of those difficulties, make it somewhat of a delicate task to ar-

range the mass of their correspondence for publication. Yet he thought it ought to be done, and would lend any facilities in his power. Many of the papers must be read by the President or Secretary of State. Before giving a decided opinion on the subject, he desired me to converse with Mr. Clay. Part of the evening at Mrs. Everett's. Supper with Wallenstein; oysters and champagne.

March 6th, Tuesday. — Breakfast with Mr. Webster by appointment. Full conversation on the publication of Washington's Works. He thinks the notes should be frequent, and as many historical facts thrown into the work as possible. He would have the work handsomely printed, and made in the mechanical part suited to the dignity of the subject. Called on Judge Washington and received from him a copy of the instrument which he has prepared to explain and confirm our contract. We are to close the whole by signing these papers to-morrow. Passed half an hour with Judge Story. He has taken an ardent interest in this work from the beginning, and has assisted me much in bringing the matter to its present issue. He advises by all means to make provision for a sale in England, — thinks many will sell, and that a vigorous effort should be made to extend the circulation there. Judge Story has promised me a review of Chief Justice Marshall's "History of the Colonies," in which he will introduce an account of the public services of this distinguished individual, and the wide influence his mind and character have had in establishing our forms of government. Passed a quarter of an hour with Mr. Livingston, the eminent lawyer from Louisiana, a man not more remarkable for his fine powers and great legal attainments than for his amiable character and affable manners.

March 7th, Wednesday. — At Judge Washington's rooms at ten o'clock, where the instrument mentioned yes-

terday was signed by John Marshall and Bushrod Washington on the one part, and myself on the other. The particulars of the instrument are made out in all respects according to my letters detailing the plan and conditions to Judge Washington, and they accord with my wishes entirely. After the business was closed, I said to Judge Marshall: "I should be glad to beg one favor of you, sir, which is, to be allowed to mention you on all proper occasions as cordially approving this plan, and disposed to aid it in any way that may be in your power; and particularly to insert your name in the public notices and prospectuses." He replied: "I have no objection; you can use my name as you please." "Not that I expect to pledge you to anything," said I, "but merely to impress it strongly on the public that my labors in this business meet your approbation, and will receive your support." He answered: "I understand you; the thing will be properly done; I shall feel no concern." Went to the office of the Secretary of State to converse with Mr. Clay on the subject of publishing the Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence, as I was requested by the President. In a very frank and explicit manner Mr. Clay came at once to the merits of the case. He said the President and he had taken my proposal into consideration; that they considered the undertaking a delicate and very important one, on account of the peculiar character of the papers; but that they were satisfied as to my competency for the task, and he thought the only difficulty remaining was to determine on the manner of making the arrangement. He considered himself authorized by the resolution of Congress, he said, to employ a person to prepare and publish those papers, and he was disposed to employ me, if we could come to any just understanding in regard to the compensation. My suggestion of a copyright he said was not deemed feasible, because the secretary was not

authorized by the resolution to dispose of the copyright. I told him that, with his views and mine on the subject, I did not doubt we should come to an agreement, as nothing seemed in the way but to decide on the form, which I thought could be easily done, as I was by no means strenuous on this point; that I could examine the papers more carefully, and be ready in a few days to explain my views to him in full, and make a proposal in another shape. . . .

March 12th, Monday. — At nine o'clock Mr. Webster went with me to the office of the Secretary of State, by appointment, to examine the Revolutionary correspondence. After this we conversed on the nature of the materials, the labor required to prepare them for publication, and the amount of compensation for such labor. His views accorded in almost all respects with my own. I am to draw up a paper on the subject to present to Mr. Clay, which I shall previously read to Mr. Webster. Wallenstein was with me in the evening. He thinks it important that I should connect with the Diplomatic Correspondence a historical account of the whole subject, not only going into the details of operations, but also the motives of France and the other European governments for joining with the rebellious colonies. Such a work, I think, will have interest, and perhaps I shall undertake it. . . .

March 13th, Tuesday. — Read to Mr. Webster the memoir designed for the Secretary of State. He approved it entirely. I sent it to Mr. Clay's office. A copy¹ is on file among my papers. As it accords very nearly with Mr. Clay's views expressed to me in conversation, I presume he will accept my proposal in substance, though possibly with some modification. Having now finished

¹ This will appear in a subsequent chapter on the Diplomatic Correspondence.

all my immediate business in Washington, I took the stage at four o'clock P. M. for Alexandria, on my way to Mount Vernon. Passed the evening at Alexandria writing letters.

March 14th, Wednesday. — Writing letters in the morning. Expected to go down to Mount Vernon in the steamboat, as it came along from Washington, but the captain declined setting me ashore at that place, giving as a reason that it would detain him too long. Went down in a carriage, and arrived at Mount Vernon before sunset.

From the above date, March 14, to April 16, 1827, Mr. Sparks made no entries in his journal. It was probably the busiest, certainly the most important month of study in his whole life. There, at Mount Vernon, in perfect quiet and comparative seclusion from the world, he made his first rapid examination of the richest historical inheritance which ever came into the hands of an American scholar. His first impressions and conclusions will appear in the following letters to Judge Washington, Chief Justice Marshall, and Alexander H. Everett.

JARED SPARKS TO JUDGE WASHINGTON.

MOUNT VERNON, *March 30, 1827.*

Having been here two weeks very diligently employed in taking a general survey of the papers, I am happy to inform you that my expectations in regard to their extent and value are fully realized. As yet I have been able to give them only a cursory examination, preparatory to a more particular inspection of their several parts. The mass of papers I find to be much larger than I had supposed, and the labor of preparing them for the press will be proportionably greater, but the materials so amply fulfill my highest anticipations, and promise to be of so much

interest and historical utility, that I am in no degree discouraged with the arduous task before me. Patience and assiduity, and a lively zeal in the work, will conquer all obstacles.

How many volumes it will be advisable to bring out, I am not yet decided; the probable demand in the market, as well as the nature of the work, must be somewhat consulted; it will not be expedient to make the number so large as to frighten readers and purchasers with their bulk and cost, nor yet so small as to leave important matter unpublished. I think it safe to determine, however, that there shall be not less than eight nor more than twelve volumes. To compress the matter into this compass, in such a manner that in all cases the very best and most appropriate shall be selected, is work of no common difficulty and labor. In short, it cannot be done except by careful reading, and till the whole becomes familiar to the mind. The end cannot be accomplished, with any tolerable justice, by the mere process of reading them over, marking such letters as may seem at first suited to the purpose. The parts must be compared, and their merits and topics deliberately weighed, that a unity may be preserved, repetitions avoided, and the most valuable papers at last culled out and brought together in their proper places. All the manuscripts would make from thirty to forty volumes.

It would appear that some of the papers are missing. You will recollect, probably, that there were seven volumes of orders in the army. The third volume is not to be found. It was not in the box with the others. The original papers during the presidential years are much broken, and some are gone. Letters are sometimes alluded to by their dates in other letters, which I do not find, but perhaps copies were not preserved.

I think you said there were copies of the papers

during the French war, which you designed for me. The originals are in the office, and also four volumes of copies. Do you intend these copies for me, or am I mistaken on this point? The three volumes of letters copied on loose sheets I presume are for my use.

I have examined partially the letters received by General Washington, and I am of the opinion that three or four volumes might be selected from them which would be well received by the public. They should follow the great work, but in a distinct form, and without any connection. If you are disposed to make the same arrangement respecting these papers as now exists in regard to the others, I will agree to it; that is, I will prepare and publish them on the same terms as the other papers, dividing equally with you the profits of the sale and value of the copyright. If you assent to this proposal, I trust you will signify the same in reply to this letter. An agreement in form can be closed hereafter. It is important for me to know your mind on the subject soon, because I shall be obliged to look these letters over, and if I have this scheme in view I shall examine them with the more care, and make a rough selection at once. Hamilton's letters ought to be returned.

I am accommodated here to my best wishes. John is attentive, and I have everything requisite for my convenience and comfort.

JARED SPARKS TO CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL.

MOUNT VERNON, *April 3, 1827.*

Your kind favor is just received, and I shall apply to Mr. Cazenove for the papers, as you direct. Some of the papers seem still to be missing, especially the third volume of orders. You doubtless recollect that there were seven volumes. The third was not in the box with the others, nor has it yet come in my way.

For three weeks I have been very closely employed in a general examination of the papers here, and I assure you they go far beyond my expectation both as to quantity and value. I shall be exceedingly disappointed if a selection cannot be made which will add much to the historical literature of the country, and be highly acceptable to the public. The labor before me is prodigious, but I engage in it with a hearty zeal and good-will, and despair not of seeing the end in due time.

Inclosed I have the pleasure of transmitting to you a copy of the order which you requested. It seems to me rather an exhortation or harangue to the soldiers than an order, but it is all that is recorded of this nature on the day preceding the battle of Germantown. As the expedition was to be kept as secret as possible, I suppose no other intimation of it was given to the soldiers. Among the miscellaneous papers here I find a private letter from General Washington to his brother John A. Washington, written shortly after the battle, which is more minute than his public report. He says expressly that the American army came upon the enemy's guards by surprise.

JARED SPARKS TO JUDGE WASHINGTON.

MOUNT VERNON, *April 3, 1827.*

By a letter just received from the Chief Justice, I find that he has had in his possession the copies you mentioned of General Washington's letters during the French War, which he has sent to Alexandria. My doubts on this subject are thus cleared up. He informs me, moreover, that he has sent a volume of letters for the year 1787, which he had retained by accident. The third volume of orders does not yet come to light.

In making to you the proposal in my last letter respecting the publication of the letters received by Gen-

eral Washington, I forgot to state, what I fully intended to do, that I shall expect the charge for copying these papers to be deducted from the avails of the work before any dividend shall be made. This is essential, and I beg you to consider it one of the conditions of my proposal.

I am now going carefully through some of these files, and am still persuaded that three or four volumes of valuable materials may be gathered from them. Will you not write to have Hamilton's and Lafayette's letters returned? They will be very desirable for this collection, as well as for elucidating some parts of General Washington's writings. . . .

P. S. — I think it would be some advantage to the success of the proposed work if extracts from some of General Washington's letters, and those received by him, were occasionally published in the "North American Review." It would keep public attention awake to the subject, and would in no degree interfere with the future prosperity of the work. If your views are with mine on the subject, please let me know, and I will take care that whatever appears shall be suited to the purpose. I am so well convinced of the utility of the plan that I cannot think you will see any grounds for objection, but I wish your opinion.

JARED SPARKS TO JUDGE WASHINGTON.

MOUNT VERNON, *April 17, 1827.*

Your kind favor of the 9th instant has been received, and I am much gratified with the expressions of confidence with which you honor me. In publishing the letters received by General Washington, I am fully aware of the delicacy you mention, and trust my judgment will guard me against any indiscretion which shall afford reasonable grounds of complaint. I believe it may be set

down as a rule, that in every case it will be safe to print, even with the names, whatever reflects credit on all persons concerned; but wherever the heat of party, or local causes, give an unfavorable tone to the writer's feelings and sentiments, and lead him into harsh reflections upon others, there will be room for deliberation, and perhaps a motive for passing by letters in other respects highly interesting. But even here I conceive it would be allowable to omit objectionable parts, and print what may be deemed expedient. On the whole, I do not think it necessary for much delicacy to be used, except where there is manifest danger of giving undue offense to some living persons, or of committing an act of unkindness or injustice to the character of the dead. But there are very few letters from which any such effects need be apprehended. Calumny and personal invective are not topics which any one often ventured to introduce into letters to General Washington.

From time to time I shall print letters and extracts in the "North American Review," in connection with such historical subjects as may be there discussed. My chief object will be to excite an interest in the papers, and keep the project of publishing them in various shapes before the readers of that work. The third volume of orders is not yet discovered. You will remember that the chest which contained these volumes had also packed in it many parcels of loose papers. I have mentioned the circumstance in a letter to the Chief Justice. Among the letters I have found nearly fifty originals from Lafayette, apparently out of place.

I am now about to introduce to your notice a subject of considerable importance, which will be likely to run into a long letter, but which may await your leisure for perusal. The farther I advance in the examination of General Washington's papers, the more strongly I am im-

pressed with their value, and the more I am encouraged with the prospect of a successful result of my labors; but I am obliged to confess that the task of preparing them for publication becomes every day magnified, and threatens to be much greater than I had ever anticipated. Materials for several volumes might easily be selected and sent out as comprising some of the best of General Washington's writings; but neither respect for my own reputation, nor a sense of justice to the public, nor veneration for the name of the author, will allow me to execute the work in any other manner than such as shall render it, in my own judgment, faithful, well digested, and complete.

To accomplish this with any tolerable facility, it will be necessary for me to have the whole mass of papers before me during the entire process of my labors. This will be made plain from the following considerations:—

I. The plan of the work must be such that, in arranging any one part, I shall have occasion constantly to refer to several other parts. I have nearly resolved on the following divisions as a general outline:—

Part 1. Papers relating to the French War; 2. American Revolution; 3. Private Correspondence on public affairs; 4. Messages and Addresses; 5. Miscellaneous Private Letters; 6. Agricultural Papers.

Now you will at once perceive that these topics do not come in chronological order; and the materials for each one, except, perhaps the first, are scattered throughout many of the manuscript volumes. The Revolutionary papers alone are comprised in forty-five volumes, and these you will recollect are arranged according to subjects, and not in the order of dates. My plan will require that the papers in each part shall follow in the order of time, and hence some particulars contained in the first of these forty-five volumes must be brought into connection with others contained in the last, and also in several inter-

mediate ones. There will be four or five printed volumes of the Revolutionary matter, all of which must be arranged in the same way. Again, when we come to the private papers, they run over a still wider range, and the necessity of perpetual recurrence to the whole is yet more obvious.

II. As a limit must be fixed to the number of volumes printed, a due consistency of parts can be preserved only by a special regard to the whole amount of materials and the proportional quantity to be selected, so that the most valuable may in the end be gleaned out. This will require a careful calculation from time to time as I proceed in the work, founded on repeated inspections of the papers, and comparisons of one with another to judge of their merits. Any other method of deciding less thorough than this would not only be defective, but would defeat the main object in view, — that of securing the materials of the highest character.

III. A work of this kind, consisting chiefly of letters, in which things are often alluded to without a full explanation, may derive much interest from notes and illustrations appended to the original text, serving at the same time to elucidate obscure passages and communicate collateral facts of history. Such notes should be brief, having a substance and a point. Additions of this kind I have resolved to prepare, as my judgment may dictate. But the sources of greatest fertility for this object are the papers and letters received by General Washington, which will be left behind unpublished, from which it is desirable to extract the essence, in the form of notes, to illustrate those that constitute the body of the work. I hardly need suggest the inference that this essential part of my scheme cannot be executed unless all the papers shall be within reach as I proceed.

In short, I need not say more to convince you that, in

whatever place the papers are to be consulted and prepared, it must be where I can have daily access to the whole. It remains to be considered, then, whether it is practicable for this to be done at Mount Vernon; and on this point I esteem it my duty to say, at the present stage of my investigation, that I do not think it is, whether the subject be regarded with reference to yourself or to me. The reasons are obvious: —

1. The space of time occupied in completing the work I cannot hope will be much less than three years of pretty diligent application; that is, giving to it as large a portion of the time as a man can profitably or agreeably devote to a single object of this nature. A narrower limit I cannot venture to fix, and it will be likely to extend further. To read all the manuscripts faithfully through would take a year. In making our contract, I suppose it was never your idea that I should spend so much time, or any considerable part of it, at Mount Vernon. Such a residence would neither comport with your convenience nor interest.

2. With my present necessary pursuits, such an absence from home would be impossible for me, even if there were no objections on your part. The only mode in which I could effect the object would be to come here at irregular periods for one, two, or three months, and then return. Thus the final execution of the work would be indefinitely protracted, and the expenses of traveling would make a draft upon me which I have never contemplated.

3. A more serious difficulty is still behind. If the work extends to ten or twelve volumes, as it will, I think, there will be at least seven or eight to be copied; and if the letters to General Washington should also be printed, there will be four more. Now I presume it is wholly out of the question that copyists are to come here for this purpose; and, indeed, the copying ought all to be done under

my own eye ; sometimes one person, sometimes more, should be employed, according as I get the different parts in readiness, for I cannot judge beforehand how much of each will be wanted, but must decide as I go along. Hence a copyist cannot be set at work as he would be if a definite quantity of papers were before him.

After deliberately weighing, in their various bearings, the topics at which I have here hinted, I am brought irresistibly to the conclusion that the only feasible mode of accomplishing properly what I have undertaken is to have the papers removed to my own study in Boston. I am fully aware of your reluctance to such a step, and of the good grounds on which it is founded, but after you have revolved the above considerations carefully in your mind, I am constrained to believe you will see the subject in the same light as myself. It ought, moreover, to be kept in view that the enterprise in which I am embarked is not one of trifling moment either as it relates to you or to me ; that the main value of the papers consists in their furnishing materials for such a work as I propose ; that some risks may, with great propriety, be run to effect such an end, especially as it cannot be effected without them ; and, lastly, that I have already made, and am prepared still to make, extraordinary sacrifices to execute with fidelity and justice what I have undertaken without any narrow calculations as to the time, trouble, or expense which it will demand. These circumstances, as well as others, may be allowed to have a claim on as full a latitude of indulgence in the use of the papers as you can make consistent with the responsibility of your charge over them. Another thing may also be mentioned. The copying will be a heavy expense, and I have found by experience that I can procure this to be done by clerks in my own office at less than half the usual charge. But I do not insist on these grounds, for I am persuaded the advantage of granting

my request will in itself be quite as great on your part as on mine.

The papers desired to be removed may be ranked in the following classes :—

1. The manuscripts bound in volumes; 2. Letters received by General Washington; 3. Miscellaneous papers.

The first class comprises about seventy volumes, full two thirds of which relate to the Revolution, nearly the whole of which are copies from originals preserved here. In short, except one volume previous to the Revolution, principally on matters of business, and not important, and four volumes immediately succeeding the Revolution, I believe every copied paper is also here in the original; and of these four volumes I presume the originals were kept, although I have not yet met with them. In point of safety, there would actually be a gain in having these transcripts deposited in some place separate from the originals, for an accident by fire at Mount Vernon would now endanger the whole, whereas the loss of one part only would be of comparatively small moment. I mention these particulars because I think they ought to weigh much in guiding your mind to a decision.

The papers of the second class are originals, but such parts as are to be published must all be copied somewhere, and a great many of them must be consulted by me continually. I have made considerable progress in looking over these letters, and I find, upon an average, that I select about one quarter for future consideration and reference. The whole number is not much short of twenty thousand.

The third class is very small, consisting of such papers as I have culled out of the case standing next to the inner door. The mass of papers in that case is composed chiefly of army returns, and of little consequence. But I have picked out a few scraps that will aid me a little, and also

press-copies of letters written during the last two years of General Washington's life, which I do not find recorded.

Thus you are presented with my thoughts, somewhat in detail, on this subject, and so arranged that I trust you will be able clearly to apprehend them. If I can be furnished with the papers in the manner here suggested, it will not be necessary for me to visit Mount Vernon, except occasionally to consult the originals in cases of doubt, but these will seldom occur.

Should you consent, on the above considerations, to the removal of the papers, I will agree, on my part, to the following terms. I will procure boxes to be made, in which they shall be carefully packed, and will take them to Boston by land, under my own charge and at my own expense. They shall also be brought back at my expense, and I will pledge myself that all the papers shall be returned in good order, unless prevented by accidents not in my power to control. When in Boston they shall be deposited in my own study, where I will effect an insurance on them against fire, to the amount of ten thousand dollars, the policy of insurance being either taken out in your name, or so made over to you that, in case of loss, your claim shall exist directly against the office. When I am absent from Boston for several weeks, as may sometimes happen, all the original papers shall be deposited in a fire-proof safe, either in one of the banks, or in the recorder's office.

As soon as you have duly considered the above particulars and can form a decision, I shall be glad of a reply. I shall send a copy of this letter to Chief Justice Marshall, and as his knowledge of the papers is so full and minute he will be able to communicate to you his impressions without delay. The kind of inquiries to which I shall devote myself during the remainder of my present visit here will depend a good deal on your answer. My

business at home will call me from this place as early as the last of May; but should you accede to my proposal, I will make a point of waiting till you return, for I should wish you to be present when the papers are packed, and take any memorandums of the same which you may think proper. Meantime I will have everything in readiness.

In four or five weeks I expect to publish in the newspapers some account of the papers at Mount Vernon, with a development of my plan, and such remarks as will tend to prepare the public mind for a suitable reception of the work. As soon as I arrive in Boston I shall send out a prospectus, and put the business of collecting subscriptions into speedy operation. I am now negotiating with a competent person to traverse for this object all the Eastern States. Any arrangement which may hereafter be made with a publisher will be very much facilitated by having a good subscription list in hand. From the sale in England I do not expect much, but I intend myself to go out there, principally on this business, and ascertain what can be done.

I am about making a trip to Monticello for a week, to consult certain parts of Mr. Jefferson's papers. I wish also to see Mr. Madison, who I think will be able and willing to lend me important aid.

JARED SPARKS TO CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL.

MOUNT VERNON, *April 17, 1827.*

The copy of my letter to Judge Washington, which I have the honor to inclose, is so full on the point in question that I forbear to add more. I can hardly think you will hesitate as to the expediency of removing the papers in the manner proposed, or that you will consider the risk incurred as affording a serious objection, especially as the papers are nearly all copies. I really do not see how it is possible for me to go through the whole of

my labors at Mount Vernon; the obstacles are insuperable. I hope, therefore, that you will look upon my proposal in a favorable light, and represent your opinion accordingly to Judge Washington. As you are so perfectly acquainted with the papers in all their details, he will rely greatly on your judgment and views of the case.

JARED SPARKS TO JUDGE WASHINGTON.

MOUNT VERNON, *May 7, 1827.*

Your favor of the 29th ultimo has reached me, and I need not say that I am gratified with your consent to have the papers removed, on the conditions stated in my last letter. I have also received an answer from Chief Justice Marshall, which accords so entirely with yours that I consider the arrangement as now settled.

The truth is, that when our contract was made, I foresaw difficulties in respect to the local situation of the papers, but I was willing to leave this part of the subject in your own hands, not doubting that all reasonable facilities would be afforded. I confess, moreover, that the mass of papers is much larger than I anticipated, and the task before me much greater; but such is my zeal in the undertaking, and so highly do I estimate its importance, that I should have prosecuted it with ardor and without complaint, under all the disadvantages that would have encumbered it, had you deemed it inconsistent with your duty to allow the papers to be removed. You may rest assured that your confidence has not been misplaced, and that no pains or caution will be spared, in preserving the papers, which the nature of the trust will admit.

I think all the volumes which are known to be duplicates may safely go by water; and for this purpose, I presume, the chests in which I found them here may be used. The originals, or at least a large portion of them,

I shall prefer to take on by land, as affording greater security, although at greater expense.

It has been a serious job to look over the letters received, but I am nearly through it, and have made a pretty free selection. In a week everything will be ready for packing up. I wish to pass a few days in Washington looking into the papers in the office of the Secretary of State, and perhaps I shall be there when you return. Mr. Madison told me that among the cabinet papers are some that will be valuable in preparing an edition of Washington's works.

When you leave Philadelphia I will thank you to put a line in the mail, directed to Alexandria, informing me of the time at which you will probably be at home. It must be a great sacrifice for you to be absent from Mount Vernon at this season. I can hardly imagine a more charming spot than this has been for the last five weeks.

JARED SPARKS TO A. H. EVERETT.

MOUNT VERNON, *May 14, 1827.*

Before I proceed further, I may tell you that I have been residing at Mount Vernon about ten weeks, deeply engaged in examining General Washington's papers, with a view to prepare an edition of his works for the press. I have made an arrangement for this object with Judge Washington and Chief Justice Marshall, by which I am to have free access to all the papers at Mount Vernon. You will be pleased to learn that these are numerous and valuable, far beyond what has generally been supposed by the public. I have written two long letters on the subject to Judge Story, which will be published in the "Intelligencer" very shortly, and also at the end of the July number of the "North American Review." These you will see, and they are so full as to render it unnecessary for me to enlarge in this place. I have the strongest

conviction that the work will be honorable to the country. The papers are now in readiness to be transported to Boston, where I shall retain them as long as they will be wanted. Those which I have selected for this purpose fill eight large boxes. Washington's industry was prodigious in writing as well as in other things.

Another work I have also undertaken, which is, to edit and prepare for the press the diplomatic correspondence of our ministers abroad, and foreign ministers in this country, during the Revolution. This is an unexplored field, and is rich in the treasures of history. The papers were authorized to be published some time ago by a resolution of Congress, but the thing has not been done because it was somewhat of a delicate and responsible undertaking, and one to which neither the President nor Secretary of State had any leisure to attend. I have made the contract with Mr. Clay, and the main responsibility is thrown on me. A certain compensation is allowed for preparing the manuscript, and Congress are to take one thousand copies of the work. Permission is granted to sell as many more on my own account as there may be a demand for. The whole will probably make six or eight volumes. The papers are copied into volumes, and these I am to take to Boston. My purpose is, to prefix a historical introduction, bringing out in a regular chain the course of diplomatic events during the Revolution, both in regard to this country and to the policy of foreign nations with reference to the part they took in our concerns.

Turning now from Mr. Sparks' correspondence to his journal, we find the following interesting observations:—

April 16th, Monday.—Have now been at Mount Vernon about five weeks, closely engaged in examining Wash-

ington's papers. The progress I have made may be seen in the letters I have written from time to time since I have been here, and copies of which have been preserved. The papers are numerous and valuable, and the labor of examination and preparing them for the press will be great. I have been here entirely alone. Judge Washington and his wife are absent in Philadelphia. The servants provide me with all I want, and give good attendance. My habits are, to rise early and ride on horseback; dine at three o'clock; spend the whole day in close application to the papers; walk before dark; write letters and other things in the evening. Visitors almost daily come to Mount Vernon on a sort of pilgrimage to the tomb of the Father of his Country.

April 17th, Tuesday.—To Alexandria, part of the way in a fishing boat up the river; then went ashore and walked five miles to the town. Evening at Mr. Bryan's. Reading Judge Cranch's "Memoir of John Adams," good; judicious facts well combined, and pertinent reflections.

April 18th, Wednesday.—Rode to Washington in the morning; called on Mr. Clay, Secretary of State, and, after conversing with him half an hour, closed the contract by which I am engaged to edit and publish the Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence according to a resolution of Congress. The outlines of the agreement are, that I shall prepare the papers for () a volume, to be paid when the manuscript of each is read; that I shall supply Congress with 1,000 copies at () a copy; that I shall be allowed to take all duplicates to Boston; that the government shall be at the expense of all the copying for the press; and that the French shall all be translated at my charge. I am to be in Washington by the middle of May, when the contract is to be closed in writing. Wallenstein passed the evening with me at my

lodgings. He has prepared an article for the "Review," on Canada.

April 19th, Thursday. — Writing letters all the morning. Took the steamboat for Fredericksburgh at twelve o'clock, and arrived at nine in the evening. Ed. Wier in company; just from England; full of talk. Mr. Brown is to make inquiries, during his tour in the West, for proper persons to circulate the Writings of Washington; proposes to engage in it in part himself.

April 20th, Friday. — Left Fredericksburgh in the morning in a single gig to visit Mr. Storror, thirty-four miles distant. Passed the night with him. Family unwell; kindly received; Mr. Storror laid up with a cold; three charming little children.

April 21st, Saturday. — Returned to Fredericksburgh. Mr. Gray walked with me to the grave of Washington's mother; he also pointed out to me the house in which she used to live. Some additions have been made to the house, but it has still an humble appearance. When occupied by Mrs. Washington, it contained only two rooms on the floor, and these were small. The kitchen was a separate building at a few yards' distance. She was in respectable circumstances, and was moreover aided occasionally by her son, General Washington. She was a woman but little polished by education, of strong native sense, and more given to housewifery, and to keeping the servants at their proper business and in their proper places, than to any unnecessary forms of etiquette. An old gentleman here tells me he often used to take tea with her, and all things were in a remarkably plain way, and without ceremony.

The grave of Washington's mother is marked by no visible object, not even a mound of earth, nor is the precise spot of its locality known. The burial ground is on the western border of the town, and was formerly on the

estate belonging to the Lewis family. It has since passed through several hands, and is now in possession of a worthy Scotch gentleman. For a long time a single cedar-tree was the only guide to the place; near this tree tradition has fixed the grave of Washington's mother, but there is no stone to point out the place, nor any inequalities in the surface of the ground. Recently a few yards square, supposed to embrace this grave and those of several other persons, have been inclosed with a decent paling by the present proprietor of the soil.

On my return from the grave I called on Mr. Robert Lewis, the son of Washington's sister, and who for several years was an agent in transacting much of his business. Mr. Lewis has a great many of Washington's letters, and has loaned some of them to me for inspection. A gentleman observed to me to-day that Washington's mother was remarkable for taking good care of her ducks and chickens. Her daughter, Mrs. Lewis, had the faculty of thrift and a business talent; and she managed a large estate and a rising family with great credit to herself after the death of her husband. Mrs. Washington removed to Fredericksburgh when her son George was quite a youth.

April 22d, Sunday. — Stage-coach to Mrs. Clarke's, nine miles from Charlottesville. Mr. Phil. P. Barbour, former Speaker of Congress, was a fellow-passenger as far as Orange Court House. He spoke much of the decline of Virginia, and ascribed it to negro slavery. He said if he could dispose of all his slaves in a way which should insure him of their future comfort and support, he would do it with the utmost cheerfulness, and pay a reasonable sum of money besides to provide for their transportation and settlement. I have heard the same opinion often expressed by gentlemen of the South, and I have no doubt they would be gainers by such a change. The laws of Virginia prohibit manumission except on

condition that the manumitted person shall leave the State. The legislature reserves the right of granting residence in individual cases; and also the laws give the power to the judges of the county courts in cases of extraordinary good conduct and character in the person manumitted. The legislature is rigid, and few applications are made to it; the judges are more lenient. A colored man freed by Mr. Jefferson applied to the legislature, and his petition was granted. There was the best proof of the excellence of his character, and no doubt the circumstance of his having belonged to Mr. Jefferson had its weight.

April 23d, Monday. — Arrived at Charlottesville to breakfast. Walked to Mr. T. J. Randolph's, four miles, and unfortunately found him not at home. My only object in visiting this place was to examine Mr. Jefferson's papers, and in this I am disappointed, as they are in possession of his grandson, Mr. Randolph, now absent at Richmond. I lingered half an hour at Monticello, which is now a forsaken, lonely spot. No family resides there, and the grounds are much overrun with bushes. The grave of Jefferson is among trees at a considerable distance from the mansion, without a stone to mark the spot, or any other indication than the heap of earth that was raised in excavating the grave. This appears to have been lined by a brick wall, the top of which is seen at the surface of the ground.

April 24th, Tuesday. — Mr. Trist, brother-in-law to Mr. Randolph, called on me this morning to converse on Mr. Jefferson's papers, and solicited me to remain till Mr. Randolph's return. This I declined doing unless I could be examining the papers in the mean time, but Mr. Trist said he had no charge over them. He walked with me to the university, where I was introduced to Dr. Dunlison and Mr. Key, two of the professors. The

colleges form a beautiful cluster of buildings. The Rotunda is a spacious and elegant structure, containing four lecture-rooms, and a large room for a library. The number of books is now about eight thousand, remarkably well selected. Left Charlottesville in the stage at three o'clock, P. M., and lodged at Gordonsville.

April 25th, Wednesday. — Breakfast at Orange Court House. Rode thence to Mr. Madison's, four miles distant, where I spent the day most agreeably. My principal object in visiting Mr. Madison was to converse on historical matters pertaining to General Washington and Revolutionary times. I found him affable, ready to converse, full of interesting facts, and communicative. A few particulars related by him will here be stated.

Not long before Hamilton's death he gave Judge Benson a memorandum, in which the authors of the "Federalist" were mentioned by name, and each part assigned to its respective author. This was done in a loose manner, and was imperfect; that is, certain pieces were ascribed to Mr. Madison by name, and others to Mr. Jay, and the remainder he said were written by himself. The names in the edition of the "Federalist," published in Hamilton's works, are assigned in accordance with this memorandum. Mr. Madison afterwards corrected the mistake, and the octavo edition lately published, he says, is correct. He observed that, in the account of Mr. Jay in Delaplaine's Repository, the circumstance is mentioned that one of the essays ascribed to Hamilton in the above-mentioned memorandum was written by Mr. Jay. The error in Hamilton was considered as an oversight by Mr. Madison. The following anecdote he also mentioned as a remarkable instance of the failure of memory: —

It is well known that Hamilton inclined to a less democratical form of government than the one that was adopted, although he was a zealous friend of the Constitu-

tion in its present shape after it had received the sanction of the Convention. He considered it less perfect than it might have been, yet he thought it an immense improvement on the old confederation. He drew up a plan in accordance with his own views, which he put into the hands of Mr. Madison, who took a copy of it, and returned the original to the author, telling him at the same time that he had preserved a copy. Mr. Madison says he knew not Hamilton's motive for doing this, unless it was for the purpose of securing a written record of his views, which might afford a ready confutation of any future false statements respecting them.

Some time after the Convention a report went abroad that Hamilton was in favor of a system approaching a monarchy, and particularly that he wished the President to be elected for life. Mr. Pickering wrote to Hamilton asking if this report was true; to which he replied in the negative, and added, moreover, that, so far from its being true, he proposed the presidential office to continue for three years only, as would be seen by his plan of a Constitution put by him into the hands of Mr. Madison. Now it is remarkable that, on this very plan, the duration of the presidential office is fixed during good behavior. Mr. Madison expressed his belief very decidedly that this mistake arose from a want of recollection, for it was impossible that he should make the statement, and refer to the only source where it could be confuted, if he meant to deceive.

When Dr. Mason, of New York, was preparing to write a Life of Hamilton, he called on Mr. Madison, and inquired if a copy of Hamilton's scheme of a Constitution had been preserved. He said that Hamilton kept his papers in a very loose state, and that the original containing his plan of a Constitution had either been destroyed or lost. On searching for his copy Mr. Madison could not find

it for a long time, and he had nearly given it up as lost, when at length it came to light. He had a copy taken for Dr. Mason, but he afterwards learned that the original was found.

Mr. Giles impeached Hamilton for a misapplication of public money while he was Secretary of the Treasury. The matter was brought before Congress. Mr. Madison sustained Giles so far as to show that the Secretary of the Treasury had paid two millions of dollars in a manner not sanctioned by law, nor by the instructions of the President. It was supposed by some that the President had given secret instructions for this act, but no such intimation was made public by the proper authority. The subject became of a delicate nature, as possibly involving the private transactions of the President, and making him accessory to an irregular act of the secretary. When the vote was taken, however, the charge against Hamilton was not sustained by a majority, and Giles' impeachment failed. Some persons were influenced, Mr. Madison supposes, by a feeling of delicacy towards General Washington, and others by the conviction that Hamilton was actuated by no improper intention, in whatever light the legality of the transaction might be regarded.

In the Convention Dr. Franklin seldom spoke. As he was too feeble to stand long at a time, his speeches were generally written. He would arise and ask the favor of one of his colleagues to read what he had written. Occasionally, however, he would make short extemporaneous speeches with great pertinency and effect.

It was customary in the Old Congress for the Secretary to read to the Congress assembled all the letters of our ministers in foreign countries. The letters of John Adams were not interesting to the members in general, because they contained much extraneous matter, discussions and

speculations on government, and narratives of events abroad. He had a great deal of leisure, was fond of writing, and thus his letters became voluminous. But Mr. Madison thinks they would be very interesting for the mass of readers at the present day. Mr. Jay's letters in the Congress were listened to with great eagerness, being generally short, and confined to the business of his mission, or to topics having some bearing on the temper of the Spanish government towards the United States. The hope of bringing Spain into a war against England, and to follow the example of France in regard to the American colonies, was also a source of peculiar interest, and opened the ears of Congress to everything that came from that quarter.

When Cornwallis was overrunning the Southern States, and the British seemed to be gaining an entire ascendancy there, the members of Congress from those States began to be alarmed, and a project gradually gained ground among them for ceding the Mississippi to Spain, on condition of her taking part (an active part in America) in the war against England. At that time Mr. Madison and Mr. Bland were the only delegates present in Congress from Virginia. Mr. Bland was for the Southern project, and Mr. Madison against it. This latter gentleman, moreover, considered it not to be sanctioned by the instructions of the State to the delegates, and he prevailed on the friends of the measure to postpone acting on the subject till the Virginia legislature could be consulted. This was done; Virginia approved the plan, and instructed her delegates to promote its consummation. It was accordingly brought before Congress and adopted. Mr. Jay was instructed to make the overture to the Spanish government.

An error has crept into the history of this affair. It has gone out to the world that the scheme originated in

the Virginia legislature, whereas it was never taken up there till attention had been called to it by Mr. Madison, as delegate in Congress from that State. He says the error arose from Mr. Thomson's manner of keeping the journal. It was usual with him to note the substance of preliminary discussions on separate sheets of paper, and to enter results only on the regular journals, thus making the jejune compend which the journal now exhibits. So, in the present case, the first thing he entered on the journal was the report of the committee to whom was referred the address of Virginia to Congress respecting the cession of the Mississippi. Hence it has been erroneously understood that the project originated with that State. Mr. Madison says that he some years ago corrected this mistake by a full statement of facts, which he communicated to "Niles' Register;"¹ but historical writers still adhere to the first account.

Mr. Madison remarked, in connection with this anecdote, that he warmly advised Secretary Thomson to publish a selection from his separate papers by way of commentary on the journal as now printed. He had materials for a highly valuable work of this description. It was a strange whim in him to neglect this work, which nobody could execute but himself, and to devote many years of his life to a translation of the Septuagint, which thousands could have done better.

It was Mr. Madison's custom, after he entered Congress, to take memoranda of the debates, rough sketches and copies of all the principal papers. The debates and proceedings of the Convention for adopting the Constitution he took much pains to record at the time, and has preserved the whole. Yates' book he speaks of as ex-

¹ Madison's letter on "The Navigation of the Mississippi," with accompanying papers, may be found in *Niles' Register* for January 26, 1822. — Ed.

tremely imperfect, the author having been absent a good deal of the time, and both he and Lansing strenuously opposed to the Constitution.

To show the extraordinary scarcity of articles of clothing during the Revolution, especially in Virginia, Mr. Madison related the following anecdote: He had previously been elected to the state legislature, but was left out at a recent election because he would not treat. The voters were not pleased with this departure from an old custom, and fancied they saw in it a higher spirit of independence than they were disposed to encourage in a young candidate for their favor. But he was soon appointed one of the Council, and his presence was required at Williamsburgh. While sitting one evening in the house of a friend in that place, his hat was stolen from the window seat in which it was left. He sent out for a new hat, but none could be found in all the shops of Williamsburgh, and he was actually obliged to keep within doors two days for the want of a hat. At last he obtained a second-hand one from a tailor, for which he paid an enormous price, and which gave him such an appearance when on his head, as to make him the amusement of his friends during the whole session.

Mr. Madison says his correspondence with Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Monroe is very voluminous, and particularly full while these gentlemen were in France. His letters to Governor Randolph, Mr. Pendleton, and many others are also numerous. He often wrote in haste, and seldom kept copies. He has lately been collecting his original letters, and taking copies of the most important. He never used a press for copying in the most busy periods of his life.

He thinks Judge Marshall's "Life of Washington" highly respectable, as a specimen of historical composition, much more so than the critics have generally been

inclined to allow. The fifth volume he deems quite inaccurate and ill-digested; and he feels qualified to speak with some confidence on the subject, as a large portion of the events recorded are those of which he had a personal knowledge. The bias of party feeling is obvious, and he believes Judge Marshall would write differently at the present day and with his present impressions.

I forgot to mention in its proper place what Mr. Trist informed me, namely, that there is a paper in Mr. Jefferson's handwriting which contains a long critique on that part of Judge Marshall's fifth volume which relates to himself as Secretary of State, and to his difference with Hamilton. He charges Judge Marshall, as I understand, with making up a history of those events by resorting to imperfect materials, and such as exhibit only one side of the question. This paper, and others relating to the same period, I ought to see in connection with General Washington's writings.

April 26th, Thursday. — Day lost at Orange Court House. Disappointed in procuring a gig to take me to Fredericksburgh, and obliged to wait for the stage till to-morrow morning. I have done little but write the preceding recollections of Mr. Madison's conversations. To stop for the stage in a country village is one of the evils of life. Was gratified to meet an old friend here to-day, Mr. James Barbour, son of the Secretary of War. He has recently been defeated in an election for the legislature, because he voted during the last session for having John Randolph out of the Senate of the United States. The Jackson party, as opposed to Adams, now runs high in Virginia. I believe there is no State in the Union where the contests of elections run so high as in this. Personal solicitation for votes is universal.

April 27th, Friday. — Mr. P. P. Barbour in the stage

with me from Orange Court House to Fredericksburgh. He said that he had heard Mr. Jefferson speak favorably of Hamilton's political integrity, stating that although he differed from him very widely, yet he believed Hamilton to be honest in his opinions, and frank and bold in avowing them. I am glad to hear this from so good authority; Mr. Barbour was confident that he could not be mistaken, for the period has not been long since he heard Mr. Jefferson make the declaration.

I had an hour between the stages at Fredericksburgh, which I devoted to Mr. Robert Lewis, a nephew of General Washington. Mr. Lewis resided with him for some time during the first years of his presidency, and was afterwards his agent in business. Mr. Lewis related to me the following remarkable anecdote. While living in the family of General Washington, he observed it was his constant custom to retire to his office for a short time at nine o'clock in the evening. Lewis' youthful curiosity was excited by this habit, and he found himself impelled by an ardent curiosity to know what his uncle could be doing alone in his office every evening at that hour. He at length ventured to look into the keyhole, where he saw him on his knees at his devotions, with a Bible open before him. At this period of his life, Washington arose habitually at four o'clock, and went with a candle into his office. The passage led by the door of Lewis' room, who was often waked by the noise of the general's steps, and whose curiosity, after the above discovery, impelled him again to the keyhole at this morning hour. He beheld Washington at his devotions, as in the evening. Mr. Lewis assured me that this was his habit while he lived in his family, and added that the religious character of Washington has never been understood. After his morning devotions, his time was commonly employed till breakfast in writing letters.

Mr. Lewis says that Weems' "Life of Washington" is generally accurate as to facts. The superinduced fiction is by way of embellishment, and seldom misleads. Weems gathered his information from old people, who were cotemporaries of Washington.

April 28th, Saturday. — Landed from the steamboat last night at Alexandria, and came down to Mount Vernon this morning in a gig, with a boy to drive. Discovered some new and valuable papers to-day, particularly a small manuscript book containing an original journal of Washington, written in the year 1748, March and April, when he was barely sixteen years old, giving an account of a surveying expedition to the head-waters of the Potomac among the Alleghany Mountains. I am inclined to think it is the earliest manuscript record to be found from his pen, unless it be some of his school exercises in arithmetic. The volume also contains the rough draft of about half a dozen letters. It is quite certain that no writer of Washington's biography has seen this book; no one alludes to it; and although it is more curious than valuable, yet it contains facts which no writer would have omitted, had they been known. There are a few stanzas of poetry, quite in a love strain, and which have every appearance of being original. His letters, also, breathe the tender passion for some fair damsel, whom he had left behind in one of the lower counties of Virginia. Among his private letters, written some years afterwards, while he was colonel of the Virginia forces, I remember he speaks with a glow of feeling of another young lady, which proved that his heart had no small share in dictating his sentiments. His friend, Chew, rallied him a good deal on the subject in his replies, but these retorts produced no attempt at denial or concealment on the part of Washington. The fair one seems to have resided in New York, and whether Washington became acquainted with

her on a visit to that city, or whether he had seen her in some other place, is not ascertained.

Additional testimony has come to light to-day of his wonderful industry and attention to business. I have found a ledger beginning with 1750, large and thick, continuing nearly twenty years, and written throughout in his own hand, very close and handsome. Journals or day-books, during the same period, are written by himself, recording all the minutest particulars relating to the business of a plantation and household affairs. A volume of letters and invoices of goods shipped and imported before the Revolution, entirely in his own hand, I have, moreover, discovered to-day; also several curious agricultural papers, and many sheets of memorandums and rough observations during the first years of the presidency. The above papers were all contained in a large chest in a garret, where it was merely accidental that I found them. In the same chest are books in which are entered the daily expenses of Washington and his family while he was President, the smallest item being specified separately, and vouchers for the whole filed in small parcels. These accounts were examined once a week, sometimes by the secretary, but often by the President himself, who added up the several sums, frequently supplied items in his own handwriting, and then signed his name in proof of the account having been examined and approved.

May 4th, Friday. — Mr. John Hopkins, of Philadelphia, called on me, and proposed to engage in procuring subscriptions for Washington's Works, and selling the volumes as they come out. This business, he says, he has been employed in for several years. I explained to him the plan which I contemplate for the publication, but told him I could make no agreement or contract to carry it into effect, till I should have advanced further; that I might possibly wish to employ him, and in such case would inform him in due time.

May 7th, Monday. — By a letter from Judge Washington I have permission to remove all General Washington's papers to Boston, and retain them there till they shall be prepared for publication. This grant was not contained in our original contract, but the impossibility of executing the work here as it ought to be done has reconciled Judge Washington to the removal of the papers. My labors will now be immediately directed to preparing them for this purpose.

A letter received to-day from Mr. John Miller, of London, contains a proposal to print and sell Washington's Works in London, be at all charges himself, and allow me one half the profits of sales. This is to be considered. . . .

May 11th, Friday. — Finished the first letter to Judge Story respecting General Washington's papers. I have written it for publication, and shall write two more, one on the plan I propose to pursue in preparing the papers for the press, and another on the facilities I shall enjoy for making notes and additions. My object is to give the public a full account of the matter.

May 13th, Sunday. — Mr. Bushrod Washington, Jr., tells me that Mr. Thomas Fairfax, of Alexandria, is the eldest son of Bryan Fairfax, and inherited the title of Lord Fairfax. He probably has all the letters written by General Washington to his father, and perhaps to other branches of the family. Mr. Washington, in one of the public offices in Washington city, probably has the letters addressed to Lund Washington. There is a son of George Mason living at Gunston, ten miles from Mount Vernon, who is supposed to have the letters written to his father.

May 15th, Tuesday. — Having got all the papers in readiness, and packed them in part, I came up to-day to Washington, with a view of closing my contract with Mr. Clay, and to make some examinations in his office. . . .

May 16th, Wednesday. — Conversation with Mr. Clay in his office. He has prepared a draft of our contract and sent it to the President. It will soon be ready. Points were stated as to the manner of arranging the manuscript in such a way that the intentions of the act of Congress shall be complied with. It provides that all the papers shall be published, except such as the President may deem it expedient to suppress. This implies that he is to look them all over, and mark objectionable parts, — a task which he has no time to perform. Yet there must be some kind of supervision. I told Mr. Clay that my purpose was, as the manuscript of each volume was got in readiness for the press, to send the same to the Secretary of State, to remain with him till the time of publication, or at least for such a time as would give him and the President ample time to make such an examination of the same as they may think proper. This he thought satisfactory, but added that the responsibility must, after all, chiefly rest on me; that neither the Secretary nor the President had leisure to examine the work with the care which the delicacy of the subject required, and which the act seemed to contemplate. On a former occasion Mr. Clay consented to have all the duplicates of the papers taken to Boston, and proposed to have them used by the printers to save the expense of copying. To this subject I recurred to-day, and told him that such an arrangement would be hardly possible, as the duplicates are copied into volumes, and even if the volumes were cut up for the purpose there would be much embarrassment in arranging the papers for the purpose. I assured him, therefore, that it would be necessary to have an entire transcript made of all the papers that should be selected for the press. To this he assented, stating that the expense of copying would be a comparatively small item, and in this case the matter must be left to my judgment.

May 17th, Thursday. — Finished my letters to Judge Story, giving an account of Washington's papers, and the manner in which they are proposed to be published. Sent them to the "Intelligencer" for publication.

May 19th, Saturday. — The first letter to Judge Story concerning Washington's papers was published to-day. Last conversation with Mr. Clay respecting the contract for publishing the diplomatic papers. It is agreed that I shall have \$400 a volume for preparing the manuscript, and the same price for the volumes which Mr. Wait had, which is stated to be \$2.12½. That is, I am to receive this for each volume of the thousand copies to be delivered to Congress, and take home all the papers that exist in duplicates or copies.

May 20th, Sunday. — At church, Mr. Little the preacher. Dined with Wallenstein. Passed the evening at Mr. Clay's. Much conversation on the affairs of South America. Mr. Clay was one of the first advocates in this country for the cause of South America, and has always taken a deep interest in the concerns of the new republics. He thinks their present prospects less promising than at almost any former time. With great reluctance, he said, he has been compelled to look upon Bolivar as a man whose ambitious views have led him astray. The communications for the Department of State from South America for the last year and a half have all concurred in this point, and in representing Bolivar as not worthy of the confidence of the people. Mr. Clay spoke of this with very great regret.

May 21st, Monday. — Contract with Mr. Clay this day sealed and signed by him and the President. I spent the whole day in comparing the original papers with the records in volumes, with a view of preparing them for removal.

May 22d, Tuesday. — Went down to Mount Vernon,

and finished packing the papers. They are contained in eight large boxes. Six of these are to be shipped from Alexandria to Boston; the other two, which contain the most valuable papers, I shall take with me by land, as insuring greater security. Judge Washington told me to-day that he sold the copyright for only 7,000 copies of Marshall's "Life of Washington." On a former occasion I have entered in this journal that it was 10,000, which it seems was a mistake. For these 7,000 copies he received one dollar a volume, and as there were five volumes in a set, the whole amount received was \$35,000. In England he realized but about \$2,000. The copyright in England was sold to Mr. Fairfax for a tract of land in the neighborhood of Mount Vernon, which was estimated at a much larger amount, but for some reason it was never carried into effect.

May 23d, Wednesday. — Packed up the papers in the State Department which I propose to take to Boston. Rode with Mr. Seaton through Georgetown to Arlington, with the view of visiting Mr. Custis, to make inquiries of him respecting General Washington's letters in his possession. Did not find him at home. Mr. and Mrs. Astley came to Washington; also Mr. Guillet, a French gentleman traveling in this country, who brought me letters from Paris. Papers arrived from Mount Vernon, and in two days I hope to be on my way towards home.

May 24th, Thursday. — Among the papers in the morning. Took leave of Mr. Clay. Called on the President, and passed with him half an hour conversing on the plan for arranging the papers of the Diplomatic Correspondence for publication. He accorded with my opinion, that it is best to put the letters of each person in chronological order as far as they relate to any one country. The negotiations for peace should constitute a distinct head, and letters written by the commissioners in their united

capacity should be printed together in the order of dates. The letters of individual commissioners during the same period should come under the same head as those written in their official capacity, but not mingled together. It will be desirable to have frequent references from one part of the work to another, and also to the Secret Journals, and the Public Journals of the Old Congress. The President has read these papers with more attention, probably, than any other person, and he expresses a willingness to give me his views upon any points which may come up during my labors in preparing them for the press. He once thought of editing them himself. I think it will be necessary to prepare a new edition of the Secret Journals, with notes and references, as an accompaniment to the Diplomatic Correspondence.

[Mr. Sparks left Washington May 25, 1827, and, after various historical researches in Maryland, Philadelphia, and New York, he reached Boston June 10th. A few days later all the Washington manuscripts arrived safely, some by land and some by sea. The Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution came to hand from Washington, and also General Gates' letters from the New York Historical Society. After six months of diligent literary work, varied by occasional historical excursions in New England for the collection of further materials, Mr. Sparks set out again for Washington, December 15th. He spent some time in researches *en route*, and was three weeks in Baltimore. The following extracts from his journal are important, as illustrating what John Quincy Adams thought about editorial duties with reference to the writings of Washington.]

1828.

January 15th, Tuesday. — Half an hour with President Adams in the morning. He approves my project

for examining papers abroad ; conversed on the subject in detail. Dined with him in his family circle. He expressed a decided opinion that the names of all persons mentioned in Washington's papers ought to be printed in full. He thought there was no ground for delicacy on this point at the present day. He told me a story of a man in Holland by the name of Washington who wrote to the general, and with whom it proved there was some relationship. Mr. Adams saw the man, — he was a native of Holland, but his ancestors were from England. Mr. Adams thought it best to correct freely all blunders in orthography and grammar which appear in Washington's letters. These errors are common to all writers. He observed that he had seen some of Voltaire's manuscripts ; that they were remarkable throughout for incorrect spelling. He also observed that he often found himself falling into the same blunders. . . .

January 16th, Wednesday. — Examining papers in the State Department. Dined with Count Silliers, in company with Captain Basil Hall, his wife, and General Bernard. . . . Evening at Mrs. Clay's party ; introduced by Mr. Clay to Mr. Vaughan, the British Minister. Mr. Clay explained to him my objects in going to Europe, and Mr. Vaughan expressed a readiness to advance my objects by giving me a letter to some of the secretaries in the British government.

January 17th, Thursday. — Conversation in the morning with Chief Justice Marshall and Judge Washington respecting the Washington papers. General Washington's private journal is now in the hands of the judge, who says he will let me have it. It is written in small pamphlets. I inquired respecting the papers, which Lear has been charged with having taken away. Judge Washington said that no such charge had ever been made by him ; but that the papers did not come into his hands till about

eight months after the death of the general, and that during that time they were in the hands of Mr. Lear. When the judge took possession of them, he found that the private journal for a certain period was missing; he thought about the year 1793, and that suspicions of having withdrawn it fell upon Mr. Lear, yet there was no other evidence of the circumstance; nor had he reason to suppose that any letters were taken away by Mr. Lear. Heard Mr. Wirt in the Supreme Court. . . .

January 18th, Friday.— Procured all the remainder of the Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence in the State Department, and had them put up ready for removal. Received letters from Mr. Clay to the American Ministers in England, France, and Holland. Also a letter from the British Minister to Mr. Hay, a secretary in the Colonial Department. Many visits in the evening. Much hurried the whole week. . . .

[Mr. Sparks turned northward January 19th, but a month later we find him making another journey from Boston to Washington in the interest of his editorial work upon the Diplomatic Correspondence and the Washington manuscripts.]

February 26, 1828.— I visited Mrs. Peter, of Georgetown, to-day. She was the granddaughter of Mrs. Washington. My principal object was to ascertain what became of General Washington's letters to his wife. Mrs. Peter assured me that, shortly after General Washington's death, Mrs. Washington burnt all these letters except two, which seemed to escape by accident. Mrs. Washington gave her writing-desk to Mrs. Peter, and in this desk were found two letters from General Washington to her. No others have ever been found. One of these is exceedingly valuable, being a letter written by General

Washington to his wife, communicating the intelligence of his having been appointed commander-in-chief, and expressing his entire conviction that he was not adequate to so high a trust. It has never yet been printed. Mrs. Peter assured me that General Washington, although grave and not very communicative, was uncommonly gentle, mild, and kind in his family, fond of little children, humane to servants, and mindful of all those little attentions which multiply endearments, and make so large a portion of the happiness of intimate social intercourse.

February 27th, Wednesday. — Went to Mount Vernon, and obtained General Washington's private journals and diaries. They are written chiefly in interleaved almanacs, and small books made for the purpose. They begin several years before the Revolution.

Took a line from Judge Washington to William H. Foote, Esq., on whom I called. He lives about five miles from Alexandria, and as far from Mount Vernon. He is a nephew of Lund Washington, and my object in visiting him was to procure copies of the letters received by his uncle from General Washington. Mr. Foote informed me that before his uncle's death he enjoined it on his wife to destroy all these letters, which injunction was strictly complied with, except in a few instances, where scraps cut from some of the letters were preserved. These are unimportant, but Mr. Foote promises to send them to me. The loss of these letters is much to be deplored, as Lund Washington was a confidential correspondent during the whole Revolution. A few copies are saved. . . .

February 29th, Friday. — Dr. Lieber explained to me a project he has in contemplation of translating the "Conversationslexicon" from the German. It will extend to ten or twelve volumes, and is so heavy a work that the booksellers are reluctant to engage in it. Many articles must be added respecting the United States, to

adapt it to this country. I told him I was willing to contribute something, and would pledge myself to do so for the first volume, particularly on history and biography. I also suggested to him the expediency of enlisting several gentlemen as contributors to supply the deficiency of American articles.

March 1st, Saturday. — Ascertained that the volume of Livingston's letters while Secretary for Foreign Affairs is in the Department of State. I missed it among the volumes of correspondence which I took away. Also Mr. Dumas' letters are in the Department of State. These must be copied, as well as the letters of Lafayette to the old Congress.

March 2d, Sunday. — Count de Menou, Chargé d'Affaires from France, told me this evening, that among the archives in the convents of France there were formerly voluminous papers relative to the French colonies in this country, sent home by the missionaries. He supposes many of them were destroyed in the French Revolution, during the rage against the convents, but thinks that some valuable ones still remain. He says that the papers in the public offices in France are extremely well preserved, and are easy of access.

March 5th, Wednesday. — Mr. Rush, Secretary of the Treasury, told me this evening at the President's drawing-room, that his father (the celebrated Dr. Rush) once contemplated writing a history of the American Revolution. For this purpose he gathered all the pamphlets, documents, and papers relating to the subject. It was his custom to lay these aside during the time of the war. His multiplied occupations prevented his carrying into effect the project of writing a history, but the pamphlets and papers were preserved till recently, when they were lost by accident. Mr. Rush told me, also, that when in England he talked with Sir James Mackintosh respecting his con-

tinuation of Hume's history, in which it is said he has long been engaged. Sir James expressed a warm interest in that part of the history relating to the separation of this country from England, and said he should take all pains to become well informed on that subject, and to represent it fairly.

[Mr. Sparks left Washington March 15, 1828, and journeyed northward, making a special visit to Newark, Delaware, for the purpose of examining and getting copies of the papers of Charles Thompson, who was secretary of the old Congress. From New York Mr. Sparks sailed for Liverpool in the packet ship "Birmingham," March 24, 1828.]

CHAPTER XVI.

RESEARCHES IN EUROPE, 1828-1829.

WHEN Jared Sparks went to Europe in 1828, he took with him letters of introduction from prominent Americans to distinguished and influential people in England. Daniel Webster gave him a letter to Stratford Canning. Basil Hall gave him introductions to the Marquis of Lansdowne, then the Home Secretary; to Viscount Dudley, Foreign Secretary; Lord Brougham; Sir James Mackintosh; J. G. Lockhart, editor of the "Quarterly Review;" John Murray, publisher of the "Quarterly;" Messrs. Longman and Company; E. H. Locker, of Greenwich Hospital, and others. "Mr. Lockhart," said Mr. Hall in transmitting his letters of introduction, "you will be much pleased with, and he will arrange for your being admitted to the Athenæum, the best club in London."

William H. Prescott wrote to Jared Sparks from Bedford Street, Boston, December 5, 1827, saying: "I inclose you the three letters of introduction to Messrs. Vaughan, Smith, and Newton. From the two first I know you will receive a hospitable welcome, and Vaughan, as the name implies, may be useful to you in many ways in London. I saw no better society than at his uncle's table, who, like the rest of the family, has a great admiration for savants."¹

¹ Mr. Prescott wrote to Mr. Sparks, April 13, 1828, after his departure for England: "I see your *Ledyard* is reprinted in London. It is one of your best letters of introduction. You have written nothing, in my judgment, and not mine alone, in a better manner."

The following extracts are from Mr. Sparks' journal of his first European tour in 1828-1829. Descriptions of travel are for the most part omitted. Matters connected with his researches are of historical as well as autobiographical interest.

ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND.

Liverpool, April 15th, 1828. — After a passage of twenty days and a half from New York, we came into one of the docks in this city last night about midnight. When I went on deck this morning, I found the ship surrounded by a forest of masts and ropes, and I clambered with some difficulty over the sides and decks of half a dozen vessels before I reached the shore. Took lodgings at the Adelphi Hotel. . . .

April 16th, Tuesday. — After walking over some parts of Liverpool in the morning, and calling on two or three persons with letters, I went out to visit Mr. Roscoe, about two miles from town. I brought a letter to him from Dr. Channing. I was told at the door that he did not leave his room, and seldom saw company, but I sent up my letter, and was ushered into a nice little drawing-room. Miss Jane Roscoe soon appeared, and said her father had been too ill to see much company of late, but was now recover-

With this same letter Prescott sent an article of his own upon "Italian Literature," and requested Sparks to bring the manuscript to the attention of Lockhart, editor of the *Quarterly*, or of Jeffrey, editor of the *Edinburgh Review*. Sparks' introduction of the matter in a letter to Lockhart, June 3, 1828, was successful, as appears from Prescott's letter to Sparks September 28, 1828: "The letter you inclosed from Lockhart was very satisfactory to me, I can assure you; for I should have been not a little chagrined to have gone so far out of my way as to write for a foreign journal, and to have had my article returned on my hands. . . . But it is all *comme il faut*, and I am much obliged to you for the part you have taken in forwarding my designs."

ing, and would be happy to see me. She entertained me in the mean time with a lively conversation on various topics. She had just returned from Wales on a visit to Mrs. Hemans, and spoke of the beautiful scenery in that country, and talked of poetry, and American poets and American writers. I believe she is herself a poetess. I have heard my friend Greenwood often extol her as a lady of more than common talents and attainments. At length the servant brought word that Mr. Roscoe was ready to see me. He was sitting in his study in full dress, and looking quite well. He immediately entered into animated conversation; said his attack had been severe, that his voice had faltered, his frame been weakened, but he felt himself now recovering. He was surrounded by many mementos of the literature and arts of Italy, presented to him mostly by eminent persons in that country. His conversation ran principally upon his own works and doings, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who had recently sent him a splendid copy of the writings of Lorenzo de' Medici, which gift Mr. Roscoe appeared to value above all price. We at length fell upon the botanical work which he has recently been publishing in numbers, containing elegant drawings of plants, with scientific descriptions. His eagerness to explain these was such that he evidently began to be exhausted, and I saw the propriety of leaving him, lest I should weary him too much. Miss Roscoe took the botanical work into the parlor below, and showed me how beautifully it was executed. She said her father had engaged in the work as relaxation and amusement during his investigation of the subject of penal jurisprudence. . . .

LONDON.

April 24th, Thursday. — Called on Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Lawrence (Chargé d'Affaires from the United States to Great Britain), and Mr. Miller, agent for the "North

American Review." Looking for lodgings, and walking over different parts of the town.

April 25th, Friday. — Take lodgings at No. 48 Leicester Square, where I have two rooms at two and a half guineas a week, — fire half a guinea a week in addition, and breakfast at eighteen pence each morning. Dine with Mr. Lawrence. I had a letter to him from Mr. Clay, Secretary of State, requesting him to aid me in procuring access to the papers on American history in the public offices. Mr. Lawrence proposes to write to Mr. Grant, president of the Board of Trade, who has charge of the Plantation Office, in which are deposited the old colonial papers.

April 26th, Saturday. — Breakfast with Professor Pattison, who has recently been chosen to the anatomical chair in the new London University. When I resided in Baltimore he was professor of the same branch in the Maryland University. He went with me to the site of the new university, where a very large and commodious building is now erecting. At the University Rooms he introduced me to Mr. Horner, and to Mr. Goldsmidt, the celebrated banker. Goldsmidt is a liberal patron of the University. Left my letter of introduction with Mr. Lockhart, editor of the "Quarterly Review." He was just leaving town to visit one of his children, who is dangerously ill in the country. Had but a short conversation with him. He desired me to leave my address, that he might know my place of residence on his return. He said Captain Basil Hall wrote home expressing much delight with his tour in the United States. . . .

April 28th, Monday. — Dine at Mr. Vaughan's in company with Mr. Lawrence, Mr. Maltby of the London Institution, and other gentlemen. . . .

April 29th, Tuesday. — Left my letters for Lord Dudley and Mr. Huskisson, with a note to each requesting an

interview on the subject of examining papers in the offices. Left my letter for Mr. Hay, under-secretary in the Colonial Department. I brought a letter to him from Mr. Vaughan, the British Minister in Washington. . . .

April 30th, Wednesday. — Rode out to Chelsea College to call on Sir James Mackintosh¹ with a letter. He received me very politely, and proffered his services to aid my wishes in any manner in his power. Left my letters for Lord Holland at Holland House, near Kensington Gardens. Went into the House of Lords, where I heard an argument from Mr. Brougham, on a point of law, before the Lord Chancellor. The theory was that he was addressing the whole House of Lords assembled, but in reality there was no person present except the Lord Chancellor, and two other lords, who did not look as if they were profound lawyers. Mr. Brougham speaks better than I was prepared to expect. His voice is clear, enunciation distinct, and language flowing. Had an interview with Mr. Hay at the Colonial Office. He will do what he can to forward my wishes in regard to the examination of papers. Took a boat with Professor Pattison at the Parliament House in Westminster, and went down the Thames

¹ Sir James Mackintosh afterwards, May 14, 1828, gave Mr. Sparks the following letter of introduction to the Right Hon. Charles Grant, Chelsea College: "Mr. Jared Sparks, an American literary gentleman of merit and reputation, is come to this country with a view to collect such authentic information as he can procure from our public repositories, for the illustration of the papers of General Washington, of which he is about to publish a collection. He is so respectably introduced and recommended that I have no doubt of his finding every facility here. The papers relating to the Plantations in the office of the Board of Trade are a considerable object to him. I venture to recommend him to your help in this respect. I am so confident of your liberal disposition that I need not say how desirous I should be that a North American writer should have the most free access to our materials for the history of his country. I am sure you will have the same feelings."

to London Bridge, having passed under Waterloo, Blackfriars, and the Iron bridges, and enjoyed a fine prospect of Westminster Bridge, Lambeth Palace, Somerset House, and other objects as seen from the river. Bought a watch of French at the Royal Exchange, for which I gave forty-five guineas. Dined with Professor Pattison by invitation at his club house, in company with Mr. Cooper (the American novelist), Mr. Hutchinson, member of Parliament for Cork, and Mr. Scott, son of Sir Walter Scott, who has some post in the Foreign Office. Tea with Sir James Mackintosh at half past eight o'clock. He invited me in the morning. Met there an intelligent Russian gentleman, who knew my friend Wallenstein. Was much pleased with Sir James' conversation. He seemed well acquainted with Russian and American affairs. Lady Mackintosh talked her share. . . .

May 2d, Friday. — Short conversation with Mr. Brougham in Westminster Hall. He invited me to breakfast. I went into the courts in Westminster Hall, namely, King's Bench, Common Pleas, Exchequer, and Vice-Chancellor's Court, which were all sitting at the same time. Dine with Mr. Lawrence, in company with Mr. Bowring and several American gentlemen. Fall upon a long talk on political economy, in which the principles of the "North American Review" on this subject were severely criticised by Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Bowring. It is said that Malthus' doctrine of population is an axiom which no one doubts in Europe. This may be so, and yet the doctrine may be wrong.

May 3d, Saturday. — Breakfast with Mr. William Smith, member of Parliament. Met Mr. Huskisson by appointment at the Colonial Office in Downing Street. He professed a readiness to procure me access to any papers I might desire relative to American history, and referred me to Mr. Hay, who would obtain such papers

from the State Paper Office as I wanted. He inquired about America, and conversed very agreeably on various topics while I was with him. Mr. Hay had already obtained from the State Paper Office three volumes of manuscripts, comprising all the correspondence of the secretaries of state with British commanders in America during the whole Revolution. These he put into my hands, with permission to look them through in his office, and select such parts as I might choose. I went over a portion of the first volume and marked certain passages for copying. While in Mr. Huskisson's office I saw the Duke of Wellington walking under the windows, in the garden attached to the Foreign Office and looking out upon St. James' Park. Attended Covent Garden Theatre in the evening with Professor Pattison. Kemble was the principal actor. . . .

May 5th, Monday.—Had an interview with the Marquis of Lansdowne this morning by appointment. He thought there could be no doubt about the freest access being given to all the papers in the offices which can be useful to my purpose. The object seemed to him one that ought by all means to be encouraged and promoted. He added, moreover, that among his father's papers were some relating to America, with which he should be happy to furnish me, as soon as he could find leisure to look them over. He desired that I would call on him for any aid or advice which I might want. I passed the remainder of the day in the Colonial Office reading the letters of Lord George Germain in the manuscript volumes mentioned above. Evening at my lodgings. . . .

May 7th, Wednesday.—All the morning in the Colonial Office, reading Lord George Germain's letters, and finished the three volumes. A very long walk from Westminster to the bank, thence to Finsbury Square, Russell Square, Brunswick Square, down to Cavendish Square,

and thence to my lodgings. Dine at Lord Holland's at seven o'clock. The company consisted of Lord Lauderdale, Lord Melville, Lord Lutterell, two other gentlemen, and three ladies. . . . After dinner we retired to the library, where we had coffee. Lord Holland told me that Burke's papers are in the possession of Lord Fitzwilliam, and said he would inquire whether there are any among them relating to American affairs. I left Holland House at half past ten.

May 8th, Thursday.— At the Colonial Office in the morning. Found obstacles in the way of my consulting other papers. The clerks had no authority to produce them. Had an interview with Mr. Hay on the subject. He said it would be necessary for him to look over the papers which I had read, that he might ascertain the nature of such as I wanted before I proceeded further. He desired me, also, to hand him in writing a description of the papers which I wished to consult. As my object is investigation for historical purposes, I told him this would not be easy, as a principal aim with me was to ascertain what papers there are in the offices suited to my purpose, but that I would draw out such an account as my present knowledge would enable me to do. This, he said, was all that could be expected. Dine with Mr. Lawrence. He thinks it strange that papers should now be withheld, after allowing me to proceed thus far, and supposes there must be some reason, which does not appear, for taking such a step. He is a little surprised, moreover, that he has not yet had any answer to the application he made a few days ago to Mr. Grant, the president of the Board of Trade, under whose charge are all the colonial papers. As Mr. Clay had written to Mr. Lawrence requesting him, in his private capacity, to forward my views as far as he could, he made formal application to the president of the Board of Trade.

May 9th, Friday. — Wrote a letter to Mr. Hay, describing as minutely as I could the kind of papers which I want, namely, the correspondence between the government at home and the British commanders in America during the Revolution ; and also the correspondence of the British ministers during the same period in Holland, France, and Spain. All these papers are in the State Paper Office. . . . Left the letter with Mr. Hay, who desired me to call again to-morrow, when he should be able to say something more definite on the subject. Met Cooper at Mr. Lawrence's. He finds many things to dislike in England, and he takes care to express himself very freely about them. Dine at the Marquis of Lansdowne's, where was a most agreeable party. Both Lord Lansdowne and his lady are unassuming, affable, and pleasant people. Besides the Earl of Ilchester and other lords, the famous Sydney Smith was there, and also Dumont, the Genevan, who is said to have written some of the best of Mirabeau's speeches, and who has latterly become eminent by his works on jurisprudence, and his French edition of some of Bentham's writings. I had the good fortune to sit at table by the side of Sydney Smith, and a man of more good humor, wit, and agreeable conversation never talked. He gave me some account of the origin of the "Edinburgh Review." He said he was himself the projector of it, and the editor of the first number ; immediately after which he left Edinburgh, and the "Review" went into the hands of Mr. Jeffrey, with whom it has continued ever since. Mr. Richard Sharp sat on my right, who knew Dr. Johnson and the remarkable men of his day, and tells good stories about them.

May 10th, Saturday. — Mr. Hay has consulted Mr. Huskisson, whose opinion is, that my application should be referred to Mr. Peel, Secretary of the Home Department, and he proposes to send to Mr. Peel the letter which

I brought from the British Minister in Washington to him, the letter from Mr. Rush to Mr. Huskisson, and also my own letter describing the kind of papers I wish to consult, and my objects in consulting them. In explanation of this measure it may be stated that the State Paper Office is under the particular charge of the secretary of the Home Department, but that it is customary for all the secretaries to consult such papers in that office as they may want in the regular prosecution of business. But as my application goes beyond this limit, Mr. Huskisson thinks he cannot with propriety grant a permission which is the particular province of the secretary in the other department, although for common purposes he should feel no delicacy on the subject. Nothing further can be done in the Colonial Department, therefore, but to refer the whole subject to Mr. Secretary Peel.

May 11th, Sunday. — Breakfast with Mr. Brougham. Found Mr. Mill there, the author of a work on political economy, and another on India. The conversation turned chiefly on the institutions of the United States, and particularly the Supreme Court. I was surprised to find both these gentlemen extremely ill-informed on all these topics. They talked of the Library of Useful Knowledge, and the society organized for writing and circulating the pamphlets. Mr. Brougham thought the work might be of great utility in the United States; said I must attend one of the meetings of the society in London, become acquainted with their mode of proceeding, and endeavor to form a similar association in America. The thing strikes me as feasible, and no doubt a great deal of knowledge may be diffused in this manner; but I am not certain that it is as much wanted in the United States as in England. Mr. Brougham insisted that, in case I should find any difficulty in prosecuting my historical researches in London, I should apply to him, and he would

serve me in any way in his power. Conversation ran very rapidly during the two hours I was with him, and a multiplicity of topics were of course discussed.

Mr. Sydney Smith¹ called at my lodgings, and talked with his usual pleasantry; said Captain Basil Hall was his friend, and inquired after him with interest. "My friend Basil is as honest and straightforward a man as there is in the world," said he, "but he wants tact." He added that Hall sent him the book on South America in manuscript. He looked it over and returned it, telling him it would not do at all; that it abounded too much with Scotch wit, a heavy article, which the public would not take; and that he must remodel the whole. It came back six months afterwards very much altered, and just as it was printed, parts of it having been written over five or six times.

Mr. Smith asked me if I knew all the gentlemen we met at Lord Lansdowne's. I replied no. "It is an awkward thing," said he, "to meet people in such a way. One loves to talk freely, and not be under the perpetual fear that he may say something to the disparagement of the grandmother or great-aunt of some one at table. A clumsy way this, of not introducing people. They have a fashion, sometimes, of putting a paper before you containing a bill of fare for the dinner. It would be a great improvement if they would write on it the names of the company: for instance, 'Mr. Sydney Smith, parson, near York;' 'Mr. Sparks, editor of the "North American Review," in the United States,' etc. I believe this subject

¹ The following note of acknowledgment from Mr. Sydney Smith to Mr. Sparks is dated London, May 12, 1828: "I am much obliged to you for your kind present of the letters respecting the Washington papers; the subject is of great importance to all good Englishmen as well as all good Americans. I am glad to see it in such able hands."

came into his head from an unlucky remark which he made during dinner, pointed with a little sarcasm, touching lawyers and their wigs. A lawyer was sitting on the opposite side of the table, as was soon discovered. He had a hit upon deans. "Lady Lansdowne," said he, "what strange times we are falling upon; the deans are leaving off their aprons. Is n't it shocking? Think what a dignified appendage an apron is to a dean!" Two plates were set before him, one for ice cream, and another for such parts of the dessert as he might choose; but he piled everything upon one. "Why, Mr. Smith," said Lady Lansdowne, "why don't you use the other plate, which was set there on purpose for you?" "Ah, true, my lady, but it is a chapel of ease, if you will allow me to be a little professional on the occasion."

Professor Pattison came in while Mr. Smith was in the room. The London University soon came up. Mr. Smith thought the clamor against the University, for leaving out theology as a branch of instruction, would result to the injury of the institution. In his view, the better plan would be to have lecture-rooms open to professors of all denominations, who might lecture on theology in their own way, and permitting the students to attend whom they pleased. Professor Pattison replied that some such plan was in contemplation. . . .

May 12th, Monday. — Mr. Hay informs me that the letters have been sent to Mr. Peel, and that he has returned them to the Colonial Office, saying that, as the business had commenced in that office, it had better be finished there, and at the same time expressing his opinion that no copies of any of the papers should be allowed to be taken. It was now said that the State Paper Office is under certain regulations, which do not permit the free investigation for historical purposes which I desire; and Mr. Hay remarked that, had Mr. Huskisson been fully

aware of these regulations at first, he would not have felt at liberty to put into my hands the volumes which I had already consulted. I expressed my regret at such a decision, and particularly that the mere rules of an office should be a bar to obtaining historical facts which had no bearing upon present or future politics, which could reflect no otherwise but creditably upon any persons concerned, and which related to events equally interesting to England and the United States. I disclaimed the wish to see any papers, except such as were simply of a historical character, and important in promoting historical verity. He replied that, if I would define any paper, or state any particular point which I wished to clear up, an application in this form would no doubt come within the rules of the office. I answered that such a course would clearly be of no avail, as I could not tell what papers would be most important till I had seen them, and that a principal object of my inquiries was to search after such papers. I then submitted to Mr. Hay the proposition whether, as no copies could be taken, it would not be admissible for me to look the papers through, and make an abstract of the prominent facts in my own handwriting, which I would leave in the office to be inspected, and for such erasures as might be thought necessary, or whether some mode could not be devised by which the rules of the office might be so applied as to afford a reasonable use of the papers. To this proposition he was not prepared to give an answer, but said he would consult Mr. Huskisson, and let me know on Wednesday.

From the Colonial Office I went to see Mr. Bowring, who is residing near at hand with Mr. Jeremy Bentham. We walked in Bentham's garden, on one side of which is the house in which Milton lived, and the tradition is, that he wrote a part of "Paradise Lost" in this garden. The house belongs to Mr. Bentham. It was recently occupied

by Hazlitt, who fixed a tablet of stone near the roof at the end, with this inscription: "Sacred to Milton, the Prince of Poets." Mr. Bowring tells me that Hazlitt defaced the walls of the house in the interior by scribbling them over with scraps of his own composition. A gate opens from the garden into St. James' Park. We passed through it, and took a walk to the British Museum. . . .

At the British Museum Mr. Bowring introduced me to Mr. Cary, the translator of Dante, who is one of the librarians. We made a hasty excursion through the numerous rooms of antiquities and curiosities, the Elgin marbles, and Belzoni's Egyptian trophies. We then pursued our walk into the city, calling on our way at the library of Sion College.

May 13th, Tuesday. — Received a ticket from the directors of the British Museum, granting me free access to that institution for six months. For this I am indebted to the politeness of Mr. Cary. I forgot to state in its place some days ago that I received a ticket of admission to the Athenæum Club by a vote of the committee. As this is a very aristocratic institution, and not more than ten strangers can have tickets of the above description at the same time, the privilege is thought by my friends a great compliment. It was obtained through the influence of Captain Hall's letters to two or three of the members. The club house is in Waterloo Place, Regent Street, where are a library, journals, and newspapers, and where coffee, dinners, and tea may be obtained at all times, at a reasonable expense. . . .

May 15th, Thursday. . . . I inquired at the Herald's College respecting the Washington-family and its genealogy. When Washington was first made President, Sir Isaac Heard, then at the head of the Herald's College, wrote to him, requesting such facts as he possessed concerning the origin and pedigree of his family, stating that

he was curious to investigate the subject. Washington wrote back, communicating such facts as he could collect respecting the family in America, and adding that he knew nothing about his ancestors in England, except the tradition that his great-grandfather emigrated from some one of the northern counties. From these materials, however, Sir Isaac was never able to make out the pedigree of the family. Mr. Beltz, an officer of the college, has all Sir Isaac's manuscripts, and say she will look them over and let me examine them if I will call again. Walked to Brunswick Square to see Mr. Madge, the successor of Mr. Belsham, in Essex Street. Found the residence of Stuart Newton, the painter, and left a letter with him. Dined at Mr. Vaughan's, in company of Colonel Aspinwall, American consul in London, Mr. Gibson, and other gentlemen. Colonel Aspinwall told me that he made the contract with Murray for the sale of Washington Irving's "Life of Columbus." Murray sent the manuscript to Southey without letting him know the author. Southey praised it highly, and Murray paid what Irving asked, that is, three thousand pounds. The trade and authors have said this was a high price, but Murray will undoubtedly make a profit by it. According to his own account, he has sold more than forty thousand copies of the "Sketch Book."

Colonel Aspinwall made the contract, also, for publishing Hutchinson's third volume of the "History of Massachusetts." Murray retails the book at twelve shillings, and sells five hundred copies to the Massachusetts Historical society for eight shillings each. On these terms he agreed to publish it. The five hundred copies are put high, but the sale will be limited in this country. The Rev. John Hutchinson, who possesses the manuscripts of Hutchinson, called on me the other morning when he was in town. He tells me that he has also a private journal of Governor Hutchinson, which he kept in London during

the Revolution, and which relates entirely to the affairs of the colonies. Murray has offered to publish it on the same terms as the other, and Colonel Aspinwall has written to Hilliard, Gray & Co. to inquire if they will take five hundred copies. Colonel Aspinwall also tells me that Mr. Hutchinson has the manuscript of a private journal by Oliver relating to the colonies. . . .

May 16th, Friday. — At Colonel Aspinwall's office I saw his curious and valuable collection of books relating to America. He has been several years gathering them from different quarters, and he is increasing his stock whenever a work comes up which he does not possess. It is now probably the best private library of American books in existence. In the London Institution (Moor Fields) I have found several books, particularly county histories, which lead me to a knowledge of the Washington family. I have discovered that there are two branches, one in Yorkshire and another in Northamptonshire. Passed the greater portion of the day in these inquiries at the London Institution, where every facility is afforded for consulting books. Dine with Mr. Lawrence in company with Mr. and Mrs. Bates, just returned from America; also Mr. Van Rensselaer, son of the patroon of Albany; and Mr. Ray, of New York.

May 17th, Saturday. — Breakfast with the Rev. Joseph Hunter at the Tavistock Hotel, Covent Garden. This gentleman is engaged in publishing a History of the Deanery of Doncaster in Yorkshire, and has paid great attention to the history of the branch of the Washington family which resided at Adwick, not many miles from Leeds. He has traced the pedigree of that family, and is fully satisfied that General Washington did not descend from it, notwithstanding such a tradition prevails in the neighborhood. Moreover, he says it has been made evident, in Baker's "History of Northamptonshire," pub-

lished two years ago, that General Washington descended from a family of the same name in that county. . . .

I found Baker's History at the publisher's in Parliament Street. There is the strongest probability that he has got the true pedigree of Washington's family, but I must pursue the subject further. . . .

May 19th, Monday. — Conversed an hour with Mr. Cooper on the subject of making arrangements for publishing Washington's Works in London. He thinks Murray the best person to engage in it, but says no publisher will be liberal or courteous. His experience proves the contrary. He sent the manuscript of the "Spy" to Washington Irving, who put it into the hands of Murray. He dispatched it to Gifford, and Gifford reported that it was not worth publishing. After a long time it was returned, without ceremony or apology for detention. Miller undertook some of his other novels, but little was realized from them. They were reprinted by others without authority. He sold the "Red Rover" to Colburn for 300 pounds. The work in which he is now engaged concerning America he sells to Colburn for 400 pounds; but he says he will not dispose of another book in London under 800 pounds. Colburn has already more than repaid himself for the "Red Rover," and it is in quick demand, a new edition having just come from the press. He thinks hereafter of securing a copyright in both countries, by taking a copyright in America for one volume, and in England for another. He has found the publishers in this country extremely close in their bargains, haggling to reduce the price and protract the time of payment. Carey & Lea have been more liberal with him than any other publishers. Cooper informs me that he intends traveling for some years in Europe, and in the mean time to bring out one book a year. He allots five months for writing a book, and seven for traveling. He

read to me several extracts from the work now in press. Its tone is strongly American, if not anti-English. In short, he expresses his dislikes of England very freely on all occasions, and yet no American, certainly, was ever so much caressed in this country, unless it were John Dunn Hunter, the pseudo-Indian. The nobility and men of letters are equally attentive to him, and he is talked about in all circles as a lion. He has sent the sheets of his book to press here as he wrote them. He tells me this is now his uniform habit with his novels. The sheets as they come from the press are sent to the United States and to Paris. Miss Preble is translating it into French for the Paris publisher. . . .

May 20th, Tuesday. — Breakfast with Mr. Hume, the celebrated opposition member in Parliament. He thinks the conduct of the secretary in withholding the papers from inspection for historical uses is very extraordinary; and so must every person that has any liberal notions of things. Spent an hour with Mr. Lawrence; he has not yet heard the result of his application to Mr. Grant. I here read in Mr. Walsh's paper the first news I have had of President Kirkland's resignation. Went to the Herald's College, but was too late for my appointment. This immeasurable city wearies one to death with its distances, and disappoints all calculation as to the time it will take to go from one place to another. Engaged Mr. French, chronometer-maker at the Royal Exchange, to procure an engraving of Washington's head on a seal,¹ which is to be a faithful likeness. Colonel Aspinwall recommends Murray as the best publisher in London to enlist in Washington's Works; says he has found him a fair person to deal with. From four o'clock till eight in the London Institution in examining the county histories with reference to Washington's family; very successful

¹ This was stolen in 1868.

in collecting facts. Walked to my lodgings through the upper parts of the town, more than three miles.

May 21st, Wednesday. — Morning at the Herald's College, looking over Sir Isaac Heard's papers, and copying such as are to my purpose. Procured a true copy of the Washington arms. Saw the Visitation Book of Northamptonshire for the year 1618, which contains partial pedigrees of the Washington family in that county, with the original signatures of *Albanus Washington* and *Robert Washington*. These pedigrees agree very nearly with Baker. Saw Mr. Hay at the Colonial Office. He has not yet had an opportunity of consulting Mr. Huskisson, and says he feels wholly unauthorized to decide, where the two secretaries have a difference of opinion. He assures me that he will give me due notice as soon as he can ascertain Mr. Huskisson's ultimate determination on the subject.

May 22d, Thursday. — Writing all the morning. Mr. Bowring called, and walked with me to Holborn Cross, where the coaches start for Hampstead. Went out to Hampstead and saw Miss Lucy Aikin, to whom I had letters from Dr. Channing and Miss Sedgwick. Sat half an hour with Miss Aikin, who conversed with great animation and good sense. She and her mother live together in a snug little house, and seem as happy as good people can expect to be while sojourners on the earth. Miss Aikin is preparing a book for children. Mr. Belsham¹ resides but a short distance from Miss Aikin. I paid him a short visit, and then walked over to Highgate along a charming path that leads through the meadows and fields. Dined with Colonel Aspinwall at Highgate, in company with Mr. and Mrs. Appleton, and

¹ The Rev. Thomas Belsham was a pioneer of the Unitarian movement in England, and a successor of Priestley in one congregation. Mr. Belsham died in 1829.



the two Messrs. Vaughan. Returned in the evening with Mr. and Mrs. Appleton in a vehicle called a "fly," a very convenient conveyance for such occasions.

Found on my desk a letter¹ from Lord Holland, stating that he had inquired after Burke's papers. They are in the possession of Lord Fitzwilliam, who is entirely willing I should examine and use them; but they are all at Wentworth, in Yorkshire, in a good deal of confusion, and no person can arrange them but Lord Fitzwilliam, or his son Lord Milton. When they go down into the country they will look over the papers, and put aside all that relate to America. Lord Holland advises me to write to Lord Milton reminding him of his father's promise, and explaining the nature of the papers which I expect to find.

It is rumored to-day that there are warm differences in the Cabinet, particularly between Mr. Peel and Mr. Huskisson. This affords some clue to an explanation of the difficulties with which I have met by being brought in at this moment between these two secretaries. Had the application been first made to Mr. Peel, it might possibly have been more successful. . . .

¹ The original of this letter from Lord Holland to Jared Sparks is preserved in the Sparks papers, and is dated London, May 23, 1828: "I have not neglected my commission, but I fear I have not been so successful as I led you to expect. Mr. Burke's papers are in Lord Fitzwilliam's possession, and he is, with his usual good-nature and liberality, very much disposed to allow you to examine and use them, but unfortunately they are all in the country, and mixed up with voluminous papers of his uncle, Lord Rockingham. He tells me no one can separate them but himself and Lord Milton; and he must postpone doing so till he goes down to Wentworth. He adds, however, that when he has leisure or opportunity to look them over himself, or to get others to do so, he will put aside those, both of Mr. Burke and Lord Rockingham, which have reference to the state of America or the events of the war, and you shall be at liberty to inspect them. I think you had better write a line to Lord Milton, claiming this promise of his father, and explaining to him the nature of the papers of which you are in quest."

May 24th, Saturday. . . . Mr. Sharp gave me a letter to Mr. Wordsworth, and I called on him with it at his lodgings in Bryanston Street. He was exceedingly affable; talked about America; inquired particularly after Mr. Allston, the painter, for whom he said he had a high respect and entertained a warm friendship. His conversation was quick, lucid, spirit-stirring, and showed a mind as active as it is fertile. He asked me to breakfast with him to-morrow morning at nine o'clock.

I think I shall shortly go over to Germany and France, and finish my inquiries in London after my return. Perhaps there will be some change in the secretaries by that time, or at least a better disposition towards opening the papers to my inspection.

May 25th, Sunday. — Met Mr. Wordsworth as invited. His wife and daughter came down to the breakfast table, and a very agreeable, animated conversation was kept up. Wordsworth rallied his daughter on the successful manner in which she had managed matters at a dinner party last evening, in her conversation with gentlemen of fashion and pretensions, and said she acted her part much better than he could have expected from a young lady so much more familiar with lakes and mountains than with cities and city folks. He inquired of me who wrote the reviews of his poetry¹ in the "North American Review" and in the "Literary Gazette." He said the writers had treated him kindly, and better than he deserved. It was but justice, however, he said, to rescue him from the ill-natured censures of the "Edinburgh Review." The dicta of that journal, he remarked, had now little weight with the public. Formerly it was

¹ Wordsworth's poetry was at first better appreciated in America than in England. The Rev. F. W. P. Greenwood, Mr. Sparks' friend and successor in the Unitarian ministry in Baltimore, wrote an excellent notice of Wordsworth for the *North American Review*.

otherwise; but critics who judge by caprice must be contented with a temporary deference from the community. When I told him of Bryant as our best poet in America, he seemed at first not to recognize the name, but at length replied that he had seen nothing of his. "Why, yes, sir," said the daughter, "you know we have a piece by Bryant, which you admired very much." "Bryant? Bryant? No, I don't recollect the name; I think you must be mistaken, my dear." When Miss Wordsworth had finished pouring out the cup of tea then before her, she rose from her seat and disappeared with a quick step. The father went on with the conversation; but the young lady soon came tripping back into the room with a thin book, covered with red morocco, in her hand, which she held open, and immediately put it before his eyes, with a gentle tap on his cheek, exclaiming at the same time, in a tone of laughing, subdued exultation: "There, you that remember all things, see and read, 'William Cullen Bryant.'" "Ah! true, my dear, you are always getting the better of me; that's a fine piece, and I am glad you are right." This was the young lady's scrap-book, and in it was written Bryant's "Thanatopsis" in her own hand. As the leaves were turned over, Wordsworth's eye caught Southey's ballad on the return of Bonaparte from Moscow. He said it was a capital thing, and read it through aloud. He has uncommonly fine tones of voice, and he read the ballad with great effect. He talked of poets; said Shelley had more poetical power than Byron; spoke lightly of Moore. . . .

May 26th, Monday.— I brought a letter from Mr. Webster to Mr. Stratford Canning, formerly minister from England to the United States, and recently to Turkey. I could not ascertain for several days that he had returned from Constantinople, but I at length found out his lodgings and left my letter. This morning I had

an interview with him. He talked a long time about America, and seemed to recollect with satisfaction his residence there. As to my application to the public offices for the purpose of consulting papers, he presumed there could be no difficulty, but he professed not to be acquainted with the mode of proceeding, or the rules of the offices. He said he would speak to the secretaries on the subject, and he presumed there could be no objection to allowing me the same privilege in this respect that had been allowed to English historians under similar circumstances.

I have purchased a cast of Washington's bust to-day, which is one of the best copies of Houdon that I have seen. It resembles very exactly an original cast now at Mount Vernon, which was made there by Houdon. The manufacturer of this cast (James de Ville, in the Strand) tells me that he procured the mould in the following manner. Colonel Tatham, formerly one of Washington's aids, had with him in London one of Houdon's busts, which General Washington had presented to him. From this bust De Ville took his mould; and it is no doubt very correct, because the casts which General Washington gave to his friends were the original ones made by Houdon at Mount Vernon.

May 27th, Tuesday. — Writing, making calls, and riding about town all day. Went out to tea with Sir James Mackintosh, at his residence, Chelsea College, at nine o'clock. This would be a late hour to be invited to tea in America, but at this season daylight is not wholly gone in London till after nine o'clock. Sir James inquired very particularly how I got along with my application for consulting papers in the State Paper Office. When I told him the particulars, he replied, "Ah! it is Peel's illiberality." A very agreeable company was collected here, among whom was Mr. Crawford, who has

been twenty years in India, and has written a work on the Eastern Archipelago. He is recently returned from a mission to the governments of Ava, Siam, and Cochin China. He has a work now in press on the two latter countries; and another will follow on Ava. He speaks with great praise of Dr. Judson, the American missionary in Ava. He is extremely well acquainted with the history and resources of the American trade in the East Indies. The governor of New South Wales was also present; and a Russian of some distinction; and a gentleman who, I believe, had been governor of the Cape of Good Hope; and a professor from Edinburgh, who was the editor of the supplement to the "Encyclopædia Britannica." A remarkable lady also graced the company, Mrs. Somerville, who is extraordinary for her mathematical powers and acquisitions. She not only reads familiarly all La Place's works in the highest regions of the calculus, but performs wonders in this way herself. Some of her pieces have been inserted by her friends in the "Transactions of the Philosophical Society." There is a curious anecdote about her meeting La Place. She was introduced to him as a lady who had mastered his writings, and after some conversation, which convinced him of her powers, he said: "Well, madam, I know of but two ladies in Europe who have done me the compliment to read my works through, and those are yourself and Mrs. Gregg, with whom I had a correspondence a few years ago." It happened that this same lady was the Mrs. Gregg, who had become a widow, and was married a second time to Mr. Somerville. . . .

May 28th, Wednesday. — At home all day, engaged in various ways. Mr. Wordsworth and his lady called on me. His conversation was rich and agreeable, as usual. He gave me an order on Longman for a copy of his little book on the lakes, and his pamphlet on Burns' poetry,

which he said he wished to present to me. He pressed me to visit him among his lakes and hills, and added that I would not regret a tour to the north. Mr. William Smith called, and asked me to go to a public dinner with him. But I never could endure a public dinner in America, and I have no reason to think they are more endurable in London. I therefore declined with as good a grace as I could.

May 29th, Thursday. — Writing in the morning. I brought a letter from Mr. Allston to Mr. Southey. He arrived in town a few days ago, and is staying with his brother in Harley Street. I left my letter there two days ago, when Mr. Southey was out. This morning he called on me, and sat half an hour, inquiring about the Americans who had visited him, in such a manner as to show that he had kindly recollections of them all. He asked particularly after Greenwood, and said he appeared so ill when at Keswick that he had serious fears of his wasting away under a fatal disease, which he thought had been unskillfully treated. Mr. Southey told me that he often had occasion to consult papers in the State Paper Office. The mode adopted with him was, to produce before him the manuscript volumes containing such papers as he wished to examine, with the permission to make such extracts of passages or parts of letters as he chose, but he was not allowed to copy any entire paper. This method he thought absurd enough, but it answered his purpose, as he was enabled to obtain all the facts he wanted. The rule is ridiculous, because two persons may go in at different times and take extracts from different parts of the same letter, and thus procure the whole. He at first applied for general permission to examine the papers in the office, but this was not allowed him. By following the above method, however, he had seldom found any difficulty in procuring what he wanted. When he took

leave, he gave me a warm invitation to visit him at Keswick. . . .

May 30th, Friday.— Wrote to Mr. Hay, stating in detail what Mr. Southey had told me concerning the rules of the State Paper Office as applied to him; and inquiring of Mr. Hay whether he does not feel at liberty to give me access to the papers in the same manner, since the subject of my application was referred back to the Colonial Office by Mr. Peel.

I had a conversation yesterday by appointment with Mr. John Murray respecting the publication of Washington's Works in London. I explained all the particulars to him, and he was well disposed to take the subject into consideration, and we are to have another interview next Monday. The project was suggested of sending out to him a set of stereotype plates. I have to-day inquired of Colonel Aspinwall what would be the duty on such plates imported into London. He says thirty per cent. *ad valorem*. The plates will come in as an article not enumerated in the tariff, and such articles are subject to the above duty. . . .

May 31st, Saturday.— Went to see the live animals in the Exeter Change. An hour with Mr. Lawrence, talking over the affair of the change of ministers, and the news recently received from America. The organization of the new ministry is announced to-day, — all of the high Tory order. So much the worse for my application. Dined with Mrs. and Miss Cartwright, the widow and niece of the famous Major Cartwright. Dr. Harrison and Mr. Strickland were present. When I came home I found notes from Mr. Southey and the Marquis of Lansdowne on my desk. Mr. Southey informs me that he has been inquiring about the State Paper Office, and that he fears some change has taken place in the administration of that office which will deprive me of the use of the

papers. He understands that some inconvenience has been felt from the freedom with which Sir Walter Scott published the materials he obtained respecting General Gourgaud, and that it is now thought these papers ought to be kept secret while the persons who may be in any way affected by them shall be living. One would think the American Revolution was an event sufficiently remote not to involve any difficulties on this ground. Mr. Southey¹ says his inquiries have not been of a nature to interfere with any further application I may make, and he hopes for my success, but in rather faint terms.

The Marquis of Lansdowne writes from Richmond Hill. He laments my ill-success; doubts whether he can render me any service, but desires me to call on him at Lansdowne House, Berkeley Square, on Tuesday, when he will be in town.

June 1st, Sunday. — Went out to dine with Mr. Belsham, at Hampstead. Found him in tolerable health, and much disposed to conversation, although his speech is

¹ The following is the text of Robert Southey's letter to Jared Sparks: "Harley Street, May 31, 1828. I am sorry that my inquiries concerning the state papers have been less satisfactory in their results than I had expected. Some difficulty is apprehended on the ground that official correspondence ought to retain its private character so long as the parties by whom it was carried on, or to whom it mainly relates, are living; and some inconvenience has recently been felt in departing from this principle in the case of Sir Walter Scott and General Gourgaud. But this inquiry has not been made in a way that can interfere with your application in other quarters; and perhaps on your return to England you may find our public men in more comfortable circumstances, and therefore in more accommodating dispositions.

"I am much obliged to you for the account of your intended publication; a most important one it will prove. When you come to the North of England, I hope to have the pleasure of enjoying your conversation there at leisure, and with a comfort which is not to be found amid the endless turmoil and excitement of this huge city."

quite indistinct, owing to the effect of a paralytic attack. Took tea with Miss Lucy Aikin and her mother, who reside near Hampstead Church. Miss Aikin has excellent powers of conversation, and a rich fund of knowledge and entertaining anecdotes. She repeated a saying of the king, which is said to have displeased Mr. Peel. It must be premised that Mr. Peel's father has made a princely fortune by the cotton manufacture. It happened that two or three of this family married ladies by the name of Jane. When this was told to the king he replied: "Ah, they keep to their jennies yet." Mr. Henry Roscoe was at Miss Aikin's and we walked together across the fields to Camden Town, where I left him, and proceeded into the city by the way of Tottenham Court Road. . . .

June 3d, Tuesday. — . . . Called by appointment on the Marquis of Lansdowne before dinner. We conversed on the business of my application for papers in the offices. He said that in the present organization of the ministry he could do nothing to promote my objects, but advised me to write directly to Mr. Peel, explaining my wishes, and asking permission to examine the papers in the State Paper Office, according to the usual mode which has been allowed to others making historical investigations. The marquis said he would look over his father's (the Earl of Shelburne) papers, and select for me all that relate to American subjects, which I might use with such freedom as my judgment should dictate. If he should go into the country before my return from Paris, he said he would leave the papers behind, and I should find them by calling at his house. . . .

June 5th, Thursday. — Called on Mr. William Smith, M. P., in the morning, and inquired of him whether I could have access to the manuscript papers in the House of Commons relating to American history. He was not prepared to answer the question, as he had

never known of such an application being made; but he presumed there would be no difficulty if the papers could be found, which he thought doubtful. I wish to see the correspondence with the British officers in America, which was from time to time presented to Parliament by Lord North and Lord George Germain. Mr. Smith desired me to meet him at the House of Commons at the beginning of the session to-day, and he would inquire into the matter. . . .

At five o'clock met Mr. Smith at the House of Commons. He went with me into the library, which contains little else than printed journals of Parliament, and some other printed books, but no manuscripts. We went next to the Office of Journals and Papers, where the assistant clerk, Mr. A. Dickinson, told us that all the papers presented to Parliament for more than a century had been preserved in that office, and any particular papers could easily be found by the index. If I would procure the dates and specify the papers, there would be little trouble in finding them. We returned to the lobby of the House, and Mr. Smith procured an order from the Speaker to admit me under the gallery, that is, to certain seats in the room where the members sit, which are reserved for persons admitted by special order. I remained in the House four hours listening to the debates, which related to Ireland, and to the circulation of small bank-notes. There was some good speaking, but I do not think the general character and style of debating by any means superior to the Congress of the United States. There is much more noise occasioned by the talking of the members than in Congress; or perhaps it appears so because the room in which the Commons assemble is not more than one quarter as large as the hall of the House of Representatives. Mr. Peel speaks with elegance; his voice is melodious, and his person graceful. There was some

clumsy and dull speaking, but the smallness of the room and the close contact of the members enable them to hear so well that this appears to better advantage than in Congress, where the speaker is obliged to make an effort to be heard, and thus frequently magnifies his defects. There is apparently better attention, also, than in Congress, for the members sit on benches and have no means of writing before them, no newspapers, nor even the bills and printed papers of the House, which always make so conspicuous a figure on the tables of the members of Congress. No member is any otherwise occupied, in short, than in listening to the debate, or talking to his neighbor. The Treasury Bench is on the right hand of the Speaker, and is occupied by the ministers of the king. No person except the ministers seems to have a fixed seat, although the parties range themselves on different sides of the House, the ministerial party on the right of the Speaker, and the opposition on the left. I confess my sensations were of a peculiar kind when I reflected that I was on the spot where Franklin sustained in so masterly a manner his examination at the bar of the House of Commons respecting the colonies. . . .

June 7th, Saturday. — . . . In the London Institution, copying from the county histories facts respecting the Washington family. Dined with Mr. Vaughan. When I returned to my lodgings, I found on my desk a letter from Mr. Hay, informing me that my application had been presented to Sir George Murray, the new Colonial Secretary, and that he had decided in favor of my examining the papers in the State Paper Office. This is joyful news to me, for I had almost despaired of such a result. I am to be allowed to read the papers, and write out such facts as I want, but not to take any extracts in detail. Although this is not the best mode of a historical examination of papers, yet it will answer all essential purposes.

June 9th, Monday.— On Saturday evening I received a message from Sir James Mackintosh, desiring me to call and see him, if convenient, this morning at Lord Holland's. I accordingly mounted a coach in Piccadilly at twelve o'clock, and rode to Kensington. Sir James told me that he had been talking over with Lord Holland the subject of my application to the State Paper Office, and the unsuccessful result. They considered it a reproach upon the persons concerned that any obstacles should be thrown in the way, and not less discredit to the nation than injurious to the interests of history. He said that neither he nor Lord Holland had the kind of intercourse with Mr. Peel which would make it proper for them to interfere personally in relation to him; but that they were intimate with Lord Aberdeen, one of the new ministers, and it occurred to them that something might be effected if they were to apply to him, as he was also on close terms of intimacy with the secretary of the Home Department. When I told him that the matter had been arranged by a reference to Sir George Murray, he seemed highly gratified, and said if I still met with any serious difficulties it would be a pleasure to him to do what he could to remove them. I could do no less, of course, than to thank him for the kind interest he had taken, and to express a hope that, from the present fair prospect, I should not have occasion to trouble him further. I had not been long with Sir James when the servant brought a message that Lord Holland would be glad to see me in the library. Whom should I find in that splendid apartment but Sydney Smith! Nothing can exceed the beauty of the prospect from the large bow-window in the library. Sir James accompanied me, and we all remained together a quarter of an hour, when I took my leave. Lord Holland adverted to Burke's papers; said he had conversed with Lord Fitzwilliam

about them, and he expressed great willingness to have me examine them, but they were now in confusion, and as Lord Fitzwilliam was old he feared that he would not soon look them over; and as for his son, Lord Milton, he is in Ireland, and it is quite doubtful when he will find leisure to turn his thoughts to papers. This was just my view of the subject, and I have never had any hopes of these papers since I found they were in the hands of a lord, even a liberal and good-natured one, and that his personal labor was necessary to select them.

Sir James Mackintosh gave me some account of his application to the public offices in Paris to consult papers, some thirteen or fourteen years ago. He was a good deal embarrassed with the forms of the offices, and was obliged to copy papers without the assistance of a clerk; and when he had done, they made free with his manuscript by erasing the beginnings and ends of the letters, to divest them of all official character and responsibility. "But," said he, "I was an Englishman; you will meet with much more favor as an American." This remains to be proved. Sir James told me that he should shortly remove to Clapham Common, three or four miles from town, and pressed me with much warmth and frankness of manner to be sure and visit him on my return from the Continent. . . .

June 11th, Wednesday. — Left my lodgings at nine o'clock in a coach with my baggage, and was set down at the Tower Stairs. A boatman conveyed me on board the Queen of the Netherlands, a steam packet-ship, for Rotterdam. . . .

BRUSSELS.

June 16th, Monday. — . . . Found Mr. Hughes in town on my return to Brussels, and passed an hour with him at his house. He showed an original portrait of Washington, in water colors, the head about two inches in diameter.

It was taken in Baltimore for General Smith, while Washington was President of the United States. It is in profile, and resembles more the likeness by Rembrandt Peale than any I have seen, especially the eye and forehead. A lithographic impression has been taken from it. Mr. Hughes presented to me a copy of the "Gazette de l'Europe," embracing the whole period of our Revolutionary war, that is, from 1777 to 1784. He procured it accidentally. It is a very valuable paper in reference to my pursuits. He engages to inquire for Luzac's paper in places where it is likely to be found. He promises also to obtain if possible all the materials relating to our history which are in the public offices at The Hague. At seven o'clock in the evening I left Brussels in the diligence for Cologne.

June 18th, Wednesday. — . . . I had letters to Professor Niebuhr and Professor Schlegel at Bonn, where I was to stop. . . Niebuhr was not at home, being absent for several months at Hamburg and the North of Germany. I was a good deal disappointed in not seeing him, for I relied much on his advice as to the course which it would be best for me next to pursue, whether to Stuttgart or Leipsic. Mr. Schlegel received me very politely, entered at once into my views, and said it was by all means best for me to go to Leipsic, which is the literary centre of Germany, and where arrangements for publishing Washington's papers would be much more likely to be made to my satisfaction than anywhere else. We conversed for a time on miscellaneous topics, and when I arose to leave him he told me that he had a lecture in the afternoon, but asked me to call again and see him at eight o'clock in the evening. I left with him a copy of the letters¹ to Judge Story in the German translation.

¹ Letters describing Mr. Sparks' plan of publishing Washington's writings.

At the hotel I unexpectedly met Mr. Woolsey,¹ a young American from New York, who has passed some months at Leipsic, and is now attending the lectures at Bonn. He walked with me about the town, showed me the college buildings, the library, museum, specimens of antiquities, and the Botanic Garden. The buildings for the university are the palaces of the former Elector of Cologne. When these went into the hands of the Prussian king, he founded a university in Bonn, to which he attached them, together with the spacious grounds, walks, and gardens with which they are surrounded. They overlook the Rhine, and command a delightful prospect of what are called the "Seven Hills" beyond, which are the first highlands that meet the traveler's eye in ascending this celebrated river. There are few places better situated for a university than Bonn. It has now eight hundred students, and a library of seventy thousand volumes, although it has been established no more than ten years.

When I saw Mr. Schlegel again in the evening, he still remained of the same opinion, that I ought to go to Leipsic. He had read the pamphlet, and professed an entire conviction that a selection from the papers would be extremely well suited to the German public. My mind was therefore made up. Schlegel talked of America with a better knowledge of that country than I had discovered in almost any other person in Europe. He is a small man, quick in his motions, of a light, flush complexion, and apparently more than fifty years old. He showed me the last edition of one of his books, which was handsomely printed in Bonn, of which he seemed to be proud. He deprecated all duties on books under any form of government, and said that literature should everywhere enjoy an unlimited freedom. Schlegel is a bachelor, and lives in more style than I was prepared to see in the house of a

¹ Afterwards President of Yale College.

German professor. There is a little parade of manner about him, too, which is not his most attractive quality. But he talks well, and has frankness, a virtue whose winning graces I have never been able to resist.

At eleven o'clock at night the coach came along, and at five o'clock in the morning I was at Coblenz, on board the steamboat. . . .

GÖTTINGEN.

June 23d, Monday. — Mr. Amory, whom I expected to find in Göttingen, is out of town. Mr. Preble, a young gentleman from Portland, is here. He arrived four days ago, and has commenced his residence as a student in the university. He called with me on Professors Beneke and Saalfeld, who both speak English. I also called on Professor Harding, with my letter from Mr. Tiarks, of London. Professor Harding has apartments at the Observatory, and he showed me over that building. The library I am to see to-morrow.

June 24th, Tuesday. — This morning Mr. Amory called on me, having returned last night. He has accompanied me about the town, and through the library. Professor Beneke very obligingly showed me every part of the library, and explained to me the admirable arrangement of the books. It is truly a noble collection, consisting of nearly three hundred thousand volumes, arranged in convenient apartments.

I took tea with Blumenbach, a most interesting old gentleman of nearly eighty. He and his wife speak a little English. He took me through his curious cabinet, and particularly his room of skulls, so much famed for the extraordinary variety and character of the collection. I also called on Professor Heeren.

The library contains the best and most extensive collection of books relating to America that is anywhere to be found, except at Harvard College.

Professor Saalfeld conversed with me a good deal about Washington's works, and seemed to take a lively interest in the subject. He said he would cheerfully undertake the task of translating the selection I propose for the German public, if no other person can be found better suited to my purpose. He expressed a belief that the work would meet with great favor in Germany. Indeed, he showed a decided inclination to engage as translator. I told him that this must depend somewhat on the arrangement I should make with a publisher, but that I should be very glad to have it in so good hands. He gave me letters to Professor Politz, and Brockhaus the publisher in Leipsic. . . .

LEIPSIC.

June 27th, Friday. — . . . We rode to Leipsic in the morning, twenty-five English miles from Halle. Took lodgings at the Hotel de Saxe. Mr. Woolsey, at Bonn, had given me a letter to Mr. Flügel, which I delivered soon after arriving in town. He has resided ten years in America, and is now a teacher of the English language in Leipsic. He offers to introduce me to-morrow to Brockhaus & Fleischer, the publishers. He suggests that Dr. Becker, of Leipsic, would be the best person with whom he is acquainted to translate Washington's papers.

The scenery from Göttingen to Leipsic is not attractive. Numerous small villages occur, and the country is highly cultivated, but the soil is not good, the people are poor, and the villages are dirty. You are treated with great civility, however, by everybody. It was no pleasing sight to see fifteen or twenty women at work in the fields, with a man at their head as an overseer who did nothing. This is the case on large estates. Except in the color of the laborers, it resembles exactly what you see among the slaveholders in Carolina and Georgia. The women bear burdens of enormous weight; they use the scythe in cut-

ting grass, and in short seem to perform the drudgery and the severest labor. The road is thronged with beggars, and the miseries of a redundant population meet you everywhere. . . .

June 28th, Saturday. — Conversed with Ernst Fleischer and Brockhaus, the publishers, respecting the publication of a German edition of Washington's works. Fleischer said his engagements in other works were such that he did not think it would be possible for him to undertake it. Brockhaus was unwilling to engage so long beforehand, although he thought the work might be published to advantage in Germany, and when the first part should come out, he might be disposed to make arrangements for the purpose. He was willing to have this understanding, and hereafter a further intercourse might be had on the subject.

Walked in the afternoon to one of the public gardens in the neighborhood of Leipsic, where there was music, and the citizens, gentlemen and ladies, assembled to partake of refreshments under the shady shrubs and trees. The ladies had their knitting-work, and the gentlemen smoked pipes. Took tea with Baron von Beust at his rooms.

June 29th, Sunday. — Left Leipsic at two o'clock in the afternoon in the extra post.

June 30th, Monday. — Arrived at Göttingen at eight in the evening. . . .

July 1st, Tuesday. — As Professor Saalfeld had expressed a strong interest in Washington's works, and offered to translate them into German, I made to him the following proposition: that he should make a selection from the whole work as it comes from the American press, amounting to four octavo volumes, of which he is to make a faithful translation; that he should then dispose of his manuscript to the best advantage he could

to a publisher; that out of the proceeds of the work he should be paid a reasonable compensation for his labor and trouble in translating the same; and that all profits arising after such payment should be equally divided between us. To this proposition he assented in its fullest extent, and seemed to be exceedingly pleased with the idea of the undertaking. He has a good acquaintance with the English language, and is deeply versed in the history and principles of general politics. Several persons have recommended him to me as well qualified to execute the translation in the manner proposed. He is to put his name to the work as translator and editor, and to add such original notes as he may think suited to the German public. He insures the publication being done in a handsome style, both in regard to the typography and the quality of the paper.

I consider myself very fortunate in having made the above arrangement with a man of talent, who takes a lively personal interest in the work, and who will feel his reputation somewhat concerned in it. He is already known as the author of an extensive historical work on the French Revolution and the period succeeding. My great object is to secure a faithful translation, and a handsome style of printing. This object I could in no way attain so well as to have the work in the hands of a person qualified by his ability and education to do justice to it, and well acquainted with the mode of dealing with German publishers. This arrangement relieves me of all further trouble, and enables me to rest satisfied that nothing will be spared in securing the value and promoting the success of the work.

July 2d, Wednesday. — Conversations with Professor Saalfeld, explaining to him my views respecting the translation of Washington's works. I drew up a paper containing all the points of our agreement, which is to serve as a memorandum for both of us. We both signed two copies,

one of which he retained, and I the other. . . . Professor Saalfeld enters with great zeal into the project, and says he shall execute it *con amore*. After taking leave of him and of Mr. Amory, a young gentleman with whom on many accounts I have been much pleased, I left Göttingen in the diligence at ten o'clock at night. . . .

PARIS.

July 9th, Wednesday. — I left Frankfort on the 5th, and arrived in Paris this day at eleven o'clock in the morning. I have continued with the diligence night and day during the whole distance. . . .

July 15th, Tuesday. — . . . General Lafayette is in Paris attending the House of Deputies. He has received me with great kindness, and offers all the aid in his power in procuring me access to papers in the public offices. He called to see me, and has already supplied me with some valuable papers. He invites me earnestly to Lagrange, and says, when in the quiet of that place, with all his papers before him, he shall be able to contribute many facts that will not be without interest. Meantime he advises me to apply directly to the ministers for permission to examine the official correspondence relating to the American Revolution. Mr. Brown, the American minister, to whom I had a letter from Mr. Clay desiring him to aid my objects inofficially, supposes this a proper course.

Mr. Brown was obliged to leave town for several days, and gave me letters of introduction to the Marquis de Marbois, and M. Hyde de Neuville, the Minister of Marine. Marbois was formerly a minister in the United States from France. He was also the agent on the part of France for making the treaty of the cession of Louisiana. He has always known much of American affairs, and taken an interest in our government and history. He has sustained himself through all the changes of government, and

he now holds the important station of President of the Cours des Comptes, and is a Pair de France. I found him at the apartments adjoining the hall of his court in the Palais de Justice. He is eighty-four years old, but erect in his person, and apparently with all his faculties as bright as at any period of his life. He talks English with considerable facility. He entered immediately into my concerns; said he took a lively interest in what relates to America, that he would write the ministers, that his own papers had been lost or dispersed during the Revolution; but he doubted whether permission would be granted to examine papers in detail in the public offices. What he could do, however, he repeated, should be done. . . .

July 20th, Sunday. — . . . On Saturday I dined with the Marquis de Marbois. There were three other French gentlemen present, each of whom had a red ribbon in his buttonhole, a badge indicating that they belong to the Legion of Honor. This distinction is not confined to a very select number only, for you can hardly walk the streets without seeing a red ribbon at every corner you turn. And yet it is a distinction conferred by the king. It is probably worth about as much as a doctorate of divinity in America. The marquis had a white ribbon in his buttonhole. He is a peer of France. Whether this is the reason of the difference of color I cannot say. The marquis was exceedingly polite to me, and gave me a general invitation to dine with him any day when I chose. "Come in," said he, "at five o'clock, and you will always find dinner. Whether I am at home or not, you will be equally welcome." This was a degree of hospitality which I was not prepared to expect. The manner in which it was expressed showed that he was sincere. I saw no others of the family but two daughters. One was at dinner, and the other came in afterwards.

The marquis has in manuscript a work on the United

States, and particularly on the Louisiana Treaty. He brought out the manuscript, and insisted on my taking it home and reading it. He wished me to peruse it, he said, with a critical eye, and to express to him freely my opinion. I could not decline this request, and promised to peruse his manuscript as soon as my leisure would permit, and to act the part of a critic with as much severity as he desired.

Before going to this dinner I had an interview by appointment with the Baron Hyde de Neuville, Minister of Marine, at his office in the splendid building fronting on the Place de Louis Quinze. He began the conversation by inquiring about America, and particularly the probable result of the next presidential election. Seven years ago he was the French minister in the United States. I knew there was no time to lose in talking with a minister in his office, especially as several persons were waiting in the antechamber, and I brought the conversation as soon as possible to bear on the principal object of the interview, which was to ascertain whether permission would be granted to examine the official papers. Some of those I want are in his office. He seemed to be aware of the importance of my request in a historical point of view, but there were difficulties to be encountered in granting it in its fullest latitude. Official correspondence in the French offices had always been considered secret, and never exposed to general inspection. But he thought the end might be answered by appointing some person in the offices first to look the papers over, and select any parts that might not be thought suited for the public eye, and allowing me to take copies of the rest. I told him this would answer every purpose; that I did not of course wish to obtain anything that contained personalities or other matter not fitted for the dignity and fidelity of history; and that the manner of procuring the facts would be of no consequence

to me, provided I could have them with such fullness and accuracy as would enable me to set forth the acts of France in the American Revolution in their proper light. He said he would consider the matter further, and inform me of the result. At that moment he was not able to speak with confidence, but his impression was, that the method he had proposed might be adopted. I then took my leave, and retired through the suite of apartments leading to the minister's private room. One of the apartments was hung with a large number of paintings, representing various naval engagements in which the French had been victorious.

July 21st, Monday. — I went with Mr. Warden to a weekly meeting of the Institute. It was the class of sciences which met to-day. Several short scientific articles were read. The meeting was held in a spacious salon, which makes one of the apartments of the splendid Mazarin Library. Several eminent men were pointed out to me, among whom I recollect Cuvier, Fourcroy (the perpetual secretaries of this class of the Institute), Brongniart, Legendre, Magendie, Arago, Lacroix, Chaptal. There were others, whose names I do not remember. Dr. Spurzheim, the famous craniologist, was present, but he sat on the outside of the bar, and did not appear to be a member. About one hundred members were present, and quite as many strangers, who were admitted to see the session. Any member has a right to take another person with him.

The business was conducted with spirit, and a general interest seemed to be felt in what was going on. Cuvier is the principal secretary, and he occupied his time, while papers were being read, in copying the titles of the books, pamphlets, and manuscripts which had been sent to the Institute during the last week. The truth is, Paris abounds in such a number of persons devoted to scientific inquiries,

and the pursuit of every kind of knowledge, that all meetings of this sort are well attended; the flame of rivalry is kept burning; all the best means of knowledge are at hand; and the highest possible exciting causes are perpetually operating to quicken intellectual efforts. There is a learned community capable of estimating such efforts, and the awards of praise are never wanting to cheer and push forward the man who aspires after eminence in any department of knowledge.

July 22d, Tuesday. — Mr. Warden introduced me to Mr. Charles Botta, author of a "History of the American Revolution." We found him in the Place de St. Sulpice, very indifferently lodged. He is much reduced in his circumstances. His wife is dead, but he has two or three sons living. The cause of his poverty I was not able to learn. His books have been very successful. He told me that fourteen editions of the "History of the American Revolution" were sold in one year, notwithstanding no journals in Italy ventured to speak of it, except one at Turin, which condemned it in harsh terms. He expressed great satisfaction at the favor which his work had received in America, and said it was one of the most gratifying rewards of his labors, that they should be so well received by the people whose history he had endeavored to write. He is now engaged on a History of Italy, embracing the period between Guicciardini and his own history of modern events recently published. I understand he is mainly supported by a monthly stipend which is granted to him by the private bounty of two or three Italian noblemen. The style of his compositions he elaborates with great care, and copies all his manuscripts for the press with his own hands. He is also extremely fastidious in regard to his own compositions, and never satisfied with himself.

I wrote a long letter to M. Hyde de Neuville, Minister of Marine, to-day, explaining to him fully my historical

projects, and the importance there would be in having the French papers relating to them; that the history of the part acted by the French during the American Revolution could never be written without the use of these papers; that they existed only in the French offices; that it was wholly indifferent to me what the form of procuring or consulting them might be, provided I could be put in possession of the main facts; and that I hoped he would follow the plan suggested by himself, and appoint some confidential person to look the papers over and select those suited to my purpose; that these might then be copied by clerks in the offices, if he preferred this mode, and there would be no necessity for my seeing the originals at all. I also wrote in a similar manner to the Marquis de Marbois.

July 23d, Wednesday. — I had an interview with General Lafayette this morning on the subject of my application. He approved the course I had taken, and said he would himself speak to M. Hyde de Neuville, whom he should this day see at the House of Deputies. He could not imagine that any serious obstacles would be thrown in the way. We also conversed on the topic of procuring a suitable translator of Washington's works in Paris. He said that this was an important point, and that I ought not to decide upon it hastily; that many persons not well qualified would be glad to undertake it both with the prospect of some pecuniary advantage, and on account of the fame they would acquire by connecting their name with that of Washington; that in Paris there were many literary persons of minor qualifications, who would be influenced by these motives; that it was best for me to delay a little, till inquiry could be made; that he would look around and converse with some of his friends; that he doubted not a suitable person might be found. His view of the subject seemed to me judicious.

July 24th, Thursday. — . . . Had a long conversation with Mr. Brown, the American minister, who is just returned from Dieppe. He approves what I have done, and thinks the application will succeed. He will speak to the Minister of Foreign Relations, in whose department the papers are deposited. . . .

July 25th, Friday. — The Marquis de Marbois sent me a ticket of admission to the annual meeting of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, which took place to-day in the Institute. The business of the meeting began at precisely three o'clock, at which time a large company of spectators had assembled. The president took his seat at the head of the hall, with about a hundred members around him in a semicircle. A report was read, by the perpetual secretary, of the doings of the Academy of Inscriptions for the past year, the awarding of the prizes for two essays, and the subjects of prize essays for the next year. An eulogium on a deceased member was then read, and two or three essays on general subjects. Several of the members were dressed in the old French costume of embroidered coats and vests, with swords at their sides; which last article, by the way, they seemed to be very much puzzled to know what to do with. The coats were black, with green embroidery, fancifully wrought. The vests were commonly of white satin, embroidered also with green. Red ribbons in the buttonholes were numerous. Some persons had large silver stars tacked to the left breast of their coats; and others had two or three smaller stars, dangling at the ends of short ribbons attached to the left breast of the coat, indicating the divers orders of knighthood to which they belonged. I could not see the appropriateness of hanging out these decorations at the annual meeting of a literary association. What had such an occasion to do with embroidered coats, swords, and orders of knighthood? They might as well have been dressed

in the armor of the twelfth century from the Tower of London. . . . But after all, it was an interesting assembly, and the coats and swords and stars and ribbons were pretty things for the ladies to look at. . . .

General Lafayette wrote me a note to-day, stating that he had conversed with the minister, M. Hyde de Neuville, on the subject of my application; and that he thought it would be granted in the manner I wished; and that M. Hyde de Neuville proposed that I should see M. Hauterive, the keeper of the archives, and explain to him what I want. M. Hauterive has been many years in the office, and is well acquainted with the manner in which the papers are arranged. . . .

August 4th, Monday. — M. Buchon, editor of the "Revue Trimestrielle," called on me in the morning. This work is on the model of the "Edinburgh Review," and is the first which has been attempted in France on that plan. Two or three numbers only have as yet appeared, but these have been conducted with ability. M. Buchon told me that, in publishing a work recently on French history, he had occasion to consult papers in the public archives; that he could not obtain permission to see them, except by pointing out beforehand the particular papers which he wished to consult; he was then admitted into the office, and the papers were put before him. They were bound in volumes, and thus he was enabled to ascertain all the papers he wanted, and apply for them in detail; for when a volume was brought to him he looked it through, and thus went through the whole. He thinks I may do the same. M. Hauterive is averse to having the papers examined, but the librarian is liberal and well disposed, and will give all proper assistance when he shall be authorized by a general order. Mr. Buchon offers to go with me to M. Hauterive, and also to the librarian.

I attended the House of Deputies to-day with a ticket

from General Lafayette. It was the last day of the session, and indeed but few members assembled. In a short time the president adjourned the house *sine die*. The room in which the deputies hold their sittings resembles very nearly the Hall of Representatives in Washington. It is not so high and magnificently built, but I think it is quite as large, and it is of the same semicircular form. But it is chiefly remarkable for the extraordinary events which have happened in it within the last forty years.

General Lafayette called on me after the house was adjourned. Some days ago I wrote to him, suggesting that M. Guizot would be a suitable person to translate Washington's works, and superintend the publication, if he could be prevailed upon to undertake it. He said he had been thinking of the subject; that he knew M. Guizot; that he was extremely well qualified for the work; and that he would see him to-morrow morning. He could think of only one objection: that was, that M. Guizot is not a Republican. "But," he added, "he is an honest and fair-minded man, and what he undertakes he will do faithfully and with ability." General Lafayette said he should speak to Benjamin Constant on the subject, as he took a lively interest in it, and would give good counsel. He said that he should hope to persuade Constant himself to translate the work, were he not so much engaged in politics and other matters. He was sure that Constant would be pleased with the undertaking, but he feared that business would make too many encroachments upon his leisure; whereas M. Guizot is a man of letters, prompt, and acquainted with similar enterprises. General Lafayette proposes to call on me to-morrow, after having seen M. Guizot.

General Lafayette related to me the following anecdote, which I shall repeat as nearly as I can in his own words. "When I last saw Mr. Jefferson," he observed, "we

conversed a good deal about General Washington, and Mr. Jefferson expressed high admiration of his character. He remarked particularly that he and Hamilton often disagreed when they were members of the Cabinet, and that General Washington would sometimes favor the opinion of one and sometimes of the other, with an apparent strict impartiality. And Mr. Jefferson added that, so sound was Washington's judgment, that he was commonly convinced afterwards of the accuracy of his decision, whether it accorded with the opinion he had himself first advanced or not." ¹ Considering the difference which was afterwards supposed to exist between General Washington and Mr. Jefferson, this was a very high tribute from the latter to the former.

August 5th, Tuesday. — Engaged all the morning reading the Marquis de Marbois' manuscript history. General Lafayette called, as he proposed yesterday. He had not seen M. Guizot, but a young friend of his, M. Rémusat, had at his request conversed with him on the subject of translating Washington's works. M. Guizot expressed himself willing to undertake it. General Lafayette said he was then on his way to call on him, and, as his friends would call and see him this evening previous to his departure for Lagrange, he should hope to find me among them, when he would inform me of the result.

Accordingly I appeared at the general's levee. It was numerously attended, as this was his last evening in Paris before his return to Lagrange. He told me that he had seen M. Guizot, whose views and impressions were such as he could wish, and that M. Guizot would be glad to see me to-morrow to converse on the subject. It was settled that M. Rémusat, who is shortly to marry the general's granddaughter, should go with me to see M.

¹ This conversation with Mr. Jefferson was during Lafayette's last visit to America. — J. S.

Guizot. The general pressed me to come to Lagrange as soon as I could, and to be prepared to remain there as long as my time would permit. Benjamin Constant was at the levee.

August 6th, Wednesday. — M. Rémusat called with me on M. Guizot. He is professor of history in the university, and gives public lectures which are popular. He is also engaged in publishing a "History of the English Revolution," of which two volumes have already appeared. An edition of a French translation of Shakespeare has been edited by him. I explained to him the general object and plan of Washington's works. He agrees to become responsible for a French translation of such parts as may be suited to the French public; to take the entire charge and superintendence of the publication; to prefix his name to the work; to supply an original introduction and notes if necessary; and to render it in all respects, as far he can, such a production as he shall be willing to have go out under his name; and he is willing it should be made public that he has undertaken this charge. I shall see him again, and have further conversation. After leaving M. Guizot, I was engaged the remainder of the day in looking after a copy of the early Christian Fathers for the Rev. H. Loomis,¹ who had desired me to procure a set of these works down to the time of Augustine. I visited several bookstores in the Faubourg St. Germain, where books of this description are chiefly contained, and amongst them all I found nearly a complete set, although of different editions. It will require another day to finish the examination. . . .

August 8th, Friday. — Visited many of the bookstores in the Faubourg St. Germain, and finished the purchase

¹ The Rev. H. Loomis was the good pastor who had given Sparks his first lessons in Latin and the higher mathematics, before he went to Phillips Exeter Academy.

of the Fathers for Mr. Loomis, except Chrysostom and Jerome, which were not to be found. Reading Marbois' history.

August 9th, Saturday. — Called on M. Buchon at ten o'clock, and we went together to see M. d'Hauterive respecting the public papers, which I wish to consult. M. Buchon was acquainted with M. d'Hauterive. We first went into the office itself where the papers are kept, and conversed with the librarian. He seemed a good-natured and well-disposed man, and expressed a willingness to show me any papers in his charge, but said it was necessary first to have permission from M. d'Hauterive; when this was gained there would be no obstacles in the way. He said the papers had recently been arranged for the binders, and he showed me the manuscripts, amounting to twenty-five volumes, relating to the affairs of America from the year 1774 to 1784. These are the identical papers which I wish to examine. The librarian added, moreover, that there were other curious manuscripts, in the form of memoirs, written by persons engaged in public affairs, and deposited in the archives.

We next went across the courtyard to the rooms of M. d'Hauterive. We found him sitting on a sofa, with a table before him, on which was a plaster cast, which he was cutting and modeling, but into what shape he was moulding the mass did not appear. He had an old knife in his hand, was very negligently dressed, and covered with the white dust of the plaster. He is old, and after I was introduced, and while M. Buchon was conversing with him on the subject of our visit, he looked stern and cold, as much as to say: "It is all in vain; my mind is made up; the papers in the archives are consulted by nobody, and all your talk will be of no avail." As he understood English, though he declined speaking it, I explained to him my purposes at large, to which he listened attentively, and

M. Buchon went on with the thread of the discourse, enforcing what I had said. The old gentleman's features began to relax a little, and he entered into a long enumeration of the reasons why the papers ought not to be consulted: that it was against usage and precedent; that they were private; and that they were not properly arranged for such a purpose. To these objections M. Buchon replied in a manner that showed they had very little weight when duly considered. The old gentleman declared that he felt a strong interest in my undertaking, and then told a long story about his once having been an exile in the United States, where he obtained a subsistence by working as a gardener; and that the many tokens of kindness which he had received while in that country had filled him with a gratitude which, he was happy to say, had never been forgotten. For this reason alone, he said, it would give him great pleasure to lend me any aid in his power. But, he added, there were other reasons, namely, the fact that the history of France during an important epoch would receive valuable illustrations by my researches; that I seemed to have no intentions but those of truth and candor; and particularly that in England permission had been granted me to examine the archives. He justly remarked that France ought not to be behind England in such an object. The result of this somewhat amusing interview was, that he would speak on the subject to M. Ferronnays, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and be guided by his opinion. As M. Ferronnays is to leave town on Monday for the medical springs at Carlsbad, M. d'Hauterive said he would speak to him to-morrow, and if we would call at his rooms again on Monday morning he would acquaint us with the decision. At this moment, therefore, the prospect is extremely favorable. General Lafayette, the Marquis de Marbois, and Mr. Brown have all interested themselves in the matter; the two ministers,

Ferronnays and Hyde de Neuville, have expressed a willingness that my request should be granted; and M. d'Hauterive, the person chiefly concerned, has all but given his consent; and yet, after what I have experienced, I shall not be in the least disappointed if I am not allowed to consult a single paper. Among other reasons for keeping the papers shut up from inspection, M. d'Hauterive mentioned that several years ago some difficulties had grown out of a publication by Count Ségur, in which the conduct of Favier, one of the ministers¹ of Louis XV., did not appear in a good light, and that things were published which should never have seen the light. After we retired, M. Buchon proposed that we should call on Count Ségur, with whom he was well acquainted, and make some inquiries on this subject. We found a venerable and good-looking old gentleman, living on the third floor, in handsome but small apartments, tastefully furnished and filled with books. He told us the story of Favier as follows: Louis XV., during the latter part of his reign, had two cabinets, one to act openly and transact public affairs with foreign nations; the other to keep its deliberations private. Favier was a member of this secret cabinet, and, that he might exercise an influence which should be felt and acknowledged, he opposed the great measures of the other cabinet. He was particularly adverse to the proposition of Vergennes for France to espouse the cause of the American colonies. Vergennes carried his point, and Favier was disappointed. This created ill-feeling, which appeared in the documents of the two cabinets. During the French Revolution the papers of the secret cabinet were found, and they fell into the hands of Count Ségur, and he published the substance of them, with remarks by himself. He then took down a volume of the recent edition of his works, and turned to the part where he had

¹ Not a minister, but a juriconsult. — J. S.

spoken of Favier. But it plainly appeared that this afforded no plausible ground for M. d'Hauterive's objection.

Just as we were taking our leave, Count Ségur asked us if we wished to see the best likeness of Bonaparte that ever had been painted. We of course replied in the affirmative. He then led the way into an adjoining apartment, where, among other pictures, he showed us a small head of Napoleon. He said the likeness was as perfect as art could make it. The painting is beautifully executed. An original portrait of Voltaire, when he was fifty years old, hung on the wall. The features were expressive, but the coloring was not good.

I asked Count Ségur if he intended to finish his Memoirs, three volumes of which have been published, coming down to the beginning of the French Revolution, and making, together with all his other works, thirty volumes. He shook his head, and said that he could not tell when anything more would appear, adding in substance, that he could not write without telling truth, and that such truths as he should be obliged to relate would not be suited for publication at so short a period after the date of their occurrence. I presume that his Memoirs are finished, and that the remainder will be a posthumous work, though he gave no such hint.

M. Buchon has presented me a copy of his Atlas des Deux Amériques. This is a translation of Carey's Atlas, on the plan of Lasage, with many additions by the editor, particularly relating to South America. The volume is of a large folio size, containing sixty-two separate sheets, elegantly printed and engraved. M. Buchon made the translation and additions.

August 10th, Sunday. — At home all day.

August 11th, Monday. — Called on the Comte d'Hauterive again with M. Buchon, as was agreed. Found him

with his plaster models, and half a dozen specimens of the Egyptian *scarabæus* an inch and a half long. These he was placing in little cavities around his plaster model. He said he had conversed with the minister, and that he should give permission for me to examine such papers as I desired; that he had confidence in my discretion and motives; that a room should be prepared for me in the office, and the papers produced as I should want them. "When will you begin?" said he. "To-morrow morning," I replied, "at eleven o'clock, if you please." "Very well," he answered, "all things shall be in readiness." He then gave me several pamphlets, which he had published on different subjects, and I took my leave.

At M. Buchon's apartments I met M. A. Bossange, a very large publisher in Paris. He publishes the "Revue Trimestrielle." He offered to take fifty copies of the "North American Review," and give me in exchange fifty copies of the "Revue Trimestrielle." The arrangement seemed to me a good one, and I immediately consented to it. M. Bossange has also a house in Leipsic, and extensive connections in other parts of Europe; and we ought to be able to sell at least fifty copies of the French quarterly in the United States. Finished purchasing to-day the copy of the Fathers for Mr. Loomis. I found every work but Chrysostom. This is rare and dear. When it comes up, it costs from eighty to one hundred dollars.

August 12th, Tuesday. — At eleven o'clock I went to the office of the archives, as I had proposed, and found M. de la Croix, and M. d'Hauterive, prepared to show me the papers. M. d'Hauterive (nephew to the count) introduced me into the office, and gave directions to the librarian to let me examine all the papers in the archives relating to America. He presented me with the first volume of the thirty-five heretofore mentioned, and I

commenced my labors. Each paper and letter is numbered, and my first object is to look them over and make a memorandum of such as I desire to have copied. The office is open each day six hours, from ten o'clock in the morning to four in the afternoon, and this is the time which I shall be engaged in the business every day. The first volume is chiefly taken up with the early negotiations of Silas Deane, and contains many of his original letters to the French ministry. It also contains several curious and interesting memoirs on the state of affairs at that time with reference to England and America. These were written by various hands and sent in for the consideration of the ministry. There is a copy of a letter to Deane from a member of the old Congress in Philadelphia. It was written shortly after the commissioners were sent to consult with General Howe, at his request sent to Congress by General Sullivan. Two of these commissioners were Franklin and John Adams. This letter says that when Howe asked the commissioners in what capacity he was to receive them, they answered, "In any capacity you may think proper, *except* that of British subjects."

August 13th, Wednesday. — Six hours in the archives. Many memoirs on the state of affairs, particularly one from Luzerne, who was in England. The defeat of Bourgoyne made a great impression on the minds of the French ministry. They began then seriously to think of making a treaty with the United States. At this time they would give no passports to persons going to America. During the year 1777, a French officer in the American army wrote very often to Vergennes. The letters describe principally the military movements of the American forces. They are wholly written in cipher, but all the letters in the archives are deciphered. The first letter from Lafayette to Vergennes, after he arrived in America, is preserved. It vindicates his conduct in leaving France,

and goes into an exposition of his motives. There is a curious anonymous letter from a person in London to Dr. Bancroft in Paris, desiring him to sound the American commissioners as to what proposals could be made by England to the United States for a reconciliation. The original letter fell into Deane's hands, and he sent it to Vergennes.

August 14th, Thursday. — The papers are still full of interest, and show strong efforts on the part of secret agents from England to bring the commissioners to suggest some plan of arrangement which might guide Parliament, or rather the British ministers, in making their propositions. A long and most singular letter of this kind was sent to Dr. Franklin in April or May, 1778, dated at Brussels, but evidently written in Paris, and signed by a fictitious name. I think the name was *Wissenstein*, or something like it. As the letter evidently came from a high quarter, Franklin answered it, and his reply is one of the most pointed and remarkable of all his letters. He sent a copy of it to Vergennes with his original signature, and also the original letter of the anonymous writer, which contains a form of government suggested for America. It was the policy of the commissioners to let the French ministry know what attempts were made to draw them away from the French interests, and with what firmness and indignation they resisted these attempts. I have come to the end of Deane's letters, and without much cause for regret. They are often frivolous, always hurried and without dignity, and seldom compensating in good sense what they want in propriety and the common elements of style. . . .

August 16th, Saturday. — The papers which I have examined to-day have been principally the letters of Gérard to Vergennes. These letters are extremely interesting, and give a very full account not only of all the

principal events in America in the year 1778, but particularly of the private history of Congress during that period. Two or three long letters from Vergennes to Gérard are also full of important facts. From this correspondence I learn three facts of extensive bearing, with which I have never before been acquainted, namely, 1st. That France proposed to Spain, very shortly after the treaty with the United States, to recognize our independence and form a treaty. 2d. That Congress was prevented from ratifying the convention of Saratoga mainly by the influence of France. On this point there can be no mistake. The letters of the French minister are full on the subject, and show that the president of Congress and the committees frequently consulted him, and professed to act in accordance with his views. The French supposed that if the English troops taken at Saratoga were sent back to England, according to the stipulation of the convention, they would be employed against France. It was for their interest, therefore, that the convention should not be ratified; and Congress committed an act which must always be considered unjustifiable in the eye of impartial history, in refusing to sanction a solemn compact of the commander of an army. 3d. At the beginning of 1778, great preparation was made on the part of the American Congress to attack Canada. The project was at length abandoned. The reason is explained in a letter from Vergennes to Gérard. He says expressly that "Spain wished Canada and Nova Scotia to be reserved for England." Hence the French minister opposed the expedition to Canada. After all the favors and the solid benefits which the United States had received from France from the beginning of the contest, there is no wonder that a strong feeling of gratitude should prevail, and a disposition to yield almost anything to the wishes of their benefactor. But still the affair of the Saratoga conven-

tion would seem to have been unjust, and the invasion of Canada to have been abandoned for a very insufficient reason.

August 17th, Sunday. — General Lafayette called and passed an hour with me to-day. In the course of conversation he threw out the following hints: —

Congress and General Washington had a good deal of trouble with the French officers who went over to America in the first years of the Revolution. They went with high expectations. Some of them put forth pretensions to which they had little claims. Deane had promised them too much. Congress was not prepared to grant them such appointments as they expected, nor to give them so much money.

De Kalb was a good soldier and an amiable man. The Duc de Choiseul had sent him to America some years before, and he had resided in Philadelphia. It is recorded in books that this duke had sent agents to America some time before the Revolution to sound the feelings of the colonists, with a view of separating them from England, and that in this way the seeds of the Revolution were sown. No faith is to be put in this conjecture. There were differences on the frontiers after the peace of 1763 which could not be well understood in France, and De Kalb was sent over to ascertain the state of things and report to Choiseul. As a proof that no ultimate designs were intended on the part of this minister, he never had but one interview, and that a very short one, with De Kalb after his return.

Silas Deane was an honest and zealous patriot during his residence in France, and rendered much service to his country. He was acquainted with General Lafayette's intention to go to America, but took no part in fitting him out. Lafayette saw him but three or four times. He saw more frequently Carmichael, who was at that time Deane's secretary, and a man of talent.

Du Coudray was particularly troublesome to Congress. He was an artillery officer, and wished to displace Knox, and be put at the head of the artillery. He finally volunteered without any appointment, and was drowned in crossing the Schuylkill, shortly after the battle of Brandywine. His horse refused to enter the boat; he touched him with his spurs; the animal sprang forward, ran violently through the boat, and plunged into the river.

Mr. Lovell was the only member of the committee, appointed to confer with the French officers, who could talk French, and he spoke it indifferently. Some ludicrous blunders occurred. One officer was particularly offended at what he deemed an uncivil remark of Mr. Lovell's. He said to the officer, in complimenting him upon his good appearance, "You grow fat." The Frenchman interpreted it to mean, "You are *gros* fat," and took the thing in dudgeon, till some of his comrades explained to him the true import of the phrase.

There was an anecdote current of General Lee (Charles Lee) which is believed to be true. While he was prisoner in New York, General Clinton, having invited him to dinner, spoke of the affair at Fort Moultrie, near Charleston, where Clinton had been repulsed in his attack on the fort, and his attempt to land on Sullivan's Island. Clinton asked Lee in what manner he should have managed the business, to have been successful there. "By doing in all respects precisely what you did not do," answered Lee. This was true. The fort was attacked in its only strong point, and an attempt was made to land on the island at high water. Lee had been, a short time before, in Charleston.

The French Revolution broke out a short time before Mr. Jefferson left Paris. At that time it was a sublime and glorious spectacle, attended with as few evils as could be expected, considering the nature of the reforms neces-

sary to be made. He saw the prospect of so much good growing from it that he became exceedingly interested in its success. He went home with these impressions, and a firm friend of the French Revolution. Afterwards, when the Reign of Terror came on, and shocking excesses were committed, Mr. Jefferson was not in France to witness these scenes, and he could not realize them. He saw, moreover, among the leaders of that day names of high renown in France, which had long been regarded with reverence, and which he supposed could not be on the side of disorganization and mischief. He thus adhered to the French Revolution in its revolting stages, with a warmer zeal than he would have done, had he not been influenced by his early impressions, which succeeding circumstances did not aid him to correct. Genet's conduct opened his eyes; but perhaps, after all, his first feelings on the subject gave too strong a tinge to his opinions.

Gouverneur Morris succeeded Jefferson as minister in France. He was a firm patriot in the Revolution, and Washington had become much attached to him. But before going to France as minister he resided some time in England, where he had caught a spirit not altogether in accordance with that of the Revolution. In France he associated with the royal party. He was even consulted by the king and queen. At the same time, he was in constant correspondence with Washington. His residence in France unfortunately did harm on two accounts. He gave the royalists here wrong notions of the feeling in America respecting the French Revolution; and he communicated erroneous impressions to General Washington, which on some occasions had an injurious effect. But this is a fruitful topic, upon which much more will be communicated to me when I go to Lagrange. . . .

September 1st, Monday. — I have been very busily engaged six hours in a day for the last two weeks in examin-

ing the papers in the Office of Foreign Affairs. I have completed a general review of the twenty-five volumes of manuscript papers (chiefly of a diplomatic character) which relate to the American Revolution; that is, I have looked over the whole, and taken memoranda throughout of such papers as I wish to examine further and copy. The whole mass is extremely valuable, and contains innumerable historical materials, very important in our history, which are nowhere else in existence.

The French government did not enter rashly into the contest. They deliberated and examined the subject in all its bearings. Several interesting memoirs are among the papers which discuss the merits of the question on the grounds of justice and expediency, and particularly a long memoir by Pfeffel, an eminent legal character, in which the propriety of joining with the colonies against England is argued with much ability on the ground of national law, the precedent of England itself on former occasions, and strict justice.

The letters of Vergennes to the French ministers, Gérard and Luzerne, in the United States, are the most valuable. There are about sixty of Vergennes' letters, and four hundred of Gérard's and Luzerne's. These letters give an extremely curious account of the doings of Congress during the last five years of the Revolution. By the information of friends in Congress, the French ministers were always informed of what was done from day to day in that body, and they took care to write the whole very minutely to Vergennes. Names are mentioned, and individual characters are described freely. The leaders of the parties are designated, and their motives, plans, and acts fully descanted upon. Vergennes' letters are long, and contain an exposition of the views of the French court, as well as its relations with the other European courts, in reference to its connection with the American colonies.

After our alliance with France, nothing could be conducted in better faith than all the transactions of France in regard to the colonies. These papers not only throw a great deal of new light on the history of the times, but exhibit the French court in a manner most creditable.

Franklin appears to great advantage, and it is perfectly demonstrated in these papers that the cabal, which was excited against him in Congress, grew out of the jealousies of his colleagues in Paris. His influence was predominant, and they found themselves comparatively insignificant in his presence. All Europe was talking of Dr. Franklin, and all the world was looking to him as the chief agent for managing American affairs. This was annoying to his colleagues, who had actually equal powers. Dr. Franklin seems to have taken no pains to conciliate them, since he had done nothing intentionally to disturb their feelings. They went home soured and disappointed, and spread their grievances in a most distorted shape before Congress, and used every possible means that could be devised by the enginery of party spirit to procure Dr. Franklin's recall. When the flame had once been kindled, it was not easily to be quenched, although there was really no foundation in justice or truth to attack the reputation of Dr. Franklin. He did more for the benefit of his country during the war than all the foreign agents from America besides.

There is a large number of General Lafayette's letters to Vergennes on the concerns of the American war. I am now employed in revising and reading with care the papers I have noted. Three copyists are engaged with me, two in copying French, and one, English. There is a long and laborious task before me.

September 9th, Tuesday. — . . . When I went to the Bureau of Foreign Affairs yesterday as usual to examine the papers, the Baron d'Hauterive was in the room where

the papers are deposited, and politely asked me to walk to his apartment. I followed him, and when seated he said to me that he had an official communication to make from the Minister of Foreign Affairs. It seems that M. Ferronnays' place (who is absent) is temporarily occupied by M. Rayneval. This gentleman has heard abroad that I am engaged in consulting papers in the office, contrary to all former usage, and has taken alarm at what I am doing. On Sunday he ordered a thorough investigation of my proceedings, and a report of them to be made to him. This had been done. All the papers that I have copied, and all that are marked for further examination, have been carefully reported. The minister is not satisfied, and says that such a thing has never been allowed even to Frenchmen. Such was the Baron d'Hauterive's communication, which seemed to put me in a very awkward position, and to threaten a total defeat of my objects. I replied that everything had been most fully explained to Mr. Ferronnays, and to the Count d'Hauterive; that they had deliberately considered the matter, and then given the permission with which he was well acquainted; that M. Rayneval, it would seem, had not been properly informed as to these particulars; that he did not know my designs, and that his alarm must probably have resulted from a want of this knowledge; but that it would be extremely unreasonable to require me to stop at this stage of the business, and to go through with another detailed explanation, especially as Mr. Brown, M. Ferronnays, the Marquis de Marbois, and Count d'Hauterive were at this moment all absent from town. He seemed to recognize the justice of this view, but said he had orders from the minister to take away all the copies I had made, and to dismiss the copyists; that at all events it would be necessary for me to adopt another mode of investigation; that selections of entire articles and letters had never been permitted, and

could not be, and that I must abridge, and make very short extracts. The copies were accordingly taken from me, and I am obliged in a measure to retrace my steps, and submit to the labor of writing out everything with my own hand. This will be a herculean task, but I will not shrink from it.

I mentioned to the Baron d'Hauterive what Sir James Mackintosh told me about his procuring papers from the archives. He said that he recollected it, but that there were peculiar circumstances attending it. Lord Wellington was then here, and possessed great power and influence. He applied to the department, and permission was granted; but Talleyrand, who was then Minister of Foreign Affairs, was absent. Count d'Hauterive was also absent, and when he returned, the copies which Sir James had taken were retained, or rather parts of them were cut out. Had the minister been at home, it is not likely that permission would have been granted.

October 1st, Wednesday. — For the last three weeks I have been so busily occupied in my pursuits that I have had little time to record events. I am always in the Archives des Affaires Étrangères from ten in the morning till four in the afternoon. After having read the manuscripts, I abridge and copy them with my own hand. The task is very laborious, but the historical materials which I shall thus procure will amply reward me for the labor. Should no ill-luck befall them, they will one day become a tribute of great value to the history of the United States.

In the morning I read, write, and talk French with a professor from eight till nine. I then walk, take breakfast at a café, and go to the archives at ten. When my task is closed at four, I am usually much fatigued and exhausted. I walk an hour and a half, commonly going to different parts of the city, that I may combine the

double objects of exercise and gratifying curiosity. At half past five I dine. Three evenings in a week the French professor is with me from eight to ten. The other evenings I usually pass abroad, either in visiting friends, or at the theatre, or some other of the innumerable amusements which this extraordinary city supplies.

General Lafayette called on me last evening on his return from Meaux to Lagrange. He is sent to the House of Deputies from the District of Meaux, and he has been there, at the invitation of the electors, to attend a public dinner given to him as their representative. He mentioned with particular pleasure that a toast had been given in honor of the United States. It was as follows: "The United States, the classic land of liberty." He related to me the account of his negotiations in Spain relative to the treaty of peace in 1783. I shall endeavor to collect the particulars from him hereafter. He returns immediately to Lagrange; and as soon as I shall have finished my inquiries in the foreign department, I propose to make him a visit, and to obtain such particulars as he can afford, either from his papers or his recollections of the American Revolution.,

December 25th. — For the last three months I have been too much occupied in writing, and reading manuscripts, to keep a minute journal of the incidents that have occurred. My researches in the archives were continued till I had examined all the papers relating to the United States, and taken notes and extracts of such parts as I deemed important. After I had finished, my papers were put into the hands of the Baron d'Hauterive for inspection. He cut out a few passages, and returned me the remainder.

Having thus finished the inquiries in the Archives des Affaires Étrangères, I went to the Dépôt de la Guerre, where every facility was offered me. The papers in that

depository are chiefly military. There are four volumes of Rochambeau's campaigns, continuing his correspondence with the ministry at home, and the officers of his army and Washington, during the whole period of the French campaigns in the United States. I took extracts of the most interesting particulars.

In the *Dépôt de la Guerre* are also papers relating to the Canadian wars, embracing Montcalm's correspondence in full, and the correspondence of Dieskau and other French officers engaged in those wars. It will be useful in a history of the "Old French War." I took copies of a small part only, and particularly of the main circumstances relating to the mission of Baron de Kalb to the American colonies by the Duc de Choiseul, then Prime Minister of France (1768). A copy of all the correspondence is in the *Dépôt*, apparently furnished by De Kalb, together with a short memoir setting forth his claims on account of his services. It was the purpose of Duc de Choiseul to ascertain how the colonies were affected towards the mother country, and to see if they were not prepared to receive assistance from France in a resistance to England. De Kalb made an unfavorable report, and Choiseul was not satisfied with the result. The papers relating to the Canada wars are contained in six or eight volumes, dated on the back from 1754 to 1763.

I could find nothing in the *Archives des Affaires Étrangères*, or the *Dépôt de la Guerre*, which threw any light on the affair of Jumonville, in regard to which Washington has been censured. Flassan and other French writers speak on the subject with great confidence, but after all my researches in the French offices I cannot hear of any papers describing the event.

After I had thus finished all my researches in Paris, I went to Lagrange, in compliance with an invitation from General Lafayette, where I remained between two and

three weeks. The general was exceedingly kind and communicative, and put my mind at ease at once by saying that he should have great pleasure in being of any service to me, and that he could not conceive of a better employment for him than to aid in furnishing facts to illustrate the life of Washington and the events of the American Revolution. Two or three hours each morning I passed in his library conversing on the transactions in which he bore a part in the Revolution. We commenced at the beginning, and went methodically through with a certain portion every day. At the end of each conversation I retired to my apartment and wrote down what he had said, both the historical narrative and such anecdotes as occurred to him during our conversations. He had some manuscripts, also, which afforded me assistance. All the family were at Lagrange (except George Lafayette and his wife, who were absent on a visit to their daughter). I have seldom spent my time so agreeably. (See Historical MSS. vol. i.¹)

The general has beautiful drawings of all the actions in which he was engaged in America, also a map of the Virginia campaign, taken at the time. He has two manuscript narratives of his acts in America, as well as some curious papers relating to the French Revolution. All these he allowed me to bring away from Lagrange, and to procure them to be copied in Paris. I have left them with Mr. Daniel Low (Rue Faubourg Poissonnier, No. 35), who will have them all copied for me under the eye of General Lafayette. No one could possibly be more friendly and obliging than the general has been through the whole affair, and I have received from him important accessions to my stock of materials. He will endeavor to procure copies of all his letters to the French ministry while he was in America, and send them to me. They

¹ These are preserved in the Harvard College Library.

are now in the French offices, and he will apply for them this winter.

Mr. Warden has a list of all the French officers who served in America, furnished by one of their number still living. He has given me a copy which is retained by General Lafayette, who will dictate remarks on each of these officers to his amanuensis, which he will send to me with the list.

The Marquis de Marbois' work on America has been published this December. I have before spoken of this book, particularly in some of my letters. I read the manuscript at the particular request of the author before it went to press. A few slight alterations were made at my suggestion. It is the best view of the government, institutions, and recent history of the United States, which has ever been published originally in Europe. Mr. Lawrence, recent Chargé d'Affaires from the United States to London, has engaged to translate it. I had resolved, from the moment I read it, to have a translation immediately made for the American press. Mr. Lawrence happens to be at this moment in Paris and at leisure, and no person could be better qualified for the undertaking. The work will certainly be favorably received in America.

I concluded the arrangement with M. Guizot to translate Washington's works. He is carefully to superintend the translation, to see that it is correctly made, to make such a selection as he shall think proper for the French market, and to put his name in the title-page as the translator and French editor. M. Guizot is now lecturing with great applause in the Sorbonne on the history of civilization in France, in continuation of his course last summer on the civilization of Europe. He speaks *extempore*, and with perfect fluency. Villemain on literature and Cousin on philosophy are his colleagues; that is, they lecture in the same place, and are appointed in the same manner and

with the same salaries. The room in which they lecture will hold two thousand people, and it is always crowded to overflowing. They all speak extemporaneously and with a good deal of eloquence. I dined in company with Villmain and Guizot at the Marquis de Marbois's. The learned lecturers talked but little, and that chiefly with each other.

I have no time to write in detail, and shall only add that I have had good opportunities for seeing most of the scientific and literary men in Paris, and that I have been most favorably impressed. Férussac's soirées of the Bulletin are perhaps the most fully attended, though these assemblages are frequent in different places, and the means for information and social intercourse are inexhaustible.

The book manufacture of Paris is prodigious. M. Buchon told me, that for the year 1827 the average number of volumes published daily was forty-five thousand. He said, also, that the number of public libraries in France is nearly two hundred, and that they contain twelve hundred thousand books. The reading population of France is comparatively small. The result of the examination of the recent conscripts was, that in the north of France one third of the population can read or write, in the south one fifth. But Paris is the great manufactory of books for all Europe, nay, for the civilized world. It is the spot in which more knowledge can be obtained on a given subject than any other. It is the best place on the globe for a man of literature or science. . . .

December 26th. — The last morning of my residence in Paris. It has been passed with M. Caillé in my own apartments. Caillé is the fortunate man, who has just returned from his tour to Timbuctoo and through the interior of Africa. I have met him several times before, and particularly at a meeting of the Société de Géographie

at the Hôtel de Ville, when Cuvier presided, and when the society awarded him the prize which had been offered for such an enterprise. It could not have been possible for my last hours in Paris to be more agreeably employed. Caillé is modest and unpretending; communicates freely and with much simplicity of manner, not learned, but intelligent, quick, and observing. We drew a map of the western parts of Africa, traced the Joliba, and the lake Debo, marked down Jenne, Kabra, Timbuctoo, and pursued the route of the caravan across the great desert. Our time was well filled up, and it was too short. I am rejoiced to have seen, so soon after his return, the first man who has accomplished an undertaking so arduous in itself, which for ten years has tempted me at times in a manner almost too powerful to resist. It is true, indeed, that a combination of very small circumstances prevented my resolving to make the attempt, and turned the tenor of my life in another direction; and I confess that I look back at this moment with some regret on the failure of this more than half-formed purpose. But I can only say that I have submitted to a fatality, a series of events which I was not able to control, and I doubt not the wisdom of Providence in the result. I hope again to see M. Caillé in London. He tells me that his plan is to make another tour to the interior by way of the American colony at Musurado with a view of crossing the continent to the sources of the Nile.

I left Paris at six o'clock in the evening in the mailpost for Calais. . . .

LONDON.

January 3d, Friday. — Before I left London, the Marquis of Lansdowne promised to put into my hands such papers as he has respecting American affairs, and particularly those of his father, Lord Shelburne, relative to the peace of 1782. He is now absent, but has left the papers

with his secretary, whom he directed to give them to me when I returned. To-day I have received them, and find them exceedingly important. . . .

January 5th. — Three days ago I wrote a letter to Mr. Hay, secretary in the Colonial Department, informing him of my return, and of my desire to commence immediately the examination of the papers in the Colonial Office, according to the permission granted by Sir George Murray before I went to the continent. I have called on Mr. Hay to-day, and had a conversation with him on the subject. He now tells me that he cannot, in the Colonial Office, show me any other papers than such as pertain especially to that office, that is, the military papers, and that it will be necessary to apply to the Earl of Aberdeen, Minister of Foreign Affairs, for access to the diplomatic papers. This intelligence was new to me, as I had, before I went to the continent, made particular inquiries of Mr. Hay as to this point, and was led to understand that all the papers which I enumerated were at the disposal of the Colonial Office, and were embraced in the permission granted me for inspection. But it seems there was a mistake, and now I am obliged to make the application anew to another department. Mr. Hay also tells me that he does not feel at liberty to let me proceed till he again converses with Sir George Murray on the subject; and as Sir George is now absent from town, Mr. Hay desires me to wait till his return, which will be in the course of a week. I confess these obstacles are a little vexatious to me, after the delays and trouble with which I met in my former applications; and since a specific and written permission had been granted, it seems a little strange that new embarrassments should now be thrown in the way.

Visited Mr. Barbour in the evening, who says he will apply to the Earl of Aberdeen for the permission desired. I am to send him a written statement of the kind of papers.

January 6th, Tuesday. — Rode out to Clapham Common, four miles and a half from London, to call on Sir James Mackintosh, who lives there. Found him in his study. We conversed on the subject of procuring access to the foreign papers. He advised me to consult Lord Holland on the subject, as he is acquainted with the Earl of Aberdeen, and said he would himself speak to him. Sir James' conversation was unusually interesting. He talked to me much about the scenery of the Rhine and different parts of Germany which he had visited. He inquired particularly of Schlegel, and said his knowledge of English was remarkably accurate. He and Madame de Staël were in London together, and went to the theatre with Sir James Mackintosh to hear Hamlet. "Madame de Staël," said Sir James, "although one of the most agreeable persons that ever lived, was rather a troublesome neighbor on this occasion, for she could not be at ease without being informed at almost every sentence of Shakespeare's meaning, and her questions were incessant. Schlegel was prompt and quick to answer them all with much more facility than was in my power, and there have been few Englishmen, I believe, who could have done it so well. This was after Schlegel had translated Shakespeare."

At the Journal Office of the House of Commons to-day I was informed by the clerks that the Speaker had given permission for me to take copies of such papers as I chose, on the usual terms, that is, on paying the common fees of office for all the papers I take. This is attended with an extravagant expense, but the papers are so important that I shall have copies taken of several. . . .

January 8th, Thursday. — Employed in examining papers in the Journal Office of the House of Commons. Conversation with Lord Holland. He says he will speak with the Earl of Aberdeen respecting permission to consult

the papers in the Foreign Offices, and desires me to send him a memorandum of the kind of papers wanted. He praised very highly the "Life of Ledyard," which he says he has read with great interest. . . .

January 9th, Friday. — Received a letter from Mr. Hay,¹ stating that he has consulted Sir George Murray, who has renewed his permission for me to examine the papers heretofore mentioned, and I am glad to find that

¹ The following is the text of Mr. Hay's letter : —

DOWNING STREET, LONDON,
January 9, 1829.

I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 6th inst., with the manuscript sheets which you transmitted as specimens of your labors in Paris, and which I lost no time in submitting to the Secretary of State on his return to his official duties this morning.

Sir George Murray has desired me to assure you of his inclination to afford you such facilities as he can with propriety grant in furtherance of the object which you have in view, and he has accordingly consented to the adoption of a similar plan to that which was prescribed to you in France as the regulation which he would wish should be adhered to in regard to the state papers which may be put into your hands here.

Sir George Murray is at the same time persuaded that it cannot have escaped you that there is a wide difference in the nature of the papers to which you may have access here from those which you may have consulted at Paris, inasmuch as France was a friendly power, whilst Great Britain was engaged in hostilities with America ; and the revival of those angry feelings which is so much to be deprecated, and which would alone render it necessary to be cautious in allowing the official documents of that period to be laid before the public, need not of course be apprehended in one case, although it may reasonably be so in the other.

Having made this observation, I am sure you will not attribute it to any desire to restrict you too narrowly in your researches, if I intimate a wish, on the part of the Secretary of State, that you should confine yourself to short extracts and abridgments, in transferring to your pages the materials for history which you may glean from our public documents.

P.S. I return the manuscript sheets which you were so obliging as to send.

this application, which has caused me so much trouble, is at last brought to a close. . . .

January 12th, Monday. — In the Journal Office. Dine with Sir James Mackintosh ¹ at Clapham Common. Met

¹ In 1832 Mr. Sparks endeavored to collect materials for a sketch of Sir James Mackintosh, and consulted upon this subject the Rev. Sydney Smith and Sir Francis Palgrave, the historian. Sydney Smith wrote the following from Combe Hay, Taunton, Somersetshire, October 13, 1832: "I should be very happy to comply with your request were it in my power, but I really know little or nothing about Mackintosh's writings except what are known to the public. They were chiefly anonymous, admired at the time but now forgotten, and scarcely any one can turn to them. He wrote a good deal in the *Edinburgh Review*, but I could not enumerate a single article. His son, B. Mackintosh, Esq., is of New College, Oxford, and will, I dare say, gladly answer any questions you may put to him. Perhaps he himself may be engaged on a similar undertaking, and you might make some arrangement with him. I have advised your correspondent, Mr. O. Rich, to send you all he can gather of what is printed in London respecting him. I am sorry I can do so little, or rather do nothing for you, but so the fact is."

Sir Francis Palgrave wrote from Yarmouth, Norfolk, October 6, 1832: "Your letter of the 28th August has just reached me, and I hasten to acknowledge the receipt of your favor, though until I return to town I can do little beyond an assurance that I shall be most happy to render you any assistance in my power. It is reported that Mackintosh had completed the delineation of the characters of the latter portions of his intended history; but that the connecting narrative is extremely imperfect. It is also said that Messrs. Longman have a lien upon all his manuscripts in the possession of his family; therefore I apprehend that there is little chance of obtaining any matters of value from them. Mrs. Wedgwood acted as the amanuensis of her father during many years. I know her intimately, and I will endeavor to gain further information from her."

After giving Mr. Sparks various references to individuals in England (among others, Sir Robert Inglis and his family) who might afford him material information regarding Mackintosh, Sir Francis Palgrave concludes with this tribute to America and Americans: "After the silly vituperations and abuse of Mrs. Trollope, the following observations may be pleasing to you. If the prejudices of any

there Mr. Palgrave, the antiquarian. Sir James' conversation, as usual, was rich and varied. His mind is stored with a prodigious mass of elegant and entertaining knowledge. Lady Mackintosh complimented me on my "Life of Ledyard," which she said she had read during my absence. I learn that Lockhart has got into some difficulty about a review of Hallam's last work, which he has printed in the "Quarterly," and which was written by Southey. It seems that the article is unreasonably severe, whereas Lockhart had given Hallam to understand that he intended to have a favorable one. Southey has written to a friend that the most objectionable part has been added since it left his hands, and this appears to be the work of Edwards. Lockhart is censured in the matter. Thus it seems that the troubles of editors and reviewers are not confined to the other side of the Atlantic.

January 13th, Tuesday. — Finished my examination in the Journal Office. I have looked through all the papers presented to Parliament by Lord North during the American War. They were called out for different purposes, and they embrace many of the most important letters which passed between the government at home and the officers in America. I have marked such passages as I want, and these are copied by the clerks in the office. . . .

persons against America might deserve excuse, it would be those of a Tory representative of Oxford University. Speaking, however, with my good friend Sir Robert Inglis on the subject, he said: 'Whenever I hear that an American of *any* degree of respectability has arrived in England, I seek his acquaintance, and I *have never had reason to regret my intimacy*. Gentlemanlike feeling in the truest sense of the term, good sense, candor, honor and honesty, talent and information, seem to me from these specimens to be the peculiar characteristics of American society.' You shall hear from me again as soon as possible.

Yours ever respectfully and faithfully,

"FRANCIS PALGRAVE."

January 14th, Wednesday. — Breakfasted with Mr. Palgrave in Westminster. I had seen him at Sir James Mackintosh's, and he invited me to breakfast, and proposed to show me the chapter house of Westminster Abbey. He is engaged in publishing various ancient documents, the manuscripts of which are deposited there. They are published by order and at the expense of Parliament. He showed me many curious old manuscripts written before the invention of printing. He also showed me the original Domesday Book, which was written on parchment nearly eight hundred years ago. It is in a perfect state of preservation. There is an illuminated copy of it nearly as old. The original consists of two thick volumes. The paper of the second is much smaller than that of the first. This old chapter house was the place in which the first Parliaments of England assembled. It had a tessellated floor, and paintings on the walls, parts of which are preserved. The architecture is beautiful, but the room is deformed by alterations, and by the presses and shelves for rolls and papers. Mr. Palgrave is engaged in writing a work on "The Rise and Progress of the British Constitution." The first volume is nearly printed. The work is to consist of two volumes.

March 15th. — I have finished all my researches in the British offices. For the last two months I have been so completely occupied in this business, and in a wide circle of society, that I have found no leisure for writing a journal of daily occurrences. My success in procuring papers has been entire, and answered my most sanguine expectations. The whole mass of military papers I examined in the Colonial Office; and after making such selections as I wanted, my manuscript was examined by Mr. Hay and the under-secretary, who has throughout acted in a very obliging manner.

I was next to procure access to the papers in the Foreign Office, particularly those relating to the negotiations for peace in 1783. In this application I was greatly assisted by Lord Holland, who very kindly wrote to the Earl of Aberdeen, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, making the request in his own name. When I commenced my examination I found every possible facility on the part of the minister, and Mr. Backhouse, the principal under-secretary. Lord Aberdeen looked over my manuscript himself, and when it was finished he gave it to me with his own hand at an interview which he appointed for the occasion, and during which he spoke at large of my objects, and expressed much satisfaction that it had been in his power to afford me any aids in prosecuting them. He said the facts of history were public property, and that the history in which I was engaged was one of great interest not only to America, but to England and Europe. He hoped to see all means used to keep up a kind feeling between England and the United States, and he believed that a well-digested and impartial history of past events could have no other effect at the present day, when time enough had elapsed to calm the excitements and angry feelings that prevailed during the transactions themselves. I have the strongest reason to be gratified with the civilities and language of the Earl of Aberdeen.

From the Foreign Office I obtained the correspondence of the British Commissioners in Paris (Grenville and Fitzherbert) for making the peace of 1783. The correspondence of Mr. Oswald, who was the commissioner appointed by the British government to make peace with the American Commissioners, I procured from the Marquis of Lansdowne. His father, the Earl of Shelburne, had an entire copy of this correspondence, which the marquis allowed me to take for several weeks to my apartments, and I had a copy taken of the whole. The marquis also

put into my hands a volume of original manuscript papers, respecting the origin and causes of the French War of 1756, from which I selected several interesting particulars.

In the Office of the Board of Trade I found the papers relating to Washington's early campaigns in Virginia. These are particularly valuable, as they exist nowhere else. Washington's own papers for that period were lost. Mr. Lawrence had applied to Mr. Grant, president of the Board of Trade, last June for permission for me to examine the papers in that office, and Sir James Mackintosh had also written to him on the subject, but the change of minister at that moment prevented my application from being taken into consideration. It was necessary, therefore, to refer all my papers again to the new president, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, who readily gave the permission desired. The secretary of the board, Mr. Lack, the successor of Mr. Chalmers, was very civil, and aided me in obtaining from the archives all the papers I desired.

Among the most valuable papers I have found were the private letter-books of Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, during the French War. They throw great light upon the acts of Washington at that time, and also on the events of the day. These two volumes are in the hands of Mr. Hamilton, who married Governor Dinwiddie's daughter, and who now resides in London. He is far advanced in life, but his mind and faculties are perfect, and he very obligingly allowed me to take such copies as I pleased from these volumes. He also gave me several of the original letters of Washington to Governor Dinwiddie, written at dates anterior to any which are contained in Washington's letter-books which now remain.

I also found Tryon's letter-book while he was governor of North Carolina. It is rather barren of incidents, but contains some particulars of interest relating to the Stamp

Act, and the doings of the Regulators in North Carolina. The volume was purchased by Mr. Rich at an auction.

I have thus been perfectly successful in all my endeavors in London. The difficulties and embarrassments with which I met last May in my applications to the ministers, I am inclined to think, arose more out of the peculiar circumstances of the time, than from any disposition to keep the papers from my inspection. There was probably some delay and deliberation at first, on account of the novelty of the application, but I do not think there was any settled disinclination in any quarter to allowing the papers to be consulted. The ministry were at that moment in a serious difference among themselves, and had little leisure to attend to private applications. A change soon took place. Since my return from Paris everything has operated according to my wishes; I have met with civilities from all quarters, and my success in my main object has left me nothing to desire.

I have had conversations with Mr. Murray on the subject of publishing Washington's works in London. He is much inclined to do it, and proposes that I shall send him the first two volumes as soon as they are ready, from which he may be able to decide as to the suitableness of the work to the English market, and the sum which he can give for it. There are many reasons why Mr. Murray is the most suitable person to publish the work in London, and I shall pursue the course he proposes.

Every moment of time which I could spare from my labors in London has been occupied in society. Among the literary persons with whom I have become acquainted, and whom I have not before mentioned, are Campbell, Coleridge, Alaric Watts, Macaulay, and divers authors and authoresses of less name. Among the most eminent of them I have been happy to find a very favorable spirit towards America. Coleridge speaks with great warmth

on the subject, and deprecates in the strongest manner the tone which has pervaded the "Quarterly Review." He ascribes the chief hostility of that work to Gifford and Barrow. The tone is now altered, but the spirit of Barrow is still there, and his pen is an able and important aid to the work. Coleridge had formed a plan for a society of writers who should unite in endeavoring to promote a better spirit towards America by their writings and conversation. His ill-health prevented his organizing such a society.

The chief thing that is now wanting in England to promote a proper feeling in regard to America is knowledge, and this must be supplied by a newspaper established in London devoted to American affairs. Such an enterprise well conducted would be successful, and extremely serviceable to both countries. The people of England, who are enlightened on other matters, are often ignorant to an extraordinary degree of the United States.

May 11th. — Arrived in New York after a passage of thirty-seven days from Liverpool.

May 25th, Tuesday. — Arrived in Boston, after having made a short trip to Washington for the purpose of ratifying my contract for publishing papers for the government. Saw Colonel Bumford respecting the papers of Joel Barlow. Visited Presidents Adams and Jackson, and many friends in Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia.

George Bancroft wrote to Jared Sparks, from Northampton, June 4, 1829, congratulating him upon the successful results of his European tour: "Right welcome to America again. Let me join my congratulations with those of your friends, who see you visibly, on the great

success which report attributes to your expedition. It falls to the lot of few men to identify themselves with a leading object of public curiosity and interest. I may say, apart from the feelings which give me a personal interest in your success, I am sincerely rejoiced at your unwearied efforts, and the valuable and honorable results which have crowned them."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE.

MR. SPARKS' interest in history and biography led him to undertake the responsible task of editing the Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution. This work comprised the letters of Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, John Adams, John Jay, Arthur Lee, William Lee, Ralph Izard, Francis Dana, William Carmichael, Henry Laurens, John Laurens, Lafayette, and Dumas, concerning the foreign relations of the United States during the Revolution, together with the letters in reply from the Secret Committee of Congress and the Secretary of Foreign Affairs; also the entire correspondence of the French ministers, Gérard and Luzerne, with Congress. This important collection was published in Boston, 1829-30, in twelve octavo volumes, under the direction of the President of the United States, from the original manuscripts in the Department of State, conformably to a resolution of Congress, March 27, 1818.

President John Quincy Adams appears to have called Mr. Sparks' attention to the existence of this congressional resolution, which furnished the legal basis for his project of editing the Diplomatic Correspondence. As we have already seen, he refers, in his journal of 1827, to the historical materials preserved in the library of the State Department. Mr. Sparks began in that very year to develop a scheme of publication in connection with his proposed edition of the writings of Washington.

The following extracts from Mr. Sparks' letter, writ-

ten in Baltimore, January 31, 1827, and addressed to John Quincy Adams, President of the United States, explain the inception of the new editorial enterprise: "After the conversation which I held with you the other day respecting the Revolutionary papers in the office of the Secretary of State, I examined them with considerable care, and was gratified to find them so full and so well preserved. You spoke particularly of the resolution of Congress for publishing a selection from the Foreign Correspondence. The letters embraced in this correspondence are unquestionably by far the most valuable materials for Revolutionary history which the archives of the country afford; and since the most of them exist only in a single copy, and may thus by a slight accident be utterly lost, it seems highly desirable that they should be published. The reason why the publication was deferred, as I understand you to say, was, that much labor by a judicious hand would be required to select and prepare the papers, and no appropriation had been made to defray such a charge.

"As my historical inquiries will necessarily lead me into a close examination of these papers, I have thought there would be no impropriety in making the following proposal for your consideration. The resolution of March 27, 1818, relating to this subject, runs thus:—

"*Resolved*, That there be published, under the direction of the President of the United States, the Foreign Correspondence of the Congress of the United States, from the first meeting thereof down to the date of ratification of the definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States, in the year seventeen hundred and eighty-three, except such parts of said foreign correspondence as the President of the United States may deem it improper at this time to publish; and that one thousand copies thereof be printed, of which one copy shall be furnished to each member of the present Con-



gress, and the residue shall remain subject to the future disposition of Congress.'

"Now, if this resolution is still in force, as I suppose it is, I will engage, under your direction, to select and prepare all the papers for publication, and be at the entire trouble and charge of publishing the same, on condition that government will give me the copyright, take one thousand copies as provided in the resolution, and be at the expense of copying for the press all the papers that shall be printed. That is to say, I will give my labor in the business for the consideration of the copyright.

"In a pecuniary point of view, I do not consider such an undertaking as offering any special advantages; and were it not that it would promote other objects more important, I should not think it a wise employment of my time. You will recollect that a large mass of the papers are in French and must be translated. In short, the labor of preparation, considered in any light, cannot be trifling, either in its amount or its literary character.

"I shall send a copy of this letter to the Secretary of State, and doubt not that you and he will decide on the subject in such a manner as its merits deserve. I shall hope to hear the result as soon as will suit your convenience."

Upon the same subject, Mr. Sparks addressed a letter from Baltimore, January 31, 1827, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State: "I take the liberty to inclose you a copy of a letter, which I have written to the President of the United States, and which will explain its own purpose. Knowing the deep interest you take in the diffusion of intelligence of every kind, and believing you not less desirous to see the honor of the country advanced in its history and former character than to guide to the best ends its passing events, I have the fullest confidence that you will approve and promote the objects here expressed as far as you will think them consistent and practicable."

On the 13th of March, 1827, Mr. Sparks, then in Washington, again wrote to Henry Clay, Secretary of State: "I have examined anew, and with a good deal of care, the mass of papers constituting the Diplomatic Correspondence during the Revolution, which was authorized to be published by a joint resolution of Congress on the 27th of March, 1818. I find it impossible to judge with much accuracy what amount of labor will be requisite to prepare them for the press. It is very evident, however, that they require a rigid and patient examination, and great discretion must be used in selecting such parts only as are suited to be brought before the public. There are twenty-two volumes of manuscripts copied into books, five of which are chiefly in the French language. It is to be presumed that there are other papers, which come under the resolution, that have never been copied, but of this I am not certain, as I have not looked over the originals.

"The heaviest part of the labor will be in translating and preparing the French papers. In addition to the five volumes of correspondence with the French ministers in this country, which are almost wholly in French, letters in this language, received by our ministers abroad, are interspersed throughout all the volumes. These must all be translated with more than usual accuracy. Moreover, the original letters, and not merely the copies bound in volumes, must in all cases be consulted, and compared with the manuscripts sent to the press.

"These remarks I have made that you may have, in as few words as possible, my views of the undertaking. It is not easy for any person, who has not had some experience in these matters, to realize the kind and extent of labor necessary for its accomplishment. To finish the work as it ought to be done will require, I think, not much less time than three years; and I should suppose it would be em-

braced in six or perhaps eight volumes. These estimates are formed on data so imperfect, however, that they may prove erroneous. The correspondence should be preceded by an historical introduction, exhibiting a connected series of events in our early diplomatic relations; brief notes should also be occasionally appended, both for explanation and for introducing collateral facts of history; and the whole should be followed by a copious index. Thus constructed the work would be useful, not merely as a repository of antiquated papers, but as containing materials set forth in a form to give them a permanent interest and value among the historical records of the country.

“After the investigation which has brought me to the above results, I now make a proposal which, from the tenor of your remarks, when we conversed on the subject, I think will meet your views:—

“1st. That I will prepare the correspondence for publication, according to the resolution of Congress above referred to, and the general plan here indicated, and translate, or procure to be translated at my own charge, all the French papers.

“2d. That I will cause the work to be printed in volumes of the octavo form, averaging about five hundred pages each, and in a similar style of printing and paper as that of the Secret Journal of the Old Congress, recently published; and,

“3d. That I will supply Congress with one thousand copies of the work thus printed.

“These terms of the contract I agree to fulfill on the consideration, —

“1st. That I shall receive —— hundred dollars a volume for preparing the manuscript, the amount for each volume to be paid when it is ready for the press; it being understood that all the copying shall be done by clerks in the office at the expense of the government.

“2d. That I shall receive for the one thousand copies furnished to Congress the sum of two dollars and fifty cents for each volume, well put up in boards, or, if bound in any other manner, the customary price for such binding shall be added; and,

“3d. That I shall be allowed the privilege of circulating the work in the market, in the usual manner adopted by booksellers, and have the entire benefit of such circulation, but without any reservation of a copyright, except on such conditions as may be agreed on at some future time, and without reference to this contract.

“This last provision in regard to circulation, I deem of some consequence, because, disconnected from any pecuniary views of the subject, it is desirable for the interests of knowledge that the work should go into as many hands as possible, and the method here suggested is the only one by which it can be made accessible to the community.

“I have left the blank for further consideration. I wish a fair compensation and nothing more. The President is probably better acquainted than any other person with the condition of the papers, and what is to be done to prepare them for the press. He can doubtless suggest to you such hints as to enable you to form a pretty accurate opinion respecting the value of the labor. My own impression is that five hundred dollars a volume will be no more than a reasonable pay. I shall be obliged to leave my business at home, and reside in Washington at different periods during the whole time that I shall be engaged in the work. Should the above sum be thought too high, however, I doubt not that we shall agree on the proper amount, for I want no more than is just and reasonable.

“At my request Mr. Webster has been kind enough to examine the papers with me. He takes a good deal of

interest in the subject. I have read to him the preceding proposals, and he allows me to say that they are such as approve themselves in all respects to his judgment.

“I shall go to Mount Vernon to-day, and as soon as you come to a decision you will do me the favor to send me a line directed to the post-office at Alexandria. Should the contract be closed, I shall wish to prepare some of the papers for copying before I return to Boston, which will be about the first of June.”

Mr. Sparks wrote from Mount Vernon, April 9, 1827, to Mr. Clay, as follows: “In compliance with your request communicated in Mr. Brent’s favor of the 2d inst., I shall be happy to have further conversation with you on the subject of publishing the Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution. I expect to be in Washington on the 17th of the present month, and hope then to have the pleasure of waiting on you.

“Meantime, will you do me the favor to desire Mr. Brent to look back in the books and ascertain on what terms the contract was made with Mr. Wait for supplying Congress with the volumes of the Secret Journals? In fixing on the amount proposed by me, I did not consult a printer, but took the price at which books of that size and quality usually sell, presuming there would be little risk in going upon that calculation. It may, however, be too high or too low, and as Mr. Wait is a printer I think I shall be safe in contracting on the same terms as he did, since the mechanical execution of the volumes is intended to be similar, and this part of the business, after all, will be a printer’s job.”

Upon the subject of the Diplomatic Correspondence, Mr. Sparks wrote from Washington, April 18, 1827, to Daniel Webster, then in Boston: “As you took a good deal of interest in my negotiation with Mr. Clay respecting the publication of the Revolutionary Diplomatic Cor-

respondence, I doubt not you will be gratified to learn that the contract is closed, and on terms highly satisfactory to me. A very important point is, that I am allowed to take to Boston all the duplicate papers, comprising nearly the whole of the correspondence, to retain them as long as I choose, and to have copies of any necessary parts executed there under my own eye, but at the expense of the government. This privilege will be of immense advantage to me, because I can be employed in the work at short intervals of time, and frequently without essential interference with my other pursuits. I shall not be obliged to come to Washington except occasionally to consult the originals, and to confer with the President and secretary as to the questionable matters contained in the correspondence. On this latter point I shall hope you will not deny me the light of your judgment in difficult or dubious cases. I have been much pleased with Mr. Clay's liberal views of the subject, and his frank and generous manner in conducting the details of our agreement."

The following letter to Mr. Clay was written at Mount Vernon, May 7, 1827: "I inclose you the memoranda of our agreement, which I believe embrace all the essential points, except the price of my own labor, which you must make as liberal as your judgment dictates. My views of the subject you fully understand. I will thank you to have the contract drawn up in form as soon as the 15th or 20th of the month, by which time I shall be in Washington with a view to close the business."

MEMORANDA SENT TO MR. CLAY.

"Jared Sparks, of Boston, engages to prepare for publication the Diplomatic Correspondence of the Ministers and Agents of the United States during the Revolution, according to a resolution of Congress passed on the 27th of March, 1818; to translate, or procure to be translated

at his own charge, all the French papers connected with this correspondence suited for publication ; to procure the work to be printed in volumes of a similar size, style of printing, and paper, to those of the Secret Journals of the Old Congress, recently published [Boston, 1821] ; and to supply Congress with one thousand copies.

“ These terms of the contract he engages to fulfill on the consideration that he shall receive ——— dollars a volume for preparing the manuscript, the amount of each volume to be paid when it shall be ready for the press, it being understood that all the necessary copying shall be done at the expense of government ; that he shall be allowed to take all the duplicates of the papers to Boston, and retain them there as long as they are wanted for executing the work ; that for the one thousand copies he shall receive the same price for each volume as was received for the Secret Journals mentioned above ; and that he shall have the privilege of circulating the book in the market in the usual modes adopted by booksellers to any extent he may think proper, and for his entire benefit.”

Mr. Sparks' first visit to Europe, already described in selections from his journal in chapter xvi., was doubtless of some practical service to him in his editorial work upon the Diplomatic Correspondence. He wrote Mr. Clay from Boston, August 7, 1827 : “ I shall spare no pains to do justice to the undertaking. In the spring I contemplate a short tour to Europe, where I shall make an effort to procure such materials as will throw light on that part of our Revolutionary history embraced in the Diplomatic Correspondence. I shall endeavor particularly to obtain access, as far as practicable, to such diplomatic papers in England, Holland, France, and Spain as relate to our differences with England, and to the acknowledgment of our independence by the European powers. This object may perhaps be wholly unattainable, but I will remit no exertion to accomplish it.”

After his return from Europe, in the spring of 1829, Mr. Sparks devoted himself energetically to the task of editing and publishing the Diplomatic Correspondence. Copyists and translators had been busily at work during his absence, and he was now in position to push the work vigorously forward. Mr. Sparks made frequent reports to John Quincy Adams concerning the progress of his editorial undertaking, which the President of the United States had been the first to sanction. Mr. Adams, after his temporary retirement, continued to encourage Mr. Sparks, and even gave him access to the letter-books of John Adams. John Quincy Adams was now at leisure to examine his father's papers, with a view to preparing a memorial. Although recognizing that Mr. Sparks' plan to write a history of the American Revolution would in some respects rival his own project, Mr. Adams nevertheless offered Mr. Sparks all possible assistance.

The following letter from John Quincy Adams to Jared Sparks is dated Quincy, September 1, 1829: "I learn with pleasure your intention of writing a history of the American Revolution, and shall be happy to afford you every assistance in my power by the inspection of my father's papers relating to that period. It may, however, be some time before they can be so assorted as to be susceptible of useful consultation. At my father's decease, all his books, papers, and manuscript came into my possession. But my occupations have not hitherto permitted me thoroughly to examine them myself; and the uses which had been made of parts of his correspondence at various periods of his life determined me to allow no access to his papers to any other person until I should have reviewed them. I am now engaged in that occupation, and at the same time in collecting and preparing materials for a memoir of his life. My subject will in some respects coincide with yours, but need in no wise

interfere with it. When Mr. Pitkin was preparing his history, now published, he applied to me for the use of my father's papers, but I was reluctantly compelled to decline complying with his request, not having it in my power at that time to examine and assort them. Any of my father's public letter-books which you may desire to see shall from this time be at your disposal for examination. His private letter-books and papers may hereafter be equally open to you, when I shall myself be apprised of their contents. In the mean time I shall be much gratified to see and converse with you at Quincy at your convenience. To be sure that I shall be at home when you come, will you favor me with your company to dine at two o'clock to-morrow? . . .

"I shall be glad to see the Diplomatic Correspondence now in process of publication by order of Congress. My present inquiries are of a somewhat earlier date, and the more I search the more satisfied I become that the seminal principle of all that was good in our Revolution belongs to us. I hope we shall not abandon it as a waif or stray."

On the 5th of October, 1829, Mr. Sparks wrote to his friend, M. Guizot, at Paris: "I am now closely occupied in preparing for the press the Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution. These papers are publishing by order of Congress, and they will make an interesting collection of historical materials relating to the foreign transactions of the American war, and particularly to the part which France acted during those events. They embrace all the public correspondence of Franklin and Adams while they were in Europe. The whole series will amount to eight or ten volumes. They are now in press, and will be completed in about six months, when I shall send you a copy.

"Washington's papers are also in preparation, but they

are retarded a little by the work above mentioned. I trust that before many months, however, I shall be able to send you the first volume. At all events, I hope you will not lose your interest in the work, nor be less inclined, by delay, to bring it in due time before the French public. I have no doubt you will be satisfied with the work when it appears, for it will embrace a very interesting period of history, and develop the character of a man who has not only gained an elevated rank among the great and good, but whose influence on the destinies of the Western world has been incalculable. It is a great satisfaction to me that his fame, in regard to that portion of mankind who read the French language, will be in your hands. I am sure you will deem Washington a subject worthy of your thoughts and your pen."

Mr. Sparks made a formal report, December 14, 1829, on the progress of his work to Martin Van Buren, then Secretary of State: "In this day's mail I send you a copy of the two first volumes of the Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution, which I am publishing for Congress. The contract stipulates that the mechanical execution of the work shall be the same as that of the Secret Journals published by Wait. You will find a copy of that work in the Department of State, and I wish you to compare it with these volumes. The whole will be executed exactly like these I now send.

"Herewith I forward also an estimate of the cost of the work, and beg that an appropriation may be embraced in the first appropriation bill of the session. By the contract, I am to be paid for each volume when it is delivered at the Department of State. And indeed this is essential to me, for I am already largely in advance for printing the three first volumes, and must continue so from volume to volume, because the printers must be paid as we proceed. I trust, therefore, that there will be no dis-

appointment or delay in the payments according to the contract. The two first volumes are nearly ready, and will be forwarded to Washington very shortly.

“By a rough estimate, which I made in the Department of State at the time I undertook the work, I concluded there would be ten or eleven volumes. Another estimate since made, with a better knowledge of the materials, carries the number of volumes to at least eleven, and perhaps twelve. But it is not possible, from the nature of the case, to foretell the exact quantity of matter when printed, because the manuscripts are in a good deal of disorder. I think, however, that an appropriation should be made for twelve volumes.

“I have lately received by mail from the Department of State the papers of M. Dumas. Those of Gérard and Luzerne still remain. They may be retained till I go to Washington, which will be in the course of the winter, for the purpose of examining other papers, which I find are not contained among the duplicates heretofore forwarded to me. This whole mass of papers, as far as I can judge from the parts I have already examined for the press, is extremely interesting and valuable, as developing the history of our early diplomatic relations with foreign powers.”

Mr. Sparks had some difficulty in keeping Van Buren up to the level of official duty towards this literary enterprise, begun under a former administration. Through the kind offices of Edward Everett and other friends in Washington, the Boston editor finally succeeded in getting the necessary appropriations made.¹ On the 4th of

¹ The following was Mr. Sparks' estimate of the cost of the Diplomatic Correspondence :—

1,000 copies at \$2.12 per volume, as per contract	\$2,125
Editor's compensation per volume	400
	<hr/>
Cost of each volume	\$2,525

October, 1830, we find Mr. Sparks announcing by letter to Mr. Van Buren that the publication of the Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution was drawing to a close. At the same time the editor boldly suggested the continuation of this line of diplomatic history from 1783 to 1789; or from the definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain to the beginning of Washington's first administration. It was a very sensible proposition. Mr. Sparks set forth his new project in the following lucid way: "The Secret Journals and the Foreign Correspondence, which were ordered by Congress to be printed, contain not only the complete history of our foreign relations from the Declaration of Independence down to the beginning of the new government, but also discussions of the principles on which our connection with foreign papers is founded, and according to which the treaties have been constructed. In this point of view they are of great value, not only as historical records, but as containing the opinions and reflections of our ablest statesmen on subjects of deep and permanent interest to the country. Thus considered, the importance of their publica-

Cost of twelve volumes	\$30,300
Charge for copying as yet unsettled, say	400
	<hr/>
Amount of appropriation	\$30,700

The following order on the Secretary of State illustrates Mr. Sparks' method of dealing with the United States government:—

Hon. MARTIN VAN BUREN, Secretary of State.

Sir,— At sight, please pay to Nathan Hale [Mr. Sparks' Boston printer] or order twenty-five hundred and twenty-five dollars, it being for one thousand volumes of the Diplomatic Correspondence delivered at the Department of State in pursuance of my contract, viz., 500 copies of volume 10 and 500 copies of volume 11, together with my compensation for editing the 10th volume of said correspondence.

JARED SPARKS.

BOSTON, February 24, 1831.

\$2,525.

tion is obvious, especially as many of the manuscripts exist only in single copies, or at most in duplicates, and are subject to be destroyed by a slight accident from fire or other causes.

“Two resolutions of Congress have been passed authorizing the publication of these papers, the first extending to the peace of 1783, and the other from that date to the adoption of the Constitution. The Secret Journals were published under these two resolutions, and embrace the whole period. The contract by which I am engaged is in fulfillment only of the first resolution. The reason why I undertook the work to this extent was, that my historical researches led me to a critical examination of the papers to the time of the peace, and I concluded that the additional labor of arranging and preparing them for the press would be in some measure compensated by the more intimate and accurate knowledge I should obtain of their contents. I proposed the subject, therefore, to the Secretary of State, and the contract was made accordingly.

“As my inquiries at that time led me no further than the peace of 1783, I was not fully aware of the nature of the correspondence which followed, nor of its close connection with what preceded.- It now appears, however, that, by stopping the publication at this point, the series will be broken off in the middle, and the work itself will be left essentially defective. This fact seems to have been in the mind of Congress when the second resolution was passed, and it was evidently the intent of the second resolution to remedy the above defect by securing the publication of the whole in one body. On some accounts the papers after the peace are the most valuable, because they are much occupied with discussions on maritime affairs and the principles of our commercial treaties.

“Viewed in this light, it seems to me important that

the series should be printed to the end, in connection with what has already been finished. The work will then comprise the entire mass of papers on our foreign relations, from the beginning of the Revolution down to the commencement of the new government, where Wait's State Papers begin. By the second resolution above referred to, the Secretary of State is authorized to continue their publication through that period. I am not able to say precisely to what number of volumes the remainder would amount, but I should think from three to five.

"There is another consideration which ought to have its weight. A work of this sort derives much of its value from an index, which facilitates a ready reference to any essential part. Such an index, however, ought to embrace the whole, or its main object is defeated.

"Several members of Congress, whom I have seen incidentally the past summer, have expressed a full approbation of the manner in which the work has been thus far executed, and a wish that it may be completed in continuance with what has been done. I have thought the nature and importance of the subject required from me this statement of facts, that you may have the case before you, and then act as you may deem expedient. There probably can be no doubt that it was the design of Congress, by the second resolution, to have the whole series of correspondence printed together. I have only to add that if you think proper to empower me to complete the work as it has been begun, I am willing to go through with it. After you have considered the matter at your leisure, I trust you will have the goodness to inform me of your decision."

In the promotion of this project for a second series of Diplomatic Correspondence or State Papers, Mr. Sparks sought the coöperation of friends in Congress like Mr. Verplanck from New York, to whom he wrote, December

23, 1831: "I hope you will not forget the affair of the Diplomatic Papers, which you took in hand last winter. It is quite desirable that the collection should be finished, both on account of their value and the risk they run, in the manner they are now preserved, of being destroyed by fire. The correspondence from the peace to the establishment of the new Constitution is in some respects more important than the preceding, because it dwells chiefly on our commercial relations, and the principles of international commerce. The publication of this correspondence, in addition to what has been printed, will embrace everything pertaining to our foreign affairs down to the adoption of the Constitution. I trust you will be able to carry through the House this session your motion for publishing the remainder of these papers, and thus complete the work already begun.

"You are doubtless aware that there is a large mass of Revolutionary papers of another description in the office of the Secretary of State. My researches have led me to become somewhat acquainted with their character and value. They may be classed as follows:—

"I. Military correspondence between the principal officers of the army and the President of Congress and Board of War.

"II. Correspondence on civil matters between the President of Congress and the governors of the States, and other persons.

"III. Reports of Committees and Boards:—

(1) Committees of Finance and of the Treasury Board.

(2) Committees on Commerce and the Board of Marine.

(3) Committees on Army Affairs and the Board of War.

(4) Special committees on innumerable sub-

jects, both in the civil and military departments.

“IV. Miscellaneous memoirs, discussions, and remarks, for the consideration of Congress and of committees.

“As these reports and other papers were commonly written by the ablest men in Congress, you will at once perceive that in the mass there must be a great deal of important matter. A selection of five or six volumes, executed with judgment and skill, would unquestionably add a rich treasure to the historical materials of that eventful period of our national existence and glory, to which all future ages will look back as to the rising star. Such a work might be called the ‘State Papers of the American Revolution.’ All the papers are now in perfect disorder, and, before they can be used for such a purpose, must be selected, sifted, and arranged with very great care.

“Being better acquainted with the state of these matters, from the nature of my pursuits, than most persons, I thought it worth while to give you these hints. It is possible that, on considering the subject, you may deem it advisable to extend your resolution so as to embrace the other papers. They will doubtless be published some day, and for obvious reasons the sooner it is done the better, since they exist only in single copies, and are exposed to the constant danger of being destroyed. As the work would be executed under the eye of the President and Secretary of State, by the tenor of the resolution, there would be no danger that a useless expense would be incurred in publishing unimportant or trifling matter. A proper judgment in the agency will be a sufficient safeguard.”

Mr. Sparks was anticipated in this excellent project by an editorial rival whom he treated with marked generosity, as appears from a second letter to Mr. Verplanck, dated January 10, 1832: “I wrote you a few days ago,

mentioning the Revolutionary manuscripts in the office of the Secretary of State. Since that time I observe that Mr. St. C. Clarke¹ has a project for publishing them, which I am glad to see, and trust he will receive suitable aid from Congress. It is, in my opinion, very desirable that a proper selection from them should be published.

“But since Mr. Clarke has taken up this project, I hope your resolution for continuing the Diplomatic Papers down to the new government will be kept separate. These papers ought to be published in the same form as those already begun, and in continuation, thus making one work, with a complete index at the end of the whole. I doubt not this will be your opinion. As I have begun the work, I confess I have some little desire to complete it, and I shall be much obliged if you will continue to manage it to that end.”

Concerning Mr. Clarke's rival enterprise, Mr. G. C. Verplanck wrote to Mr. Sparks from Washington, January 17, 1832, as follows: “Mr. Clarke's proposition was before our Library Committee this morning. We came to no conclusion on the subject, but I presume will report favorably to his plan. I then brought up the subject of authorizing the Secretary of State to contract *with you* for publishing the remainder of our Confederate Diplomatic Correspondence. This the committee agreed to, and authorized me to move an amendment, under their sanction, to one of the bills for the support of government reported by the Committee of Ways and Means (of which

¹ This was Matthew St. Clair Clarke, the associate of Peter Force in the great enterprise authorized March 2, 1833, by an appropriation of \$20,000 for a Documentary History of the Revolution. Mr. Clarke was at one time clerk of the House of Representatives. His associate, Mr. Force, was the real editor. It was recognized by the “North American Review” for April, 1838, in a notice of the Documentary History, that it might be in some measure ascribed to “the honorable emulation that was kindled by the example of Mr. Sparks.”

I am also a member), appropriating for the purpose enough for the publication of three additional volumes. About \$7,500 I presume would be sufficient ; but on this I will consult the officers of the House."

In February, 1832, at the request of Mr. Livingston, then Secretary of State, Mr. Sparks made an examination of the papers in that department relating to the foreign affairs of the United States from the treaty of peace in 1783 to the adoption of the present Constitution. Mr. Sparks made an estimate of the character and extent of these State Papers, which was sent to Congress in answer to a request for information by one of its committees. At the very time Mr. Sparks was making these inquiries in the State Department, Matthew St. Clair Clarke and Peter Force were pushing through Congress their magnificent project for publishing the archives of the American Revolution. Wait's "State Papers" were printed in Boston in 1814 and 1817. The journals of the American Congress were reprinted in Washington in 1823. John Quincy Adams and Jared Sparks further developed a policy of historical publication, under government auspices. Force's "American Archives" was a natural continuation of that excellent line of public work.

In his journal for February 29, 1832, Mr. Sparks records this interesting fact: "The Committee of the Library of Congress, to whom had been referred a memorial of Messrs. Clarke and Force requesting aid for publishing documents relating to the Revolution, put the papers into my hands for perusal. The plan seems to me an exceedingly good one, though perhaps not practicable to the full extent contemplated by the compilers. The design is to bring together all the best papers, both printed and in manuscript, respecting the origin and progress and termination of the American Revolution. It cannot fail to be a compilation of the highest value."

While in Washington, at this time, Mr. Sparks conceived the idea of extending his inquiries still further than 1789. In his journal for March 3, 1832, he makes this entry: "Occupied all the morning in examining the Diplomatic Correspondence in the Department of State during Washington's administration. Find it well preserved. There are four volumes recorded of the letters of the Secretaries of State (Jefferson, Randolph, and Pickering), and also bound volumes containing letters from the ministers abroad during that period. These must all be carefully consulted in preparing the 'History of Washington's Administration,' which I propose to execute at a future time."

In his journal for March 12, 1832, Mr. Sparks notes the first sign of congressional interest in his project of a second series of Diplomatic Correspondence: "Mr. Verplanck has brought forward a proposition for continuing the publication of the Diplomatic Correspondence down to the adoption of the new Constitution. He has made an interesting report on the subject." On the 14th of March, Mr. Sparks writes in his journal: "Had an interview with Mr. Livingston at the Department of State. He tells me that, in case Mr. Verplanck's bill for continuing the publication of the Diplomatic Papers passes through Congress, as it probably will, he shall wish me to be employed to finish the work."

Mr. Verplanck wrote to Mr. Sparks, May 2, 1832, explaining how the project for continuing the American Diplomatic Correspondence down to 1789 was finally carried: "I succeeded the other day against Mr. Duffie in carrying the insertion of the appropriation for printing the Diplomatic Correspondence to 1789 in the general bill¹ for the support of government. As that bill has just

¹ The new series called the "Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States of America" was authorized in the following clause of

finally passed both houses, I hasten to inform you of it." Mr. Verplanck unfortunately left his friend's name out of the bill authorizing the new series. The Democratic editor of the "Congressional Globe," aided by his friends in Congress, proceeded to capture the enterprise. On the 11th of June, 1832, Edward Everett, then in Congress, sent in hot haste to Mr. Sparks to come to Washington and recover his own. Mr. Sparks arrived June 20th, and records in his journal for that date: "Called on the Secretary of State, at the State Department. He informed me that arrangements had been made for publishing the continuation of the Diplomatic Correspondence. It has an Act of Congress, approved May 5, 1832, entitled "An Act making appropriation for the support of Government for the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two."

"To enable the Secretary of State to cause to be printed, under his direction, a selection from the Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, between the peace of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, and the fourth of March one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, remaining unpublished in the Department of State, twelve thousand dollars."

In the introduction to this new series occurs the following statement, which is of interest in connection with the earlier work of Mr. Sparks: "The intention of Congress in making the appropriation above recited could not be mistaken; the beginning of the correspondence it directs to be published is the end of that selected by Mr. Sparks. It is then a continuation of the same correspondence, subject, however, to the same exception of such parts as may be deemed improper at *this time* to be made public; but the first part contains, with very few exceptions, the whole of the correspondence during the period to which it was confined; and this course received not only the sanction of the President, by whose direction it was prepared, but has met the general approbation of the people, whose representatives in Congress have been furnished with copies of the work. It is therefore fair to conclude that, in directing the continuation of Mr. Sparks' work, Congress intended that the same principles should govern the selection. Very few parts, therefore, of the correspondence have been suppressed, and none that could throw any light on the diplomatic history of the entire period designated by the law."

been given to the editor of a party newspaper as a printer's job. . . . I was desirous of continuing the work which I had begun, that uniformity might be preserved, and that my labors might not be connected with those of incompetent persons. Mr. Livingston, the Secretary of State, allowed that the continuation ought to have been executed by me, but said it was not in his power so to arrange it."

Mr. Sparks, although thus prevented from editing the new series of Diplomatic Papers, continued to the end of his life to collect materials for a Diplomatic History of the American Revolution. From this time forward his own correspondence fairly teems with letters bearing upon this important theme. We find him writing to General Lafayette, M. Guizot, M. Mignet, the Marquis de Marbois, and to the American legations at various European capitals in the interest of his great work. To several of his European friends, including Lord Holland and Sir James Mackintosh, Mr. Sparks sent a set of the Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution, as an earnest of the larger work which he had in contemplation. He was prevented by academic duties at Harvard and a serious accident from carrying out his noble intention, but he prepared the way for his successors. His superb collection of manuscript materials is now in the library of Harvard College, and has already been of great practical service to American scholars.

WHARTON'S EDITION OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE.

In the year 1888, Dr. Francis Wharton, then connected with the State Department, succeeded in carrying through Congress a joint resolution providing for the printing of a supplement to his useful "Digest of International Law." This supplement was to contain the Diplomatic

Correspondence of the American Revolution, with historical and legal notes. In order to prepare the way for this new edition, Dr. Wharton communicated to the Committee on Printing certain critical observations on the Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence as edited by Mr. Sparks. These observations are printed in a report made February 6, 1888, by Mr. A. P. Gorman, No. 194, Senate Document, Fiftieth Congress, First Session. Dr. Wharton stated that Mr. Sparks published "a portion" only of the Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence preserved in the archives of the Department of State, and says: "Mr. Sparks omitted all letters and portions of letters tending to show, —

"(1) The movement of French politicians, in 1776, to supersede Washington by Marshal Broglie; (2) The movement by American politicians, in 1776-77, to induce Washington's withdrawal, and to have Franklin recalled from Paris; (3) The atrocities of British troops and of refugees in the United States, put forward by our diplomatists as a claim against Great Britain, and a set-off against British claims for indemnity to loyalists."

Dr. Wharton then makes a passing reference, of contemporary interest, to the alleged dropping of important passages "showing the extent to which the fisheries, prior to the Revolution, were controlled by American fishermen; and, what is still more important, how general was the understanding between the negotiators that the treaty of 1782-83 was a treaty not of concession by Great Britain, but of partition, under which the United States retained all the territorial rights previously possessed by them in North America when part of the British Empire."

In order to show still more clearly the need of a new edition of the Diplomatic Correspondence, Dr. Wharton introduced into the above report of the Committee on

Printing, as he did afterwards into his preface, parallel columns of words and phrases revealing numerous discrepancies between Mr. Sparks' version and the literal text of certain letters written by Franklin, Livingston, and John Adams. Many of the variations were manifestly caused by errors in copying or proof-reading. Some of the alleged omissions were probably due to editorial discretion, for which, as we shall soon see, there was sufficient warrant, even in the opinion of Dr. Wharton. It is possible that Mr. Sparks ventured to make slight editorial corrections of style. But the modern editor does not inform us whether, in all cases, he and Mr. Sparks had access to precisely the same texts of the Franklin, Livingston, and Adams letters. This is an important matter to determine before comparisons are instituted and discrepancies pointed out. Editors ought always to tell us exactly what texts they are using. The writer has seen in the State Department manuscript copies of the American Diplomatic Correspondence that were as confusing as the Washington transcripts.

Great difficulties have arisen for editors, in the case of the Washington and Franklin letters, from the existing variety of copies. Any one who has had anything to do with manuscripts and copyists knows how easily and unintentionally mistakes are often made, and how they sometimes creep into printer's copy and printed texts. The whole history of the transmission of classical and mediæval literature illustrates the difficulty of preserving works as they were originally written. It would be very strange if, in the transcription and printing of twelve volumes of modern Diplomatic Correspondence, there were not some mistakes. If a critical examination of Dr. Wharton's edition does not finally reveal many sins of omission and of commission on his part, it will be surprising, especially as it is known positively that he used the work of his pre-

decessor for printer's copy, with very slight marginal corrections.¹

¹ The present writer had the privilege in the State Department of seeing the proof-sheets of Dr. Wharton's edition in advance of its publication. It has been said by persons in position to know that there was no sufficient occasion for a new congressional edition of the Diplomatic Correspondence. A Washington edition of Sparks' Diplomatic Correspondence was published in 1857, in six volumes.

Mr. Sparks' work was favorably noticed in the "American Quarterly Review," vol. x. 1831, p. 417, and in the "North American Review," vol. xxxiii. 1831, p. 449.

Mr. Sparks once had occasion to defend his edition of the Diplomatic Correspondence from the attack of a pamphleteer, and used the following vigorous language in a letter dated March 2, 1835: "I allude to the charge of *omissions*, which you have brought forward in different forms, and endeavored to establish by various modes of proof. On this head it must be remembered that I was employed to publish a *selection* from the Diplomatic Papers in the Department of State. I acted under specific instructions for that object. The design was not to print everything, but only such papers as related to diplomatic affairs. The correspondence of mercantile agents in Europe and in the West Indies was expressly excluded; and likewise the proceedings of committees of Congress, except those connected with foreign concerns. The letters of Lafayette and Paul Jones, to which you allude, were military, and could not with any propriety be published as diplomatic papers. They are no doubt valuable and worthy of publication, but they had nothing to do with the work in which I was engaged.

"In the Department of State is a volume of Arthur Lee's *private letters*, which I was not authorized to print, and indeed it would be extremely improper ever to bring those letters before the public. Another volume is taken up chiefly, if not entirely, with a copy of two pamphlets which had already been published, and to which references are made at the proper places in the work. Is it probable that I should have been justified in filling a volume of the Diplomatic Correspondence with a reprint of these pamphlets? I should have gained the profit on the sale of a thousand copies, but what advantage would it have been to the government or the public?

"If you have examined the whole of the *early* correspondence of Dumas, you must be convinced that it is not only unimportant, but for the most part without interest or value. There could hardly be a

After all the reflections that Dr. Wharton saw fit to make upon Mr. Sparks' editorial work, it is gratifying to stronger illustration of this fact than the fragments of his letters which you have printed in your pamphlet. My only doubt was whether a larger portion ought not to be omitted. I observe you quote the language used by me with direct reference to the mode of preparing the papers of Dumas, and apply it to the whole work. Was this candid? Was it done in the spirit of honesty or justice?

"The Correspondence of the American Ministers abroad, and of the foreign Ministers in the United States, it was my intention to publish in as complete a form as the materials would admit, and, notwithstanding your belief to the contrary, there is interspersed in different parts of the work a very considerable number of highly important papers, necessary to fill up chasms, which do not exist in the Department of State, and which were supplied from other sources.

"In making the selection, it is true, my judgment was to be the guide, aided by such particular and general instructions as were given to me. The nature of the undertaking rendered this necessary. I explained my method in the fullest and clearest manner in the preface to the first volume. This was never disapproved by my employers; nor was it ever hinted to me that I had misunderstood my instructions, or in any degree deviated from them.

"Had I followed the plan which you have censured me for not following, and printed all the papers you have indicated as omissions, the work would have extended to at least forty or fifty volumes instead of twelve, and consequently my compensation would have been increased fourfold, with very little additional labor. And yet by an exaggerated and deceptive statement, you charge me with having been exorbitantly paid. You first censure me for receiving high pay, and then turn the whole drift of your pamphlet into an argument against me for not taking advantage of my contract to get four times as much.

"The error which runs through all your remarks, and everywhere gives a false coloring to the subject, is, that I was employed to publish the *whole* of a certain description of papers; when, in fact, a *selection* only was intended, and this is the basis on which I was directed to prepare the publication. If my judgment has failed, and the selection is less perfect than could be desired, it is a misfortune, but certainly not a ground of obloquy and censure, much less of personal abuse. I can say with confidence, however, that, were I to go through with the same task again, I should perform it, in all essential respects, precisely in the same manner."

find him admitting that the new edition was in some measure indebted for additional material to the Sparks collection of manuscripts in the library of Harvard College. It is, moreover, interesting to read the closing paragraph of Dr. Wharton's preface to the "Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence:" "Mr. Sparks, however much we may dissent from his views as to the right of an editor to change the words of his text, and to strike from it what he conceives should not be published, deserves a high tribute for the generous zeal with which he collected and preserved masses of important manuscripts relative to our history, and for the judiciousness, fairness, and patriotic spirit by which the opinions expressed by him are marked. And it is but just to say that the suppression of a large part of the passages omitted by him, comprising those relating to the barbarisms of the Revolutionary War, and those bearing on then pending issues, may have been directed by the President, under stress of the resolution of March 27, 1818, so as to avoid touching wounds still sore, or embarrassing negotiations then in progress. Personal considerations, also, may have induced the omission of passages reflecting on eminent men, who in 1816 [*sic*] were still alive, or were but recently deceased. Those reasons no longer exist. It is due not only to historic truth, but to the full vindication of those great men by whom our Revolution was led, that their diplomatic correspondence should now be given as written by themselves."

It would have been more just to Mr. Sparks if Dr. Wharton, at an earlier stage, let us say in his diplomatic appeals to Congress through Mr. Gorman's committee on public printing, had frankly recognized the above considerations, which fairly account for many of the omissions made by Mr. Sparks in his edition of 1829-30. The resolution of March 27, 1818, to which Dr. Wharton

refers, distinctly reserves from publication "such parts of said correspondence as the President of the United States may deem it improper at this time to publish." Mr. Sparks had frequent interviews with President John Quincy Adams upon the subject of the Diplomatic Correspondence, and it was clearly understood that discretion was to be used by the editor in the selection of letters and state papers for publication. For that purpose he had been employed by the State Department, with the approval of the President. In a letter to Henry Clay, March 13, 1827, already quoted, Mr. Sparks said: "Great discretion must be used in selecting such parts only as are suited to be brought before the public." In a letter to Daniel Webster, already quoted, he speaks of coming to Washington to confer with President Adams and Mr. Clay¹ as to questionable matters contained in the correspondence. He proposes to ask Mr. Webster's judgment in difficult or dubious cases. An editor who had seen his own selections from English and French archives mutilated by government authority must have felt that there were at least good precedents for the exercise of discretion in disclosing the contents of state papers. That he exercised it, to a very limited extent, in his edition of the Diplomatic Correspondence, is not disputed. The point is, that he did what was authorized by the congressional resolution of March 27, 1818, and what he was expected to do by the State Department and by the President of the United States, under whose direction the work was published.

¹ In a letter of introduction, January 18, 1828, to William B. Lawrence, then Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at London, Mr. Clay said of Mr. Sparks: "The confidence reposed in him is evinced by his having been selected to arrange and publish the Washington Papers, and by his having been also designated, with the approbation of the President, to examine into the mass of our diplomatic confidential correspondence during our Revolutionary period, and to point out such parts of it as may be now beneficially published."

CHAPTER XVIII.

LIFE OF GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

WE have already seen the beginning of Mr. Sparks' labors in the field of American biography. His book on John Ledyard, the American traveler, was a pioneer effort, almost as characteristic of Mr. Sparks as of his hero. There was something of Ledyard's exploring spirit in his fellow-countryman's historical undertakings. For the most part, they all involved excursions into new fields of inquiry, and original observations upon facts or materials for the first time discovered. One line of research always led him to another. Beginning with the career of John Ledyard and George Washington, Mr. Sparks steadily advanced in his biographical projects, until he finally embraced a long series of distinguished Americans in his various works. The "Life of Ledyard" was issued in 1828. Before the "Life and Writings of Washington" were published, 1834-37, came the "Life and Writings of Gouverneur Morris," published in the year 1832, in three volumes.

In Mr. Sparks' journal for December 30, 1830, is found the following mention of Gouverneur Morris' papers: "Rode out to Morrisania with a letter from Mrs. Randolph to Mrs. Morris, widow of the late Gouverneur Morris. My object was to procure access to Gouverneur Morris' papers. Mrs. Morris told me that there were twenty-one volumes of Mr. Morris' own writings, nine volumes of which were a diary, and the others were letters on public subjects. These letters she says he told her

before his death that he wished to have published, but not the diary. There is also a mass of Revolutionary papers, which she never has fully examined.

“As to my examining the papers for historical purposes, she had some doubts of the expediency of it, because she thought it would diminish the value of the general publication, when it shall be made. She seemed desirous that I should undertake this publication and write a Life of Mr. Morris. This I could not agree to do, with the present labors which I have on my hands. She desires time to think of the matter, however, and will let me know her decision hereafter.”

In his journal for January 1, 1831, Mr. Sparks recurs to this matter. “Conversed with Dr. Hosack respecting the publication of Gouverneur Morris’ papers. Dr. Hosack advises me to undertake it, and says they are so well arranged that the labor will not be great. My mind inclines a little to the same thing, especially as the papers relate to the period and topics embraced in my historical researches. I told Dr. Hosack that, if I were to engage in such a thing, it must be on two conditions: 1st, That all the papers should be put in my possession; 2d, That the business of preparing a memoir and selecting the papers for publication be left to my judgment. In short, if I undertook it at all, I was willing to do it on the same terms as I have agreed to publish Washington’s papers.”

Two days later Mr. Sparks mentions a conversation with Mr. Charles King regarding the Morris papers: “He has seen a large portion of them, and thinks a Life may be written from them without much labor, and advises me to undertake it. He says, also, that many of the papers are interesting and valuable, and will be well received by the public.”

Such were the influences which inclined Mr. Sparks towards this third biographical and editorial undertaking

at the very time he was editing the Diplomatic Correspondence and preparing to publish the writings of George Washington, with a preliminary account of his life. Mr. Sparks regarded all of these historical undertakings as contributing towards one great end, a history of the American Revolution. On the 15th of January, 1831, he wrote to Dr. Hosack from Philadelphia as follows : " Since our last conversation I have been thinking over the matter of Gouverneur Morris' papers, and have nearly made up my mind to undertake their publication, if proper arrangements can be made with Mrs. Morris. That is, I will write a memoir, select the papers for the press, procure and superintend the publication, on precisely the same terms as I have agreed to publish the papers of Washington. By that agreement I am to prepare the work for the press and take the whole responsibility of bringing it before the public, and then to share equally with the owner of the papers the profits of the copyright. All General Washington's papers, of every description, both public and private, and his private journals, are put into my hands and left to my discretion. In no other way, in fact, could justice be done to the work ; and Mrs. Morris should be made explicitly to understand that if I undertake the publication of Mr. Morris' papers, I must possess the whole materials, as in the case of Washington. Her own interest, as well as the nature of the subject, requires that nothing should be kept back. Every paper that I receive shall be returned to her again as soon as the work shall be finished.

" I leave to your judgment the proper mode of communicating the subject to Mrs. Morris. I presume it will be best for you to write to her and say that, from your conversation with me, you have reason to think I may be induced to engage in the undertaking, if arrangements are proposed similar to those in the case of Washington's

papers, and that if she is so inclined you will make such a proposition in her name. The truth is, my chief motive for being willing to take this new labor upon myself, in the midst of my other literary projects, is the advantage I expect to derive from the perusal of the papers, fully convinced at the same time of the dignity and public importance of the subject. I do not wish to beset the good lady, therefore, with any proposals or solicitation, but prefer that she should take the lead in any negotiation we may make, and through your agency I imagine it may be effected. I will write to Boston immediately for a copy of my contract with Judge Washington and Judge Marshall, which you can show to her, and which may serve as an exact model of a contract between us.

“If I engage in the business, I shall wish to go speedily about it, that I may bring out the work before I begin to publish Washington’s papers. Otherwise it must be deferred a long time. I shall return to New York within two or three weeks, and hope some definite result will by that time be attained.”

In his journal for February 11, 1831, Mr. Sparks notes the virtual conclusion of the whole matter. He called that day on Dr. Hosack, who said he had seen Mrs. Morris, and that she was disposed to make an arrangement with Mr. Sparks for editing and publishing her husband’s papers according to the terms proposed in the above letter. She agreed to put the entire mass of manuscripts into Mr. Sparks’ hands and intrust them to his discretion. These terms were definitely settled by contract, February 23, 1831. The copyright of the “Life of Gouverneur Morris” and the profits arising from sales of the work were to belong in equal shares to Mrs. Morris and Mr. Sparks, while the business of providing for publication devolved upon the editor.

1. The very next day after the contract was signed, Mr.

Sparks went out to Morrisania and arranged for the removal of the Morris papers. Mr. Sparks brought a large part of them with him to New York, and all the remaining manuscripts were soon safely transferred to Boston, where, within a year, three volumes were prepared by him for the press of Gray & Bowen, who published the entire work in 1832. The first of the three volumes is devoted to a biography of Gouverneur Morris. The second and third volumes contain selections from his correspondence and miscellaneous papers, detailing events in the American and French revolutions, with various speeches delivered in the Senate of the United States, observations on American politics, finance, etc.

Mr. Sparks derived considerable information regarding the life of Gouverneur Morris from men who had known him; for example, Dr. David Hosack, General Morgan Lewis, and M. Leray de Chaumont. The archives of the State of New York were consulted by the painstaking biographer, and an extensive correspondence with James Madison, Lafayette, and others was undertaken. The facts and suggestions which he received from Madison¹ were of great historical value, as may be seen in the letter written at Montpelier, April 8, 1831, and printed in the first volume (pp. 284-286) of Sparks' "Life of Gouverneur Morris."² Madison lent Sparks a rare pamphlet containing Morris' address to the Pennsylvania Assembly on the abolition of the Bank of North America, and supplied important information regarding the various plans of government proposed at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, where Gouverneur Morris gave the finishing touches to our present Constitution.

¹ For other letters addressed to Mr. Sparks by James Madison, see the "Writings of Madison." Copies of letters were evidently contributed by Mr. Sparks to that work. The originals are still preserved among the Sparks papers.

² Printed also in the "Writings of Madison," iv.

An illustration of Mr. Sparks' method of inquiry is afforded by the following letter to James Madison, written from New York, March 30, 1831: "Having recently engaged to write a Life of Gouverneur Morris, which is to be published with a selection from his writings, I take the liberty to apply to you for a few hints respecting the part he acted in the convention of 1787. From several quarters I have understood that he was an active member, and had a good deal of weight and influence, but the published account of that convention is so meagre, such a very skeleton of dry bones, with hardly a sinew, muscle, or ligature to tell that it was once a living thing, that it is impossible to ascertain from it the relative standing or prevailing views of any member.

"Was Morris with Hamilton on the prominent doctrines of the Constitution, or did he incline to the more democratic side? Was he a frequent speaker and an efficient member? Was he the author of any of the important features of the Constitution? Did he set forth any particular views, which he labored to enforce and establish?

"I have been told by several persons, who professed to know the fact, that the Constitution in its present form and language is from his pen; that is, after all debates were finished and each particular had been adopted in substance, the instrument was then put into his hands to be wrought into proper phraseology and style. His friends here are in the habit of thinking that much is due to him for the clear, simple, and expressive language in which the Constitution is clothed. . . .

"You will doubtless excuse me for troubling you with the above questions, since there is no other source, written or unwritten, to which I can apply for information, and since the world has become so curious to know all that pertains to the origin and history of the Constitution. Whatever you may think proper to communicate on this

subject, I trust will be used with discretion. In touching on that part of Mr. Morris' life, I shall take an opportunity to speak of the convention according to such light as I shall possess.

“Many of Mr. Morris' papers are curious and interesting, particularly those written in France, and other parts of Europe. Among them is a diary in twelve volumes. All his papers are now in my hands, and the work will be ready for the press in the coming summer, and published before any part of Washington's papers. There will probably be three volumes. His political dogmas will accord but little with the tone of public feeling at the present day, but the mass of his papers will make a valuable addition to our historical literature.”

No one can examine Mr. Sparks' correspondence without being impressed with his remarkable skill and success in hunting down historical facts. He was ambitious to collect all existing material relating to any subject under historical consideration. He brought together concerning Gouverneur Morris, from a variety of sources, such a thesaurus of positive and well-arranged information, as students of American history can nowhere discover outside of Sparks' life of this American statesman.

Mr. Sparks' view of editorial duty regarding the life and writings of Gouverneur Morris is clearly indicated in the following letter to Mrs. Morris, to whom he wrote from Boston, August 27, 1831, after a careful examination of all of the Morris family papers: “On my return yesterday, after an absence of several days, I had the pleasure to find three letters from you, and also a parcel forwarded by Mr. King. In one of yours was inclosed a letter from M. Leray de Chaumont to you, in which he suggests several topics which he thinks ought to be discussed in the biography of Mr. Morris.

“After reading through all Mr. Morris' papers, I

have found nothing which detracts from his honor, his integrity, or his just intentions, either in his political course or affairs of business. On the contrary, I have met with innumerable evidences of his noble and generous spirit, disinterestedness, and upright purpose. That a man so eminent for his talents, so elevated in station, so decided in his opinions, and so open and bold in expressing them, should be assailed by calumny uttered in the bitterness of party feeling, is no more than might be expected. Such has been the common lot of the most virtuous and the most prudent under similar circumstances. The scenes of his life were various, and, both from his great abilities and his public character, he was a conspicuous mark for the shafts of envy, and such as would be likely to excite the suspicion of misguided jealousy, as well as the detraction of ignorant malice. That he received an ample share of all these awards of greatness may not be doubted, and that he deserved them as little as any man placed in a like situation I fully believe.

“It is a question in my mind, however, whether it is expedient to go into a discussion of these topics to any greater length than the exigency of the case absolutely requires. It must be remembered that Mr. Morris was a public man, and that his life is to be written for the nation and for posterity. His public acts and distinguished services are to be engraved on the tablets of history, and held in perpetual remembrance. The slanders against him are already unknown to the present generation, and nearly if not quite forgotten by those who remain of the last. Is it worth while to revive, for the sake of confuting them? I think not. The prominent traits of his character I would neither conceal nor obscure, but slanders that are forgotten may be allowed to sleep. The early dissensions of his family, the evanescent feuds of party politics, and the enmities of the malicious or the

harsh judgments of the misinformed, which embittered his declining years, are subjects of so personal and private a nature, and with which the public has so little concern, that I am induced to believe that they should be touched upon lightly and briefly. It would be impossible to explain such matters without descending to details often uninteresting, seldom dignified, and perhaps never important; and unless they can be fully explained it is better to pass them over. In some of Mr. Morris' letters he expresses in the clearest terms his happiness in his domestic relations, and these I shall print in their order.

"Any papers which Mr. Leray may send I shall be glad to receive, as well as any others which may throw additional light on the subject. It is my intention to present, with as much accuracy as my judgment and the materials in my possession will admit, a narrative of the principal events of Mr. Morris' life, and an exposition of his opinions, equally avoiding extravagant eulogy on the one hand and captious criticisms on the other. How far I shall succeed in this attempt must be left for time to unfold."

The completion of this work is recorded in Sparks' journal, January 1, 1832: "For the last four months I have been busily employed in writing a Life of Gouverneur Morris, and preparing his papers for the press. The work is now in the printer's hands. The two last volumes, containing the selections from his papers, are printed; the first, containing the memoir, is nearly through the press. A great part of the labor has consisted in reading and arranging Mr. Morris' manuscripts, which were in confusion."

Mr. Sparks' "Life of Gouverneur Morris" was favorably noticed in the "North American Review" for April, 1832. It was there said of him: "He has brought to his task so much of intelligent research, so much historical

anecdote, and rich and various illustration, that his work is of real, as it will be of lasting value."

The editorial labors of Mr. Sparks were satisfactory to the Morris family,¹ when the work first appeared. Thomas Morris wrote to Jared Sparks from New York, November 20, 1831: "I have waited until the arrival of the books which you have had the kindness to present to me, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22d of October. Having procured them yesterday from Mr. Bliss, I now beg leave to tender you my thanks for them, and to express to you the satisfaction I have derived from the manner in which you have presented to the public the letters of my late father. You will be pleased to retain the manuscripts which I loaned to you as long as they can be of any service to you, and only to return them when they may be of no further use to you."

The "Life of Gouverneur Morris" did not prove a financial success. In answer to a letter of inquiry from another son, bearing the same Christian name as his father, Gouverneur, Mr. Sparks wrote, November 26, 1839, that he had never received anything for his labor in writing the Morris biography and editing the papers, beyond the cost of copying and other incidentals originally defrayed by the editor. He said that when the publishers had convinced him that they had made nothing from the work, he relinquished all claim to compensation for copyright. Mrs. Morris received one thousand dollars from

¹ Miss Anne Cary Morris, a granddaughter of Gouverneur Morris, has written two articles in "Scribner's Magazine," January and February, 1887, based upon her grandfather's diary in France, and has since published "The Diary and Letters of Gouverneur Morris," in two volumes, an entertaining and valuable contribution to the history of French society and of the French Revolution. Miss Morris criticises Mr. Sparks for sins of omission. Her grandfather would perhaps have suppressed the whole diary. At least, Mrs. Gouverneur Morris gave Mr. Sparks that impression.

the publishers, who had given her certain promissory notes, as agreed in their contract with Mr. Sparks. The firm was subsequently dissolved, and what was left of the edition of the "Life of Gouverneur Morris" was forced upon the market at a low price.

The work, however, remains a valuable contribution to American and to French history. Students cannot dispense with it, and its substantial collection of original materials. De Tocqueville, who, as may be shown, obtained much of his knowledge of American democracy from his friend and correspondent, Jared Sparks, interested himself, in 1837, in the project of a French translation of the "Life of Gouverneur Morris." This translation was made by M. Augustin Gandais, of Paris, and was there published in two volumes. Some omissions were made in the case of matters of purely American or local interest, and certain valuable notes were added. Mr. Sparks wrote to the translator, June 1, 1842, expressing himself as perfectly satisfied with the adaptation of his work to the needs of a French public. Very extensive use of this French version of the "Life and Writings of Gouverneur Morris" ¹ was made by Taine in his "History of the French Revolution." Thus, directly or indirectly, the early labors and useful collections of Mr. Sparks have entered into the historical literature of two republics.

Mr. Sparks received the following letter from Lafayette, who wrote from La Grange, June 17, 1832, concerning Gouverneur Morris: "I have with affectionate gratitude received the copies of your diplomatic publica-

¹ A writer on "Gouverneur Morris and the French Revolution," in "Macmillan's Magazine" for November, 1885, says Morris was one of "the four men whom M. Taine has distinguished as the most competent observers of the French Revolution." The title of the French translation of Mr. Sparks' work was "Mémorial de Gouverneur Morris, par J. Sparks, avec Annotations par A. Gandais."

tion, and the 'Life of Gouverneur Morris.' In the first of these works I feel myself under great obligations to you for the share you have allotted to my correspondence. It has recalled to me pleasant remembrance. I am going to read my late friend's transactions, as the book is just come to hand, but could not help perusing here and there some leaves. My intimacy with him dates from the time when he was sent as a commissioner from Congress to Valley Forge, at a time of cabal against my paternal friend, who had cause to be well satisfied with him. He has ever since been most friendly to me, and to that personal kindness I was under great obligation for my family and myself at the time of my proscription and the dangers of my wife under Jacobinical tyranny. But it was an unfortunate circumstance that his British constitutional prejudices led him to become a bad adviser to the French court, who, catching at everything that might confirm them in their opposition to the more recent and seasonable principles of 1789, were happy to have it from the representative of the United States that his republican friend Lafayette was noted, even in America, to be an exaggerated democrat. I see he finds fault with my attributing our release from captivity rather to the triumphs of the French commonwealth, to the orders of their government and the exertions of their commissioners, victorious Bonaparte at the head of them, to make it a point on the part of France with the court of Austria before the signature of the preliminaries, while he lays it wholly upon the weight of his own conversation with Baron de Thugut. The fact is, that those coalesced powers did me the honor to consider my existence as a danger to their aristocracies and despotisms; and after the fury of the Jacobins and my opposition to it had put me in the hands of my natural enemies, they had long flattered themselves to dispose of my head on a French scaffold, and, being disappointed in

the expectation, they passed me to each other with a determination to let me die in a dungeon; nor can I deny that what has since happened does in some measure justify their policy. You have seen by the documents in your hands that President Washington, the American Ministers, one of them being sent on purpose to Berlin, were not remiss in their efforts, but they were during five years put off with compliments and lies, and, the very month before we were let out, the Austrian ambassadors announced to the French commissioners, Bonaparte and Clarke, that we were actually at liberty, which Napoleon, with his usual sagacity, judged to be an imposture to prevent its being insisted upon before the signature of the preliminaries, and so he sent an officer, my former aide-de-camp, to Vienna, where it was settled we should be delivered over to the American consul at Hamburg, on condition he should promise, in writing, his endeavors to *persuade* me to leave Europe and go over to the United States, — an engagement I had refused to take. I was not the less grateful to my American fellow-citizens, to their exertions in my behalf, and particularly those of my friend, Gouverneur Morris. I am proud to think they had a favorable effect on my crowned jailers; nor was I disposed to pay my liberation by French influence with an assent to the arbitrary measures of the eighteenth Fructidor. But it must be acknowledged that, had not the victories of France insured the success of a negotiation which lasted five months, and in which Napoleon has often publicly declared he found more difficulties and reluctance than in any other demand he had to make upon them, I would not have the pleasure to write these lines from my quiet abode of La Grange.

“I see, my dear friend, you are going to enter upon the great work of Washington’s memoirs and correspondence. The documents I have put in your hands are much at your

service, and so will be any others you may be pleased to ask. You have received my letters stating, as Mr. Low will have confirmed it to you, that the French archives are at your disposal. I wish it might induce you to take another trip to France.

“As to the present state of Europe, particularly of this country, public papers will have informed you of the progress of liberty since our Parisian revolution of 1830, although at the very source of this great movement of European civilization we have met unexpected disappointments. What I have personally thought of these circumstances, here and abroad, you will have seen in my observations at the national tribune, and an address of last year to my constituents. It has lately happened that amidst the more patriotic manifestations of assent to our opposition principles, and personal affection to me, given by more than a hundred thousand citizens at the burial of General Lamarque, the sudden appearance of a red cap upon a red flag, the detested symbol, in France, of the times of '93, and an affray between some citizens and dragoons, have been the signal of a lamentable riot, suppressed by an armed force immensely superior. It has become the occasion, or rather the pretense, of measures so very heterogeneous to the letter, spirit, and engagements of the Revolution of July, that my disapprobation of the adopted system, under the name of the 13th of March, although it has been earlier, that more secretly aimed at, could not but be greater than ever. You know, my dear sir, that, considering the situation, prejudices, and inadequate information and habits of this country, I have in 1830, as I had done in 1789, considered the erecting a popular throne, surrounded with institutions wholly republican, as the least improper mode of government that might now be adopted in France. Should the conduct of this republican monarchy give a second instance of the

impossibilities of such an alliance, it will be to the detriment of the monarchical part of the system, and the advancement of a more complete republic, which a sincere disciple of the American school could but consider as the highest degree of political civilization.

“You must by this time know that the *doctrinaire* party, ever remarched within the sophistical circle of their contracted ideas, and great admirers of British principles, obsolete as they begin to be in Great Britain itself, have constantly labored to restore the Revolution of July to the narrow limits of the Restoration, and make of it, to use M. Guizot’s expression, a *quasi* Restoration and *quasi* legitimacy. There has been, of course, between them and me a wide political breach, and on the part of some of them, namely, Guizot, a pretty good dose, I think, of personal rancor. This makes me rather an improper intermediary for the arrangement we had contemplated, although it may give him more merit in the impartiality of his selections, — an anticipation of which I do not allow myself to be a judge.

“Permit me to refer you, in everything relating to Poland, to my friend, Dr. Howe, who, by his exertions in their behalf, has done great honor to himself and to the American name. The cause of that heroic, unfortunate people shall, I don’t doubt, be ably and benevolently pleaded in the ‘North American Review.’

“I beg you, my dear sir, to present my best regards to our friends, and believe me most affectionately

“Your sincere and obliged friend,

“LAFAYETTE.”

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Regarding the French translation of Sparks’ “Life of Gouverneur Morris,” the changes and adaptations made for the French public; and the relations of Lafayette and

Morris, the following letter to Mr. Sparks from M. Gandais, Paris, December 11, 1841, is not without interest: "Comme vous m'avez vu commencer ma traduction de votre 'Life of Gouverneur Morris,' permettez moi de vous en offrir un exemplaire. Quoiqu'il n'y ait encore que six semaines que ce livre a paru, cependant il me semble avoir déjà fait sensation. J'aurais voulu joindre à mon envoi quelques compte-rendus de journaux impartiaux, mais, jusqu'à présent ce n'est encore que l'esprit de parti qui a parlé dans la presse. Vous savez combien l'esprit de parti exploite l'occasion. Puis les colonnes de nos journaux sont remplies des diverses procédures contre les sociétés secrètes. Il faut donc attendre.

"Je crains que vous ne soyez pas content de mon travail. Je me suis permis de retrancher de votre livre plusieurs parties importantes; telles que la négociation en Angleterre (au 2e volume) et tout ce qui concerne Morris comme membre du sénat. J'ai réduit l'ouvrage à deux volumes; encore ai-je abrégé les premiers chapitres comme ayant trait à l'histoire politique de New York. Il m'a semblé que des détails sur une simple localité paraîtraient un peu pâles après la vie de Washington où le lecteur trouve tout ce qui peut satisfaire sa curiosité sur le grand œuvre de la Révolution américaine. Néanmoins j'ai fait en sorte que mes coups de scalpel ne nuisissent point au principal personnage. J'espère avoir réussi!

"Mais une chose dans laquelle vous me trouverez sans doute bien plus coupable, ce que vous aurez davantage de peine à me pardonner, c'est la sévérité que j'ai montrée envers l'illustre général Lafayette. Je l'avoue, je n'ai que me défendre d'un vif sentiment d'indignation en voyant l'ingratitude de cet homme vis à vis de Morris, à qui lui et sa famille eurent tant d'obligation! Malheureuse politique! Elle étouffe les sentiments les plus naturels au cœur de l'homme, la reconnaissance et l'amitié!

“Du reste, si comme Américain, la vénération que vous conservez pour l'officier dont les efforts unis à ceux de vos compatriotes conquièrent l'indépendance du nouveau monde, vous porte à me blâmer, j'ai encore l'espoir que comme admirateur de Morris et son historien, je trouverai auprès de vous sympathie et indulgence, puisque c'est surtout à l'intérêt qu'inspire sous votre plume le Ministre américain que s'est allumé, mon ressentiment contre notre grand révolutionnaire.

“Quoique j'aie enrichi ma publication d'un grand nombre de notes, la plupart biographiques, je compte peu sur le débit de ma traduction aux États Unis. Morris était fédéraliste, et il y a longtemps que cette opinion politique est tombée parmi vous dans le discrédit ; mais il est possible que par contrecoups, l'apparition de mon livre fasse vendre le vôtre en Europe. Tout le monde, à peu près, possédant aujourd'hui la langue anglaise, on préférera avec raison apprécier le mérite de l'ouvrage dans l'auteur lui-même. S'il devait en être ainsi, Monsieur, ma conscience se trouverait soulagée d'un grand poids, car je regarderais cela comme un dédommagement au mal que j'ai pu vous faire, ce n'est pas moi qui le dis le premier, c'est le proverbe italien : ‘ *traduttore, traditore.*’

“Agréez l'assurance de la haute considération et du respect avec lequel j'ai l'honneur d'être. . . .

“P. S. — Des curieux sont venus me demander si je pouvais produire les originaux des deux lettres du Duc d'Orléans. Je ne serais pas fâché de posséder quelques autographes de Morris. S'il vous était possible de vous en dessaisir de quelques uns en ma faveur, vous ne sauriez me faire un plus grand plaisir.”

Jared Sparks to M. Augustin Gandais, Boston, June 1, 1842: “I ought long ago to have acknowledged the receipt of your kind letter, and the two volumes of your

translation of the 'Life of Gouverneur Morris.' I am under great obligations to you for the pains you have taken to bring this work before the French public. Morris was, on many accounts, a remarkable man. At an early age he acted a conspicuous and able part in the American Revolution, and he was one of the principal agents in forming the present Constitution of the United States. His observations on the events that were passing around him, while he was Minister in France, are acute and discriminating; and the opinions expressed in his letters, respecting the probable issue of the French Revolution, seem almost prophetic.

"The manner in which you have executed the translation is satisfactory to me in every particular. The omissions I think judicious, and such as were required to adapt the work to your purpose. The details of local incidents in America could not be interesting to a European reader. The same may be said of such letters as relate chiefly to the temporary politics of the United States. The parties which prevailed in Mr. Morris' time have long since passed away, or are so entirely changed as to retain but a shadow of their original characteristics. Principles are permanent. The principles of Federalism were conservative, and there is still a conservative party in the United States, as distinguished from the more democratic; and these two parties, with various modifications, will always exist in every free government.

"I shall not complain of your sentiments concerning General Lafayette. Every man is entitled to his opinions, and has a right to express them. The memory of Lafayette will ever be cherished with veneration in America. His services to us in the War of Independence, and his steady attachment to the cause of freedom and the best interests of humanity through a long life, have made an impression on the hearts of the Americans which cannot be

obliterated. His delinquency to Mr. Morris I shall not attempt to extenuate. Perhaps the charge of ingratitude, however, is too strong. It may be applied with more force and justice to the Duke of Orleans, who, notwithstanding the many obligations which he and his family had been under to Mr. Morris, did not even write to him for several years before his death; and although he at last paid the money which Mr. Morris had generously advanced to relieve him in his distresses, yet it was paid tardily, if not reluctantly, and without any expression of thanks or token of acknowledgment.

“Allow me again to assure you, sir, that I am not only well pleased, but perfectly satisfied, with the work as it has come from your hands. Your notes are valuable, and I only regret that I could not have profited by them in preparing the original edition for the press.

“In compliance with your request, I inclose a letter in the handwriting of Gouverneur Morris. The original letters of the Duke of Orleans are now in the possession of Mr. Morris’ son, who resides at Morrisania, and who inherited his father’s estates. . . .

“P. S. — There is a slight error in the note, which mentions the *soubriquet* of Dr. Franklin. He was not called Doctor till after he had received the degree of Doctor of Laws at St. Andrews, in Scotland. The same degree was also conferred on him by the University of Oxford.”

Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, a recent biographer of Gouverneur Morris, says the value of Mr. Sparks’ work “comes wholly from the matter.” That point is surely of some consequence in these latter days when the value of historical writing is determined by its substance of truth rather than by mere attractions of style or by romantic embellishments. History is not written for the sake of

the narrative, but for the facts in the case. Mr. Roosevelt says Mr. Sparks "collected with great industry facts about Mr. Morris, and edited a large number of his letters and state papers, with numerous selections, not always well chosen, from his diary." Mrs. Morris had told Mr. Sparks that her husband did not wish to have his diary printed. Mr. Sparks thought that some discretion in this matter was a part of his editorial duty. Selections from a private diary, or from personal letters, repetitions of bad grammar, oaths, and piquant expressions, are sometimes matters of taste. Mr. Sparks had his own standards of literary judgment, which doubtless varied from those of the present generation of writers and editors; but why should we quarrel with our predecessors, or with any of the pioneers in American historical literature? One might as well quarrel with Daniel Boone or Elder Brewster. Let us take men and things as we find them, and not disparage the "dignity of history" or editorial duty as conceived by men of the old school.

Mr. Roosevelt says his predecessor "failed to understand that a biographer's duties are not necessarily identical with those of a professional eulogist."¹ The *facts* are what we want about men and events, or, as Ranke

¹ On this point, perhaps by way of anticipation, Mr. Sparks said, in his preface to the "Life of Gouverneur Morris:" "It has not been my aim to write a panegyric, to conceal defects, or emblazon good qualities, but rather to present traits of character, acts, and opinions, in their genuine light and just bearings, and leave them to make their proper impressions. Such is doubtless the legitimate purpose of biography. Indiscriminate eulogy is seldom sincere, never true, contributing little to accurate history, or to the stock of valuable knowledge either of men or things."

One of the most critical of modern historical writers, Ernest Renan, says, in the preface to his "Souvenirs," xxii.: "L'erreur le plus fâcheuse est de croire qu'on sert sa patrie en calomniant ceux qui l'ont fondée." This sentiment applies as truly to the writers as to the makers of a nation's history.

says, "just how it was" (*wie es eigentlich gewesen*). The world is not yet ready for final judgments. The evidence about George Washington or Jared Sparks is, perhaps, not all in. The twentieth century may demand a new trial, and some modification, if not a reversal, of old verdicts.

CHAPTER XIX.

“THE AMERICAN ALMANAC” AND THE “LIBRARY OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY.”

THE AMERICAN ALMANAC.

SOON after his return from Europe, in 1829, Mr. Sparks formed a plan for the publication of a statistical annual, to be called “The American Almanac.” He issued to friends, correspondents, and influential persons in various parts of the country a circular letter, dated June 23, 1829, proposing a periodical which should contain in compact form a statistical account of the progress of the United States. He asked for information upon such topics as internal improvements, canals, railroads, public buildings, revenues, and expenditures of the individual States; names and pay of public officials, governors, judges, and representatives; character of public institutions, prisons, schools, and colleges; appropriations for education; banks; newspapers and periodicals; and “whatever else pertains to the practical economy of the several States, with a view of ascertaining and recording the comparative progress of States as well as that of the nation.” Mr. Sparks requested his correspondents to send him printed reports, documents, pamphlets, etc., which gave brief and close statements of fact, as well as such written communications as might seem practicable.

Considering the important enterprises which Mr. Sparks already had in hand, we cannot but wonder at the tireless energy which impelled him to undertake this new and laborious task. To edit successfully any respectable jour-

nal or magazine involves some labor and patience; but to assume the sole responsibility for an American statistical journal, at a time when the science of statistics was hardly known in this country, certainly required remarkable industry and no inconsiderable courage. Mr. Sparks' editorial experience was greater and his standard was higher than that of many of his American contemporaries. He had for seven years conducted the "North American Review," then the best magazine in the Western world. He had taken that review when it was greatly depressed financially and threatened by fresh competitors, like the "American Quarterly Review," which was started in Philadelphia, in 1827. In Mr. Sparks' hands the old "North American" had nearly doubled in value, and surpassed in every way its younger rivals. At the time he undertook to edit "The American Almanac," he was still chief proprietor of the above magazine. Probably its system of exchanges and its wide-reaching connections proved of great practical service in collecting materials for the new periodical.

In the preface to the first volume of "The American Almanac," Mr. Sparks defined its main object as "utility." He desired to collect within the smallest compass the greatest amount of useful and practical information upon topics of public interest. The first and second parts of his work were devoted to the calendar, eclipses, tides, and such astronomical matter as usually finds place in almanacs. The third part contained selections from Washington's "Agricultural Notes and Journals" and from the writings of Benjamin Franklin, together with essays on sanitation, etc. The fourth part was devoted to statistical matters relating to foreign countries. There were tables of population, families, houses, lands, canals, roads, revenues, expenditures, trade, finance, manufactures, etc. The fifth part, the largest portion of the

work, was given to the statistics of the United States, which Mr. Sparks treated from an historical point of view. He included colonial and Revolutionary statistics, together with tables illustrating the administrative and economic history of the United States. He gave lists of officials and statements regarding the finances, commerce, public lands, Indians, post-office, coinage, patents, army and navy, internal improvements, population, education, and religion. He reviewed the statistics of each individual State with reference to such matters as finance, taxation, education, local government, etc. The "Almanac" gave in conclusion a chronicle of the events of the year.

The plan of Mr. Sparks was broad and comprehensive, but there were many difficulties in the way of carrying it out. Communication was not easy with remote States, and his correspondents were often remiss in supplying needed information. The editor hoped for better things in coming years. "It is presumed," he said, "that the States, for their own convenience, will gradually adopt regulations for collecting and embodying particulars of this sort, and then the task of condensing and combining them into a single work will be comparatively easy." He appreciated the historical significance of statistics. "It will be seen," he said, "that a great deal of matter in this volume is of a permanent character, suited for reference at any future day, as well as for use in the passing year. *Facts* are unchangeable in their nature, and, when once recorded, their value is never lost. The method of tabular views, for communicating certain kinds of knowledge, has immense advantages over any other in presenting, at a single glance of the eye, a mass of information that would be expanded over many pages if exhibited in any other form." Mr. Sparks suggested summaries of congressional and state legislation, and statistics regarding the establishment or progress of institutions, whether

of charity, religion, or education. He foresaw that a comparison of such legislative and social statistics would serve as a guide for intelligent action by law-makers and philanthropists.

Mr. Sparks prepared all the statistical information for the first issue of the "Almanac" in the year 1830. The astronomical essays were written by Professor Farrar, and the calculations were made by Mr. R. T. Paine. It is interesting to reflect that Mr. Sparks' early interest in astronomy had by no means died out. It found renewed expression in "The American Almanac," which combined the natural predilections of his boyhood with his acquired knowledge of American economic history and statistics. We see the mathematical bent of his mind in his fondness for exact information, for concrete facts and numerical statements. If Jared Sparks had not been led by the force of circumstances to become an editor and historical biographer, he might have been a good statistician. He had a natural genius for truth in the form of Arabic numerals, perhaps the most enduring of all forms of historic statement.¹ When critics find fault with the colorless style of Mr. Sparks, they should remember the mathematical tendency of his mind. When it comes to a question of accuracy of statement, to simple matters of fact, critics might as well differ with Euclid as with Jared Sparks.

There were published three thousand copies of the first issue of "The American Almanac." The sale was rapid, and beyond even the expectations of the editor. The labor of preparing the work for the press was so exacting, the difficulty of procuring statistics from the individual States was so great, and his other literary undertakings became so pressing, that Mr. Sparks felt compelled to dis-

¹ See abstract of Carroll D. Wright's address in "Papers of American Historical Association," vol. iii. 202.

pose of his half interest in "The American Almanac"¹ to Professor Farrar, who continued the enterprise, which proved highly successful from a public, as well as from a financial, point of view. Jared Sparks was a pioneer in this statistical enterprise, the first of a long series of publications devoted to the economic and institutional progress of the United States. "The American Almanac" anticipated many other annuals bearing that or similar names in this country. It preceded De Bow's "Commercial Review"² by a long period. Mr. Sparks' enterprise was continued for thirty-three years, and was finally superseded by the "National Almanac," 1863, by the "American Year-Book," 1869, and other annual publications of useful statistics.³

The idea of a government bureau of statistical information appears in the following extract from a letter to Jared Sparks from Francis Lieber, who wrote from Philadelphia, January 25, 1834: "I wish to inform you of yet another scheme I have in view. No one can know better than yourself that it is of great importance to the United States to collect in some way or other the statistics of this country. If it is important in all countries, — Prussia and France have already boards of statistics, and the British government have lately established something similar, — it is peculiarly so in this country on account of the character of those subjects on which government legislates, as well as on account of the character of our general government, which renders the col-

¹ "The American Almanac" continued to be published in Boston from 1830 to 1861. The "Boston Almanac" was begun in 1839.

² De Bow's "Commercial Review of the South and West." New Orleans and Washington, 1846-56, 1866-67. This work was sectional. Mr. Sparks' work was always national in spirit.

³ The "Whig Almanac" was begun in 1849, and was changed to the "Tribune Almanac" in 1856. Now many large newspapers have their annual almanacs of useful statistics.

lection of statistics peculiarly difficult. Mr. Livingston, when Secretary of State, was not even able to collect information as to the taxation of citizens of the United States. I have therefore in view to propose to Congress to make an appropriation for the collection of all possible materials useful in giving light in all matters connected with public economy and the statistics of the United States. I have a plan, how this is to be effected, in my mind. Persons of all parties to whom I have communicated it appeared to be much pleased with it, and promised to give it all support in their power. I shall proceed some time this winter to Washington, well harnessed with letters. What do you, knowing Congress well as to such matters, think of my plan? Do you think it feasible? And if so, can you give me any advice, direction, support? Will you give me letters? I have a very kind letter of introduction from Mr. Appleton to Mr. Clay, and shall ask Mr. Sergeant for one to Mr. Binney. I know Mr. McLane, Secretary of State, Mr. Woodbury, and Mr. Butler. Will it be necessary to write to Mr. Everett, and should I write to Mr. Ticknor to write to Mr. Webster about it? I would beg you not to mention anything about this affair to anybody in Boston or Washington until I go." Lieber's excellent idea bore no immediate fruit.

THE LIBRARY OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY.

In 1830, J. G. Flügel,¹ the lexicographer, one of Mr. Sparks' German correspondents, asked him if there was any such book in existence as a "Biographical Dictionary of Distinguished Americans." Mr. Sparks replied, July 12th, that there was nothing of the kind except the "Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Indepen-

¹ The son of Mr. Sparks' German friend has become Professor of English in the Leland Stanford, Jr., University, California.

dence," an expensive work, uninteresting to foreigners. He added that Mr. Walsh¹ once proposed writing the lives of famous Americans, but had given up the idea.

¹ In Mr. Walsh's "American Quarterly Review" for March, 1827, there is an article on "American Biography," with the following list of general biographical works published in this country before that date: (1.) "An American Biographical and Historical Dictionary," etc. By William Allen, A. M. Cambridge (Mass.), 1809. (2.) "A Biographical Dictionary, containing a Brief Account of the First Settlers, and other Eminent Characters in England." By John Eliot, D. D. (3.) Delaplaine's "Repository of the Lives and Portraits of Distinguished Americans." Philadelphia, 1817. (4.) "Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence." By John Sanderson. 6 vols. Philadelphia, 1820-24. (5.) "Biographical Sketches of Eminent Lawyers, Statesmen, and Men of Letters." By Samuel L. Knapp. Boston, 1821. (6.) "A New American Biographical Dictionary; or, Remembrancer of the Departed Heroes, Sages, and Statesmen of America." Compiled by Thomas J. Rodgers. Third edition. Easton (Penn.), 1824.

Mr. Walsh wrote to Mr. Sparks from Philadelphia, December 3, 1832: "I have just received your kind letter respecting the 'American Biographical Library' projected. The plan strikes me as very good. I ought to inform you, however, without delay, that several years ago I prepared a prospectus, and have ever since been collecting materials for an 'American Biographical Dictionary,' to be at the same time historical and bibliographical. Messrs. Carey & Lea undertook to publish it, but accepted or preferred in lieu of its immediate execution those *skeletons* of American lives which are inserted in the 'Encyclopædia Americana.' Three booksellers of repute have, at different times, made me liberal proposals for the Dictionary; but I have kept the enterprise within my own exclusive power. My collections are large, and a good part of them are original. Your plan and mine are not incompatible; but if I should proceed to the completion of mine, it may not be in my power to contribute the sketch for which you ask. I should prefer the life of Morris to that of Brown; but *you* are the person to handle Morris. Judge Hopkinson would do justice to Hamilton."

To this letter Mr. Sparks replied, December 26, 1832: "I was not before aware that you had in view a 'Biographical Dictionary' of so extensive a kind, though I knew you had been collecting materials for some work of that sort. But in any event our two plans can in

The first definite mention of Mr. Sparks' project for a series of books devoted to American biography appears in his journal for July 28, 1832. He then wrote: "I have been thinking of a project for a new publication, to be entitled 'A Library of American Biography.' The purpose is to select some of the most prominent lives, from the first settlement of the country down to the present time, taking them at such dates that they will not interfere with each other by running over the same events. The series will thus serve as in some degree a connected history of the country, as well as to illustrate the character and acts of some of the most illustrious men of the nation. The lives are to be written by the most competent hands that can be engaged. A volume is to appear from time to time as it can be got in readiness, without any regard to the order of dates, or to the peculiar characteristics of individuals. It seems to me that such a work would be valuable, and well suited to the present reading taste in the United States. I should write the lives of Washington and Franklin, and perhaps of some others. The plan is yet to be matured."

no way interfere. Indeed, I think, if mine should meet with success, that it will contribute essential aid to your undertaking by bringing materials within your reach. My plan makes no approach to a dictionary, which must, from its nature, be methodical, proportionate in its parts, and uniform in its character; whereas my project of a biographical library contemplates only a series of lives written in such order as they can be obtained, and by such persons as can be enlisted. It will be my chief aim to engage such writers as will do justice to the part they undertake, both in regard to the literary execution and the accuracy of facts. The merit of the affair must depend chiefly on these two points; and for this reason I want the contributions (long or short, as the case may be) of gentlemen who are competent to stamp it with this character. I shall depend on you, therefore, not only to regard the undertaking with favor, but to lend it as much aid as your other engagements will permit. I wish you would write a life of Robert Morris. Should this be too long, take a shorter sketch of some other name."

Here is projected the historical and biographical work which was to occupy Jared Sparks during the remaining years of his literary activity. The idea of a Library of American Biography was encouraged by Mr. Sparks' friends and correspondents. George Bancroft wrote him from Northampton, November 28, 1832, making valuable suggestions regarding historical characters in western Massachusetts: "It is certainly right that Hawley's¹ his-

¹ Regarding this excellent project and his own historical pursuits, George Bancroft wrote again to Jared Sparks from Northampton, April 27, 1833: "I have arranged my manuscripts relating to Major Hawley, and it will be my fault if they do not furnish a basis for a concise but not uninteresting narrative. I shall write no panegyric, but I shall write the truth. A single reason only exists why I cannot be ready for you in July: I need carefully to consult the journals of the House of Representatives during the sessions in which Hawley was present. In one of the most important ones he was the acknowledged leader of the Liberal party. I need also to obtain copies of some writings of his, published in the "Evening Post," and to which I have found references in his papers. So I must defer finishing this little sketch till I have all these materials together. Next November I design to repair to Boston, to rub off my rusticity by a two months' residence in the Athens of New England.

"History thrives. I am determined to spare neither expense nor labor to be accurate. You will be pleased with the researches I have fearlessly undertaken. I am by degrees getting clear insight into the old times, and sometimes discover errors even in Chalmers. . . .

"Spring is opening on the Connecticut in great magnificence. The promise of fruit is exceedingly fine: the side hill is pink with the blossoms of the peach, and the warm sun of two or three days would open the pear. I wish you could give me by and by a visit of a week, and feel how quiet is the air of the country, and see how fine a little girl is growing up in my house, and getting old enough to know her father and smile as he caresses her.

"May 1. The pear opened yesterday and the day before. The fields are splendid with the richest blossoms; the side hills are richly set with pink and white, the blossoms of the peach and the pear and cherry."

This letter gives us a charming glimpse of the young American

tory should be told. But for him, Old Hampshire would have stood less firm in the hours of trial; he was the soul of the Whigs in the West. General Pomeroy, who was at Louisburg and Bunker Hill, who killed Dieskau, and died himself a martyr to our independence, merits a concise commemoration: but the chief favorite with me will be Jonathan Edwards. When he was banished to West Stockbridge, he was so wretchedly poor that it required the addition of the pious industry of his daughters to support his household; moreover, he was so cut off from English society that his young children grew up speaking Indian better than they did English: and under such circumstances, in a frontier station on the outside of this outside of the world, he wrote his treatise on the Will. His passion to connect himself with the civilized world increased in intensity with the difficulties which surrounded him, and his book is the most elaborate and convincing ever written on the subject; dry, if you please, but clear as amber; shrinking from no legitimate inferences. I confess I admire the Jansenist Pascal and the Calvinist Edwards. So, then, a biography of Edwards, written without any of the cant of theology, explaining, *en philosophe*, his qualities as a scholar and a metaphysician, and detailing his career, full of misfortunes, as a man, shall be my beginning with you, with a short sketch about Hawley and Pomeroy. Are you content? I have piles of MSS.

“Walsh gave me a chance to review Morris’ life: I did not, but if I had, I should have made a public call on you to write the life of Franklin. Gain the glory of being the vindicator of his fame to all posterity. . . . Defend in a permanent form the honor which has been

historian, who was then living upon Round Hill, at Northampton, which Jenny Lind called “the Paradise of America.” See “New England Magazine,” May, 1892.

wantonly assailed by the invidious. John Adams sowed the seeds of calumny respecting Franklin ; it will be an act of some merit to root out all the crop of slanderous imputations. Let me hear from you. Your letters to me are to one who will ever wish you happiness founded on a rock. A young friend of mine, a man of fine mind, good taste, and honest industry, will take great pains with a life of the Pequod warrior, or some other antiquity, provided you will furnish him with materials. He could write at once like a man of sense, and with spirit. And, by the way, do not admit any job-work into your series. Let it be a series of works written in a fine fit of enthusiasm."¹

Edward Everett wrote from Charlestown, Massachusetts, November 18, 1832 : " I like the plan of your biography very much, and should be willing to engage as a contributor to it. I think I can promise to contribute a volume by this time twelvemonth. I should not like to engage for Hamilton till I am sure the family biography

¹ Mr. Bancroft never made any actual contribution to the " Library of American Biography," but he was for many years one of Mr. Sparks' most sympathetic correspondents. The two men began their historical work together, and went their individual ways. Both had high ideals of the value of American history. Bancroft wrote Sparks from Northampton, August 22, 1834 : " The people of the United States will by degrees learn that theirs is a history worth knowing. At present, commerce and the operations of business engross attention ; and as the end of commerce is in the merchant to make money, he desires to have legislation and everything else subordinate to that exalted purpose. It is time to counteract this exclusive tendency of the national genius. We must protect these merchants, but not be governed by them. A vein of public feeling, of democratic independence, of popular liberty, ought to be infused into our literature. Let Mammon rule in the marts, but not on the holy mountain of letters. The rich ought not to be flattered ; let truth, let humanity speak through the public journals and through American literature."

will have appeared, that I may have the benefit of the documents. I suppose Irving would be willing to re-bridge his 'Columbus.' You know I have already done something about a life of Franklin. This I reserve to myself, as I propose to execute it on a plan not wholly in unison with yours. I will let you know seasonably what life I will undertake."

John Quincy Adams wrote from Washington, December 1, 1832: "Your project of publishing a 'Library of American Biography' has my hearty approbation, and should have my coöperation were I in a condition to write the life of any other person while that of my father is upon my hands. I am not, and should be particularly unable to furnish a life of Samuel Adams within the time specified by you. I know little more of Samuel Adams than what is contained in the 'Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence,' but I have heard that his grandson, Mr. Samuel Adams Welles, has a voluminous life of him written and in preparation for the press. Mr. Welles might have the most authentic materials, but the great difficulty in obtaining a proper life of Samuel Adams would be to find an impartial pen. The 'Lives of the Signers' are all eulogies. Is it intended that your 'Library of Biography' should be so?"

Mr. Sparks explained his matured plan for the "Library of American Biography" in the advertisement, or preface, printed in the first volume, 1834. He said the design was to add something to the stock of American literature in the field of biography. He disclaimed the idea of a biographical dictionary, such as had been proposed by Mr. Walsh, of Philadelphia. The plan was rather for a series of select biographies, suited to the opportunity and inclination of chosen writers. Mr. Sparks wisely counted upon the peculiar interest of certain men in certain subjects. He recognized the fact that the

length and character of each biography must depend in great measure upon the amount of available materials and the author's power of narration.

"The two principal objects to be attained," said Mr. Sparks, "in biographical compositions, are accuracy as to facts, and finish in the literary execution. The former demands research, the latter labor and skill. Biography is only another form of history; truth is the first requisite, simplicity of style the next. It admits of no embellishments that would give it the air of fiction; and yet its office is but half done unless it mingles entertainment with instruction."

The editor of the "Library of American Biography" proposed to include in his series the lives of distinguished men from the discovery of the New World down to his own day. Mr. Sparks was of the opinion that such a series of biographies would really present "a perfect history of the country, of its social and political progress, its arts, sciences, literature, and improvements of every kind; since these receive their impulse and direction from a comparatively few eminent individuals, whose achievements of thought and action it is the province of the biographer to commemorate." He relied for the fulfillment of his noble and comprehensive purpose on the coöperation of many eminent and practiced American writers, whose names will presently be given in connection with the chosen biographical subjects.

Mr. Sparks at first proposed to issue annually four small duodecimo volumes. His original idea was plainly that of a biographical quarterly, in book form. The connection, therefore, is clearly apparent between this new literary enterprise and Mr. Sparks' previous editorial work upon serials like the "North American Review," the "Unitarian Miscellany," "Essays and Tracts in Theology," all of which were quarterly publications. Other engagements

on the part of the editor, and the convenience of his staff of writers, made it impracticable to issue volumes in the "Library of American Biography" quite as rapidly as was originally proposed, but the first series of ten was completed between the years 1834 and 1838.

Mr. Sparks contracted with his Boston publishers,¹ Hilliard, Gray & Co., and was by them allowed seventy cents per duodecimo page, for the composition of the biog-

¹ The following extract from Sparks' journal, October 8, 1833, is of interest: "Began to print the first volume of the "Library of American Biography," which I have agreed with the publishers to conduct at least to the end of the fourth volume; they paying me one dollar for each 16mo page; and I granting them the privilege of printing 2,000 copies and no more. Should the work be continued beyond four volumes, we are to make new arrangements. I anticipate success for this work, if I can enlist writers of the proper stamp. To be valuable, the book must have literary merit and historical accuracy; and these two points I shall endeavor to secure."

George Bancroft showed great interest in the details of Mr. Sparks' plan, as will appear in the following extracts from a letter written in Northampton, September 27, 1833: "What is the precise nature of your contract with H. G. & Co.? Do you assume any pecuniary responsibility? Are you to be paid by the publishers for your own contributions, as other contributors? How large are the volumes to be by the contract? At what price to be sold? I should like to know all the details of the contract.

"One more question. May it, consistent with your contract, be made *A Library of History*, not less than biography? If I desire to publish a volume of my History in one of the series (a mode which would, as I believe, be advantageous to the work), can I do so? or a Naval History of the United States? or any special history of an interesting nature? What materials have you already in hand? What MSS. are already sent you? What are some of those promised by responsible persons?

"You see by these questions that I am seriously disposed to enter on the subject, agreeably to your suggestions. I shall like regular occupation: I covet literary distinction; I have no objection to five hundred dollars a year, an affair too remote to build upon.

"I will not delay a reply to you; and if I enter upon the scheme, I mean to do it vigorously."

raphies, and thirty cents a page for editorial supervision. The firm were to print two thousand copies of each biography, and no more. The copyright was to belong to Mr. Sparks. He paid his contributors seventy cents per printed page for their writings, and, of course, they had no share in the profits from sales. The first volume appeared in February, 1834, and contained four different biographies, by as many authors. Edward Everett wrote the Life of John Stark, 116 pages, for \$81.20; William H. Prescott, the Life of Charles Brockden Brown, for \$44.80; General John Armstrong, the Life of Richard Montgomery; and Jared Sparks, the Life of Ethan Allen. Mr. Sparks' entire receipts, as writer and editor, for the first volume, were \$195.70.

The second volume¹ contained two excellent biographies: the Life of Alexander Wilson, by William B. O. Peabody, and the Life of Captain John Smith, by George S. Hillard. Mr. Sparks devoted the third volume entirely to his own account of the "Life and Treason of Benedict Arnold," published in 1835. By a special contract he received \$1.50 per page for this work, and the publishers were allowed to print an edition of three thousand copies. The fourth volume comprised a Life of Anthony Wayne, by General Armstrong; and a Life of Sir Henry Vane, by Charles W. Upham. At the end of volume iv. a new contract was made whereby Mr. Sparks was to stereotype the work and allow the publishers to take 2,500 impressions of each book, for which privilege

¹ Extract from Sparks' journal, April 15, 1834: "The second volume of 'Biography' published. I am now engaged in writing a Life of Arnold for the third volume. About half of my time I devote to preparing the MS. of Washington for the press, examining all the original papers, looking into the best histories, collecting facts from every quarter, and finishing the notes. These require vastly more labor than would be imagined. Dates are to be verified, and minute details attended to."

they were to pay him, in each case, \$650. The plates and copyright were to belong to Mr. Sparks. Henceforth he paid writers one dollar per page. Mr. Convers Francis, who wrote the entire fifth volume, the *Life of John Eliot*, received for his labor \$360. The cost of plates was \$275.50, leaving an immediate profit of \$14.50 to Mr. Sparks, while the publishers sold off their edition of 2,500 copies for the best price they could get.

For the sixth volume Henry Wheaton wrote the *Life of William Pinkney*; Edward T. Channing, the *Life of William Ellery*; and William B. O. Peabody, the *Life of Cotton Mather*. The immediate profit on this book for the editor was a little less than \$42. The seventh volume consisted of a *Life of Sir William Phips*, by Francis Bowen; of *Israel Putnam*, by Oliver W. B. Peabody; a *Memoir of Lucretia Maria Davidson*, by Miss C. M. Sedgwick; and a *Life of David Rittenhouse*, by James Renwick. The cost of this book to Mr. Sparks was actually \$44 more than his publishers paid him. The cost of the eighth volume slightly exceeded the profit to the editor, who was apparently losing money by his literary enterprise. For this volume W. B. O. Peabody prepared the *Life of David Brainerd*; and the Rev. Dr. Miller¹ (Mr. Sparks' old theological antagonist at Princeton), the *Life of Jonathan Edwards*. One can hardly help wishing that George Bancroft had been able to carry out his declared purpose of writing a sketch of this most

¹ The Rev. Dr. Miller wrote to Mr. Sparks from Princeton, February 27, 1837: "And now, my dear sir, these matters being settled, allow me to say that your conduct in the whole of this business has been to me a matter of agreeable surprise. That you should be willing to trust me to write the *Life of Edwards*, for your publication, was unexpected to me; and that you should be so ready to receive all that I had written was intelligence not wholly unaccompanied by surprise. Allow me with freedom to say, that I have received a new impression of your magnanimity and fairness."

original of American divines, "without any of the cant of theology, explaining *en philosophe* his qualities." From his early German training and continued study of metaphysics, Mr. Bancroft was probably the most philosophical of all American historians. He certainly would have delighted in expounding to the world the original ideas of Jonathan Edwards, whose environment was the backwoods of Stockbridge, or "Indian Town."

The two remaining volumes of the first series were both published in 1838. Francis Bowen was the author of the Life of Baron Steuben; Charles Haywood, Jr., of Sebastian Cabot; and Cornelius C. Felton, of William Eaton,—all in the ninth volume. The tenth and last included a Life of Robert Fulton, by James Renwick; of Joseph Warren, by Alexander H. Everett; of Henry Hudson, by Henry R. Cleveland; and of Father Marquette,¹ by Jared Sparks. The cost to him of this tenth volume was over \$83 more than he received; but the en-

¹ Lewis Cass to Jared Sparks, from Washington, April 9, 1835: "I have received and read with much interest your memoir on the subject of Father Marquette's travels upon the Mississippi. I have had occasion heretofore to look a little into this matter, and I have no doubt but that you are doing an act of justice to that worthy old missionary. He and his companion are undoubtedly entitled to the credit of being the discoverers of the lower part of the Mississippi.

"The condition of the Six Nations when they first became known to the French and English is a question of some difficulty, and of not a little interest. Their war parties undoubtedly penetrated, at that time, to the Illinois, if not still further in that direction, and probably to the country now occupied by the Creek Indians in the South, and to Lake Superior in the Northwest. The terror of their arms is well known, and is fully described by the earlier historians. I am under the impression that they had gained an ascendancy over many of the tribes with whom they had been brought into contact, and had actually gained claims to much of the country occupied by them. I have not been able to satisfy myself as to the particular

terprising and far-sighted editor, who from the beginning doubtless had in mind a second edition and a growing demand for complete sets, was now able to sell to his cautious publishers the copyright and plates of the ten volumes for \$2,400.

Mr. Sparks' developed views upon the art of biographical writing are well expressed in a letter to Mr. Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, to whom he wrote from Cambridge, October 28, 1839: "I have no difficulty in answering your query in regard to the mode of writing the Life of Paul Jones; or I may rather say that I should have no hesitation on this point, if I were engaged in the same task myself. There are three kinds of biographical writing. First, historical biography,¹ which admits of copious selections from letters and other original papers. Secondly, memoirs, which method is somewhat allied to the above, but more rambling, and relating more to affairs of a private nature. Thirdly, personal narrative, in which the individual is always kept before the reader, and the incidents are made to follow each other in consecutive order. This last is the most difficult to execute, because it requires a clear and spirited style, discrimination in selecting facts, and judgment in arranging them so as to preserve just proportions.

"Paul Jones' life has been written historically, and I have no doubt that the method of personal narrative is much the best that you can adopt. And in this case the extracts should be comparatively few, and such as are strictly biographical, so as not to interrupt the narrative. nature of their claims, nor as to the kind of dominion exercised by them."

Sparks' Father Marquette was noticed in the "North American Review," vol. xlviii. 1839, p. 63.

¹In Thomas Powell's notice of Jared Sparks in "The Living Authors of America," p. 358, it is said, "He is truly the American biographical historian."

Paul Jones wrote with so much vigor and point, and often about his personal acts, that I should think he might now and then be allowed to tell part of his own story, but I would never suffer him to spin a long yarn, nor give place to many of his letters at full length. You will be more successful by condensing the facts they contain in your own language, as you will thus hold your thread unbroken, and the reader will follow you with more ease and pleasure.

“You were right in your conjecture about the *Life of Arnold*. I purposely avoided extracts and selections, aiming at a rapid and continuous narrative. André’s letters I inserted entire, because they are interesting in themselves, and because I thought it due to his memory. The other extracts are chiefly from original papers, which I obtained in England. I am gratified with your favorable opinion of the book. It has the merit, if such it be, of giving a more accurate and complete account of an extraordinary affair than had before been presented to the public.

“There is another reason why I would not recommend the historical method. It is not suited to the taste of American readers, if we may judge by the sale of works of that sort, though a very useful class of books. They have generally found a dull market. I believe this to have been the case with the *Lives of Jay and Hamilton*, and it certainly was so with the *Life of Gouverneur Morris*. This work is full of curious incidents and important historical matter, and yet it went off heavily. Perhaps the old-fashioned Federalism with which Morris’ letters are charged bore it down a little; but I am persuaded that a single volume, like that of *Arnold*, would now have an extensive sale.

“The ‘*American Biography*’ was suspended at the end of the first series of ten volumes. The Harpers have

purchased the copyright of the whole. I know not whether they intend to continue it."

The success of the "Library of American Biography" was so pronounced that Mr. Sparks received in 1839 from Harper & Brothers, who had obtained control of the first series, a letter urging him to continue the work. He replied from Cambridge, December 30, 1839: "I have received your letter, dated the 21st inst. My engagements are such as to render it doubtful whether it is expedient for me again to undertake the American Biography. I have concluded, however, to make to you the following proposition: I will agree to prepare ten volumes more upon the same general plan as the former (the style of printing and the average size of the volumes being the same), and to provide the stereotype plates, and to sell you the copyright and the plates for one thousand dollars a volume; payments to be made by negotiable notes given at the date of the printer's bills, one half (\$500) due in four months, and the other half (\$500) due in six months from that date; reserving to myself the right, if I should have occasion at any future time of printing and publishing such Lives as I may write, in the collection, as expressed in my contract of sale with Hilliard, Gray & Co., which I suppose was transferred to you. I shall expect to receive, also, twenty copies of each volume in boards at the time of publication. A large part of these are to be given to the writers. A suitable index at the end of the tenth volume will be prepared at my charge. The above proposition is not meant to include any engraved plates.

"The first four volumes were executed under various contracts. The last six were stereotyped originally, and I sold to the publishers the right of printing a certain number of copies. At last I sold to them the copyright and stereotype plates. The whole amount that I re-

ceived for the copyright, stereotype plates, and my own labors averaged about \$900 a volume. This was not enough, and I should not then have been willing, nor am I now, to continue the work upon the same terms. It is a troublesome affair. I apply to no writers but those in whom I have confidence both as to their literary and other qualifications; and these are not numerous. The pay is a small temptation to such men, and I am often disappointed by those who promise to write. Then I am obliged, in most cases, not only to indicate to them where the materials are to be found, but frequently to search out and furnish these materials. The manuscript is to be revised for the press, and the proofs are to be examined with care, all of which is done by me personally.

“It is essential that the work should be printed under the eye of the editor. The Lives are mostly historical, abounding in names, dates, and important facts, which should be verified with the greatest accuracy, as well in the proofs as in the manuscript. The value of the work depends very much on its accuracy in these particulars, and it cannot be attained by an unpracticed hand.

“As no writers are now engaged, I could hardly have a volume ready before July. After that time, I could furnish one every three months, and perhaps oftener. This must depend on the number of writers who can be immediately enlisted. If all the volumes are wanted as soon as possible, I suppose that within a year they might be produced in quicker succession.

“The volumes already published will explain to you the character of those that would follow. The number of Lives in each volume will vary according to the magnitude of the subjects. The most prominent names will be selected; taking in the whole range of American biography, and keeping in view the entertainment and instruction of the reader. I can send you a list of names, if you desire

it, but I cannot inform you who the writers will be till after they are engaged."

He wrote again to Harper & Brothers, January 13, 1840: "Yours of the 7th instant has been received. I had two reasons for suggesting ten volumes of the 'Biography.' First, because it would thus be more complete, and have a more permanent value as a separate work; but chiefly because the labor and trouble of engaging writers and putting the business in operation would be proportionably greater for three volumes than ten; and I do not wish to undertake the enterprise merely as a temporary experiment. Indeed, the experiment has been pretty fairly tried by the preceding volumes; and, although the sales were not such as to make it a very profitable concern, yet I believe the publishers were well satisfied with the results; and this through the trade, without even the usual efforts by advertising and other means. There has seldom been a book published in which less pains were taken to circulate it. The advantage now is, that nearly all the purchasers of the former volumes would buy the new ones, in order to make their series complete; and many of the new purchasers would want the previous volumes for the same reason. To meet this case, however, a certain number of copies (say 1,500 or 2,000) should be made to match those volumes, as to size, quality of paper, and style of binding. In my opinion this is an important consideration in continuing the work. Can you not have two kinds; one for the trade, and one for your school library, with different prices? Moreover, the work is not of immediate interest only; it is adapted to every class of readers, and as much for the future as for the present.

"I should decline undertaking the work with the certainty of its stopping after two or three volumes; but, to meet your views, I will enter into a contract for ten vol-

umes, on the terms and conditions mentioned in my last letter, and will so modify it that either of the parties, by giving six months' notice, may at any time dissolve the contract; it being agreed that such Lives as may be actually in hand when the notice is given shall be published according to the terms of the contract. I can have one volume ready in August, or two if you desire it, and another before the end of the year.

"Will you take into the series the 'Life of Ledyard' and the 'Life of Gouverneur Morris,' the latter abridged and prepared for the purpose? There have been two editions of the 'Life of Ledyard' in this country, some years ago one in London, and one in Leipsic. It was well received, and I have been intending for some time to bring out a new edition, but other matters have prevented. It would just fill a volume of the 'Biography.' The 'Life of Morris' was borne down by two volumes of letters and political papers, and went off slowly. But a narrative of very great interest may be made of it, if reduced to the size of a volume of the 'Biography,' and confined to personal incidents. Please to examine these books before you reply positively in regard to them."

There can be no doubt of Mr. Sparks' good sense and good management in all business matters connected with his publications or editorial work. He understood the business possibilities of a second series of the "Library of American Biography," and could not accept the terms proposed by the New York publishers. A contract afterwards was made with Little & Brown, of Boston, for the publication of a new series. Mr. Sparks, as editor, was allowed \$250 for each volume, and one dollar a printed page for the work of his contributors. The copyright was to belong to the publishers. Under this arrangement fifteen small duodecimo volumes were issued between 1844 and 1848. They are now to be found, together with the

original series, in many public and private libraries, and are still quoted as standard works.

A rapid enumeration of subjects and authors in the second series is all that can be attempted in this connection. I. Mr. Sparks introduced the new series with his *Life of La Salle*,¹ which was followed by A. H. Everett's *Life of Patrick Henry*. II. The second volume contained the *Life of James Otis*, by Francis Bowen, and that of *James Oglethorpe*, by William B. O. Peabody. III. The *Life of John Sullivan*, by Oliver W.

¹ Extract from Sparks' journal, December 10, 1843: "Finished writing the *Life of La Salle* for the 'Library of American Biography.' It has been a task of more labor than I had anticipated. I have drawn the facts wholly from the early French writers, and these are so contradictory in many parts that it has been extremely difficult to reconcile them, and to weave from the materials they afford a consistent and well-connected narrative. By dint of patient research and examination, I have done it, however, as I think, with success. A few original papers, which I obtained from the archives of the marine department in Paris, have rendered me essential service. I believe that I have been enabled to correct several important errors that had crept into the history of the first discoveries in the West. I have also had the use of the manuscripts from the French public offices."

William H. Prescott wrote to Jared Sparks from Boston, March 18, 1844, concerning the *Life of La Salle*: "It is a wonderful story of enterprise sustained by a high purpose. You have told it *con amore*. I knew something of La Salle's adventures before, but you have given a new revelation of his character, while you have summed up admirably in the conclusion."

The "North American Review" for July, 1844, contains a favorable review of this biography of La Salle, which introduces the second series: "We think it a good augury that Mr. Sparks has been induced to resume this useful and important work. He has been so long and so honorably employed in building the tombs of the prophets, that the charge could hardly have been so well confided to another hand; and, if we are to form a judgment of the volumes which are to succeed from the one before us, the new series will be in no degree inferior in attractiveness and value to the former."

B. Peabody; the Administration of Jacob Leisler, by Charles F. Hoffman; a Memoir of Nathaniel Bacon, by William Ware; and a Life of John Mason, by George E. Ellis, constituted the third volume. IV. The next in the series was devoted to sketches of Roger Williams, Timothy Dwight, and Count Pulaski, by William Gammell, William B. Sprague, and Jared Sparks respectively. V. Lives of Count Rumford, Zebulon Montgomery Pike, and Samuel Gorton, by James Renwick, Henry Whiting, and John M. Mackie, composed the fifth volume. VI. Ezra Stiles, John Fitch, and Anne Hutchinson were severally treated by James L. Kingsley, Charles Whittlesey, and George E. Ellis.

VII. Mr. Sparks opened the seventh of this new series with his Life of John Ribault, and added an account of Sebastian Rale, by Convers Francis, and of William Palfrey, by John Gorham Palfrey. VIII. The eighth volume also began with an editorial sketch, namely, the Life of Charles Lee, and was supplemented by Henry Reed's Memoir of Joseph Reed. IX. George W. Burnap, Mr. Sparks' successor in Baltimore, contributed a good sketch of Leonard Calvert to the ninth volume, which included also a Life of Samuel Ward, by William Gammell; and a Memoir of Thomas Posey, by James Hall. X. A Biography of Nathanael Greene, by George W. Greene, required an entire volume. XI. The same is true of the Life of Stephen Decatur, by Alexander Slidell Mackenzie. XII. The twelfth volume contained two sketches, one of Edward Preble, by Lorenzo Sabine, and the other of William Penn, by George E. Ellis. XIII. A Life of Daniel Boone, by John M. Peck, and of Benjamin Lincoln, by Francis Bowen, formed the next number. XIV. A reprint of Jared Sparks' Life of John Ledyard, made the fourteenth volume. XV. The whole series was concluded in

1848 with accounts of William R. Davie, by Fordyce M. Hubbard, and of Samuel Kirkland, by Samuel K. Lothrop.

The two series embraced altogether twenty-five volumes and sixty different biographies. Mr. Sparks contributed two entire volumes, namely, the Lives of Benedict Arnold and of John Ledyard, and six additional sketches, to wit, Lives of Ethan Allen, Father Marquette, La Salle, Count Pulaski, John Ribault, and Charles Lee. Four out of these eight biographical works relate to travelers and explorers, and four to persons connected with the American Revolution. In the busiest period of his life, when the current of his energy was running most strongly in the channel of American history, we notice these eddies of interest in the adventurous voyages of John Ledyard, Father Marquette, La Salle, and John Ribault.

Mr. Sparks' own career was a long succession of travels and discoveries in new fields of inquiry, whether African exploration, the origins of a liberal faith, the relations of South America and the United States, economic, statistical, educational, and diplomatic history, the sources of American history at home and abroad, or the lives of the fathers of the republic. Among all these numerous and varied contributions, not the least in importance are the twenty-five carefully edited volumes which form the "Library of American Biography." They were among the first contributions of their kind in America, and were the historic forerunner of many other serial biographies, some of which have taken the torch from their predecessors with too scanty acknowledgment.

CHAPTER XX.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH JAMES MADISON.

WE have already seen in the journals of Mr. Sparks interesting references to his various visits to Montpelier, and of his interviews with Mr. Madison. The following selections from their correspondence have a certain historical value, for they relate to the letters of Washington, to his Farewell Address, and to Charles Pinckney's draft of the Constitution for the United States. The first selection is from Mr. Sparks' letter written at Mount Vernon, May 12, 1827:—

“By an arrangement recently entered into with Judge Washington and Chief Justice Marshall, I have undertaken to prepare for publication a complete edition of General Washington's writings, embracing all that are essential as records of history, and as showing the influence of his mind, character, and deeds in establishing the independence and political dignity of this country. I have now been for several weeks employed in a general examination of these papers, and find them much more numerous and rich than I had anticipated. Few men have been so exact in preserving copies of all they wrote as General Washington: and the extraordinary variety of important subjects on which he was led to treat in the different scenes of his life, his habitual interchange of sentiments with some of the first minds of the age, and the zeal with which he engaged in the great pursuits that marked his career, give a compass and value to the materials he has left in writing which can hardly be imagined

without inspecting them in detail. If judiciously selected and published, I cannot hesitate to believe that they will be a legacy to the country which will raise still higher, if possible, the exalted name and character of their author.

“My plan is to publish a series of volumes, perhaps from eight to twelve, methodically arranged, with such brief notes and illustrations as may be required to elucidate or explain particular parts. Knowing the intimacy, sir, that subsisted for many years between you and General Washington, and the great confidence he had in your judgment and opinions, I have thought you would not be reluctant to afford me such counsel and aid as your convenience will admit, and as will enable me to execute more successfully the task I have taken upon myself. Points will frequently arise upon which I shall be enlightened by consulting you, and I trust you will not refuse to indulge me in this privilege.

“Permit me further to observe, that I have it in contemplation to write hereafter a history of the American Revolution, on a broad and extended scale, comprehending its causes and origin, its military, civil, and diplomatic features, drawing the facts chiefly from original documents. I have already visited with this aim all the old States, examined the Revolutionary papers in every public office, and procured copies of such as were suited to my object. In the same way I shall go through with the diplomatic correspondence and the other papers of the old Congress now in the office of the Secretary of State at Washington. I have, moreover, had access to many private collections, particularly those of some of the major-generals of the army and early members of Congress, and I shall continue to seek materials from similar sources. May I not hope that you will look with favor on such an attempt, and that, in tracing the history of events which you have had so distinguished an agency in bringing to

pass, it will be allowed me to apply to you for the solution of occasional doubts, and for intelligence where other more fallible guides are deficient?

“I am about preparing for the ‘North American Review’ a short article on the first volume of the ‘Debates of Conventions,’ lately published in Washington. This volume contains the debates of Massachusetts and New York, and I shall confine my remarks to these two States. I believe it is well understood that you were at the time, and of course always have been, better acquainted with the history of the conventions for adopting the Federal Constitution than any other person. All historical details which carry the mind back to the movements of that period are now extremely interesting to the public; and in my remarks on the conventions of the above States, I should be glad to throw in as many facts of this nature as possible. In several of your letters to General Washington, written from New York, are curious particulars about the convention of Massachusetts. It is probable others may be found in the letters to you of that date, not only relating to Massachusetts but likewise to New York. Possibly you may have letters from Mr. Hamilton, or Mr. Jay, that will illustrate the proceedings of the latter convention. Facts brought out in this manner have a freshness that attracts public attention more strongly than when derived from printed sources. If you have leisure to look into your papers with this view, it may be the means of rendering some service to the publisher of the volume in question, which I fear is not very salable, and therefore deserves the warmer support and patronage from those who can estimate its importance.

“Among General Washington’s papers I have found about seventy of your letters. In three or four days I expect to set out for Monticello, to consult Mr. Jefferson’s papers for a particular purpose, which will not take me

more than a week. On my return I shall hope to have the pleasure of paying my respects to you at your residence."

The next selection is from a letter to James Madison from Jared Sparks, Washington, May 22, 1827: "After my return to Mount Vernon I looked through the letter-books, and noted down the dates of all the letters recorded as having been sent to you by General Washington. The list is inclosed. Should you find upon inspection that you possess letters of importance not comprised in this list, I hope you will have the goodness to furnish me with copies of the same.

"The letter, dated in January, 1789, relates to the message to the first Congress, and there is preserved with it the copy of a message, or, as he calls it, a speech, in his own hand, which I presume is the same that was sent to you for your revision according to the request in his letter. The person to whom he alludes as the author of it, and whom he designates as 'a gentleman under this roof,' I suppose to be Colonel Humphreys. The speech, as copied by Washington, extends to seventy-three pages, in which is included a short space for a prayer that was to be introduced after the first paragraph. It is certainly an extraordinary production for a message to Congress, and it is happy that Washington took counsel of his own understanding and his other friends before he made use of this document. No part of it seems to have been formally included in the real message.

"I hardly need ask your advice as to the expediency of publishing in his works any allusion to this draft of a message, or his letter to you respecting it. I do not conceive that the public would derive any benefit from them; but any observations from you on the subject will be thankfully received, and will have their due influence on my mind. The letter which you wrote in reply has not yet fallen into my hands.


“It is my desire to examine all the papers of Washington now in existence, as far as they can be found, to obtain a correct impression of his habits of thinking and writing, and then to present the results fairly to the public. By two letters written to Judge Story, and just published in the ‘Intelligencer,’ you will become acquainted with my plan, and the means on which I rely for carrying it into effect. It is understood, without qualification, that I have access to all General Washington’s papers at Mount Vernon, and this is stipulated in the written contract. My purpose is to make as complete an edition of his best writings as possible. Private papers of value will be included, except in cases where, from various circumstances, there may be room for misapprehension. Let the truth in all its connections be told about Washington, whether in private or public, and his character will show the fairer the more thoroughly it is exposed.

“The work in contemplation, I cannot doubt, you will consider important, and I flatter myself that any materials in your possession which may contribute to render it more worthy of the name of Washington and of public approbation will be cheerfully afforded. I shall moreover be exceedingly obliged by any remarks or hints from you touching the subject. Your letters to General Washington I will take the first opportunity to forward to you in compliance with your request. Should you have leisure to reply to this letter, please direct to me at Boston.”

Madison replied to Mr. Sparks, in a letter dated Montpelier, May 30, 1827: “Your letter of the 22d has been duly received. I concur, without hesitation, in your remarks on the speech of seventy-three pages, and in the expediency of not including it among the papers selected for the press. Nothing but an extreme delicacy towards the author of the draft, who no doubt was Colonel Humphreys, can account for the respect shown to so strange a

production. I have not yet found either the letter of January 7, 1789, or any answer to it. Should this continue to be the case, a view of the former may be desirable as an aid to my recollections, which are at present very imperfect.

“I thank you, sir, for the dates of the recorded letters from General Washington to me. Of these I do not find on my files those noted in the annexed list, some of which I should be particularly glad to see, unless the answers to them should be among the letters you are forwarding, and should prove sufficient for my purpose. My files contain, besides a number of short notes asking interviews, etc., twenty-odd letters from the general which, it appears from your communication, are not in his letter-book. Some of these are of an importance and delicacy which have hitherto kept them from every eye but my own; no occasion before the present having even raised the question, how far the seal might be properly removed from them. It is not easy, considering the exactness of General Washington in preserving copies of his letters, to account for such a deficiency in his register. Was it his intention that the letters should not be preserved? Or were they separately preserved without being entered in the book? and in this case may they not yet be found? Perhaps a clue may be furnished by a circumstance noted in a letter which I received from Judge Washington some years ago. Wishing to supply the chasm in the retained copies of my letters to his uncle, I requested the favor of having them copied from the source in his possession. In his answer, he was led to remark that ‘the papers sent to the chief justice, and which are still in Richmond, have been very extensively mutilated by rats, and otherwise injured by damp, as he not long since informed me.’ It seems in every view not amiss that the condition of these papers should be adverted to before the prolix trouble of copies from my files be incurred.



“My letters from the files of General Washington, when received and compared with those of which I have preserved copies, may show whether the former are short of the number written to him, and thence perhaps throw some light on his views with respect to some parts of our correspondence, with the uncertainty, nevertheless, arising from the casualties at Richmond.

“I need not repeat the general disposition, expressed when I had the pleasure of your call at Montpelier, to favor by all the proper means in my power, not only your object of doing full justice to the very interesting trust you have assumed regarding the papers of General Washington, but your other object also of composing an authentic history of our Revolution, the most pregnant, probably, of all political events, with beneficent influences on the social order of the world, and having, therefore, the highest claims on the historical pen.

“Dates of letters from General Washington to James Madison on the files of the former and not of the latter: October 29, 1785, November 30, 1785, November 5, 1786, November 18, 1786, March 31, 1787, October 10, 1787, January 7, 1789, May 12, 1789.”

Upon the subject of Washington's letters, and of plans for their publication, Sparks wrote to Madison from Boston, August 25, 1827: “Your two very obliging letters of May 30th and August 6th have been received. Although you have already seen some of the letters sent by you to General Washington, yet I have thought it best to put the whole in the parcel, which I have left with Mr. Coolidge for Colonel Peyton. You will understand, therefore, that this parcel contains all the letters from you which I have found among General Washington's papers.

“Considering his habit, it is a little remarkable that he should have sent you so many letters of which he

did not preserve copies, and it may be that the rough drafts are now somewhere on file. I think they are not at Mount Vernon, however, for I believe everything there was faithfully exposed to my inspection, according to the written agreement. As to the 'ravages of rats,' I witnessed some melancholy mementos of them, and it is quite possible that losses have thus occurred.

"How far it would be proper for you to give access to the letters in your possession of which copies were not retained, must of course be left to the decision of your own judgment. From the loose manner in which papers, drafts of letters, and memoranda of the most confidential nature were filed amongst others of a different character, I should presume General Washington had not much written intercourse with others which he would have been reluctant to have exhibited at this day to a person engaged in the task which I have undertaken.

"The letter to you of January 7, 1789, is the first draft, and not copied into the records; it is in some respects curious. It is in the highest degree confidential, and is not such a letter as I should think of printing, yet it gives me a clue to some important facts that will be useful to me. The same might be the case, perhaps, with others of a similar character, which may be in your possession. My sincere wish is to consult every record from which I can become acquainted with the mind, habits, and purposes of Washington, and then to exercise my discretion in making such use of them as strict justice requires.

"I shall be at Washington in January, and any papers which you may be disposed to allow me to copy you can send under seal by Mr. P. P. Barbour when he comes to Congress, or by any other conveyance to the care of Mr. Secretary Barbour, and I will return them as you may direct. Meantime, should you desire copies of the letters

whose dates are mentioned in your favor of May 30th, please to inform me, and they shall be forwarded by mail.

“In April I expect to go out to England, almost entirely for the purpose of consulting manuscript papers pertaining to our Revolutionary history. I shall apply for access to the correspondence with the governors at the first dawning of the contest, and afterwards with the military officers in this country during the whole war. These materials are very important, and no English historian has used them except Chalmers, and he only in part, with a very jaundiced eye. I shall, moreover, endeavor to consult the diplomatic correspondence of the English ministers while they were in Holland, France, and Spain during that period, especially whatever relates to the contest with the colonies, and the recognition of our independence by the different powers. My visit will also be extended to France, Holland, and Spain with the same design. What will be my success, time must prove. In England, however, I am confident of doing much. I shall, moreover, examine the mass of historical papers relating to this country in the Colonial Office, a full copy of which ought to be in the Library of Congress. Within the last two years I have cast my eyes over all the historical materials in the public offices of the old States, and they are meagre beyond what any one could have conceived. Our colonial history is shut up in the Office of Trade and Plantations in London, and the only wonder is that till this time no measures have been taken by our government to procure copies of the papers.

“A Mr. Graham, of England, is now writing a history of North America, to come down to the close of the Revolution. The first volume is before me, and the author tells us in his preface that he has been indebted for some of his

best materials to the libraries in Göttingen!¹ He neither sent to this country nor consulted the manuscripts in London. A historian, indeed! More than two thousand years ago Herodotus traveled throughout Egypt, Asia Minor, Greece, and the islands to qualify himself to write a history. We now do it in closets and cloisters, and talk loudly of the improvements of the moderns."

Before Sparks sailed for Europe, Madison wrote him from Montpellier, January 25, 1828: "I received two days ago your favor of December 29th. That of August 25th came also safe to hand. I did not then acknowledge it, because I expected soon to have an occasion for doing it on the receipt of the letters since put into the hands of Colonel Storrow. Having heard nothing from him on the subject, I conclude he retains them for a better conveyance than he had found; though I am not without apprehension of some casualty to the packet on the way.

"For a reason formerly glanced at, namely, the advantage of having before me the whole of my correspondence with General Washington, in estimating his purpose as to particular portions of it, I did not make use of the suggested opportunity [of sending?] to Washington by my neighbor, Mr. P. P. Barbour. I shall now conform to your last suggestion, and await your return from Europe. In the mean time I thank you for your promise to send me the copies of letters from General Washington to me, which are missing on my files. This I hope can be done before your departure.

"It would afford me particular pleasure to favor in any way your interesting objects in visiting Europe, and especially by letters to correspondents who could be of

¹ Mr. Sparks made inquiries in Göttingen from a gentleman who knew Graham well, and learned that he had been only two or three days in that university town, and that "he did not consult the books there at all."

service to you. It happens, however, that I have not a single one either in Great Britain or in Holland. Our consul, Mr. Maury, at Liverpool, is an old and intimate friend, and if you intend to take that place in your route to London, and you think it worth while, I shall gladly give you a line of introduction to his hospitality, and such little services as he may be able to render. In France you will doubtless be able to obtain, through General Lafayette alone, every proper key to the documentary treasures attainable there, besides what his own files may furnish.

“ I have given a hasty look at General Washington’s letters, with an eye to your request of such autographic specimens as might be proper for depositories in Europe. As letters of little significancy in themselves might not be worthy of such a use, my attention was chiefly directed to those of a higher character; and I am not sure that there is one such which is not of too confidential a stamp, or which does not contain personalities too delicate for the purpose in question. You will be aware, also, that some of his letters, especially when written in haste, show specks of inaccuracy which, though not derogating at all from the greatness of his character, might disappoint readers abroad accustomed to regard him as a model even in the performances of his pen. It is to be presumed that his correspondence with me, as with a few others, has more of reference to subjects and occasions involving confidential traits, than his correspondence with those less intimate with him. I will again turn to his letters and see whether there be any free from the objections hinted at.¹

“ You wish me to say whether I believe ‘ that at the

¹ This interesting paragraph, and the one immediately preceding it, are omitted from this letter, without any sign of omission, in the published “ Writings of Madison.”

beginning of the Revolution, or at the assembling of the first Congress, the leaders of that day were resolved on independence'? I readily express my entire belief that they were not, though I must admit that my means of information were more limited than may have been the case with others still living to answer the inquiry. My first entrance on public life was in May, 1776, when I became a member of the convention in Virginia which instructed her delegates in Congress, to propose the Declaration of Independence. Previous to that date, I was not in sufficient communication with any under the denomination of leaders to learn their sentiments or views on that cardinal subject. I can only say, therefore, that, so far as ever came to my knowledge, no one of them ever avowed, or was understood to entertain, a pursuit of independence at the assembling of the first Congress, or for a very considerable period thereafter. It has always been my impression that a reëstablishment of the colonial relations to the parent country previous to the controversy was the real object of every class of the people, till despair of obtaining it, and the exasperating effects of the war, and the manner of conducting it, prepared the minds of all for the event declared on the 4th of July, 1776, as preferable, with all its difficulties and perils, to the alternative of submission to a claim of power at once external, unlimited, irresponsible, and under every temptation to abuse, from interest, ambition, and revenge. If there were individuals who originally aimed at independence, their views must have been confined to their own bosoms, or to a very confidential circle.

“Allow me, sir, to express anew my best wishes for a success in your historical plan commensurate with its extent and importance; and my disposition to contribute such mites towards it as may be in my power. Do me the favor to say when and from what port you propose to

embark. May I venture to add a request of the result of your inquiry at Philadelphia on the subject of the paper in the hands of Claypole, as far as it may be proper to disclose it, and trust it to the mail?"

To this letter Mr. Sparks replied from Washington, February 27, 1828: "Your favor of the 7th of January came duly to hand. I trust you have before this time received the packet of letters sent by Colonel Storrow. Had any accident occurred, I think he would have informed me. It is probable that he waited for a safe conveyance. I have written him on the subject.

"As all General Washington's papers are put up in chests, and deposited in the safety vault of an insurance office, it will not be in my power to procure the copies you desire till I return from Europe. They shall then be immediately forwarded to you. I met with no success in applying through a friend to Mr. Claypole. He declined giving a copy of the Farewell Address. I intend to call on him myself, and I trust with a more favorable result. I beg you will accept my thanks for your hints respecting the opinion of the early actors in the cause of independence. They will be of use to me hereafter.

"My voyage has been delayed a few weeks longer than I expected. I shall probably sail from New York as soon as the first of April. A bill has been reported to Congress by the Committee of Ways and Means appropriating a certain sum of money for procuring copies of the papers in England which pertain to our colonial history. The Legislature of Georgia applied to Congress, through the representatives of that State, to procure at the expense of government the papers relating to the history of Georgia. The matter was referred to the Committee of Ways and Means. The opinion of the committee was, that Congress had no power to render such a favor to a particular State, but, considering the subject an important

one, they concluded to report an appropriation, to be employed in bearing the charge of a general examination of the papers, and of copying immediately such as are most wanted. The bill has not yet been called up, but its friends feel no doubt that it will pass. This will be an initiatory step towards procuring copies of all the papers from England which are necessary in writing a history of this country."

Once again before Mr. Sparks sailed for Europe Madison wrote him from Montpellier (March 13, 1828): "I had the pleasure of receiving, a few days ago, your favor of February 27th from Washington. It was quite unexpected, the newspapers having announced, without any subsequent contradiction, your departure for Europe.

"Since my last to you, I have received a letter from Colonel Storrow, in answer to an inquiring one, in which he informs me that the packet you committed to him is still in his hands, adding many penitential apologies for the delay and silence on his part. I have taken measures which will insure the receipt of it in a few days.

"On the supposition that you will embark for Europe about the time you intimated, and that it will not be long before you get into France, I take the liberty of troubling you with a letter for General Lafayette, which I am anxious should avoid the risk of falling into a European post-office. Should you be much delayed in leaving the United States, be so obliging as to hand the letter to the Department of State, whence it will be forwarded with dispatches to France from that source, Mr. Clay having been so kind as to promise attention to such requests; or should you proceed without delay to England, and make much stay there, I would ask the favor of you to put the letter into the hands of the American Chargé d'Affaires, who probably has frequent opportunities of sending letters to our Minister in Paris by trustworthy individuals.

What I particularly wish is, to guard against the liberties taken in the foreign post-offices, to which I presume communications from the Department of State may be left exposed when of a character nowise confidential. With great esteem and all good wishes."

James Madison to Jared Sparks, March 28, 1829: "Since your departure for Europe I have found the letters from General Washington which I thought were missing, and of which you were so obliging as to promise me copies from the original drafts among his papers. These particular letters had been separated from the others, and the circumstance forgotten. That you may avoid the trouble of fulfilling your promise, I drop you this information, which I put under cover to Mr. Everett, with a request that he will have the letter put into your hands on your arrival in Boston or give it the direction the most likely to find you elsewhere. I hope that whenever and wherever received, my congratulation will be *apropos*, on the attainment of all the objects of your transatlantic visit, and that you will accept the assurance of my continued esteem and cordial respects. . . .

"P. S. The packet committed to Colonel Storrow, though long on the way from a cause explained by him, came at last safe to hand. Among the letters from General Washington to me, and mine to him, not preserved on his files, there are some which, taken on both sides of the correspondence, are of a character involving peculiar delicacy."

The following letter was written by Mr. Sparks in Boston, March 8, 1830, to Madison. It touches upon the question of Washington's Farewell Address, and gives an excellent summary of Mr. Sparks' researches in Europe: "Your favor of March 28, 1829, reached me after my return from Europe. I am glad that the packet committed to Colonel Storrow got to you safely. Should it be

convenient to you to send this parcel to Washington, to the care of Mr. Everett, as soon as the 10th of April, I shall be there, and can bring it any time hereafter to Mr. Brent, of the State Department, with a request that he will keep it till called for by me.

“As to the confidential correspondence between you and General Washington, your judgment will decide what parts of it are proper to be submitted to my perusal. I have no wish to pry into secrets, but the task I have undertaken would seem to require that I should spare no pains to obtain as much knowledge as possible of the acts, mind, and character of Washington. In the first draft of the Farewell Address, which he sent to Hamilton, he alludes to your having assisted him in preparing what he proposed to deliver if he had retired at the end of his first term; and there are fragments of letters which show that he consulted you freely on the subject of his speech at the commencement of the Presidency, and some of his papers on other occasions. But these are imperfect. I must leave the whole matter to your judgment, not doubting that you will be willing to impart everything of real interest and value. I believe the entire correspondence with General Hamilton, on the subject of the Farewell Address, has been preserved. The public has been but little enlightened by the discussions that have taken place. Mr. Jay’s letter expressed his opinion, but proved nothing.

“My voyage to Europe was eminently successful. I met with many obstacles, both in France and England, growing out of the forms of office by which all the papers are secluded from the eyes of every person but the officers of the departments. But I found the ministers well disposed in both countries, and by due perseverance, and a sort of siege upon their good-nature, I at last conquered the obstinacy of forms, and made my way by a regular

process to the reality. There were some misgivings in the Downing Street offices about the Tories, a kind of lurking fear that something would come up that would not tell much to the honor of these loyal subjects of his Majesty. This was a just sense of delicacy, for as the Tories had thrown themselves upon the British government, and sacrificed everything in doing it, the government is bound to protect their names from reproach, and to save the feelings of their descendants. But in the end I was permitted to see all the papers relating to the American Revolution, both military and diplomatic, the whole correspondence of the government with the officers in this country, and with the commissioners for making peace.

“In France I saw, also, all the papers relating to American affairs during the same period, embracing the diplomatic correspondence with Deane, Franklin, Lee, Adams, and others; the whole correspondence of Vergennes with Gérard, Luzerne, and Marbois; and the military correspondence of Rochambeau, D’Estaing, Bernay, and others. These papers develop the entire policy of the French government in regard to the United States. They are invaluable as materials for the history of that period.

“I was under great obligations in Paris to the Marquis de Marbois. He holds a high station, is greatly respected, and he used his influence freely in assisting me. The United States have not a truer friend in the world, nor have I seen any European so well informed on the subject of our government, institutions, and resources.”

After Mr. Sparks’ return from Europe he received from Madison the following letter, dated Montpellier, April 8, 1830: “Your favor of March 8th came duly to hand. I congratulate you on your success at London and Paris in obtaining materials, nowhere else to be found, and so essential to the history of our Revolution.

“I have been looking over such of the letters of Gen-

eral Washington to me as do not appear on his files. They amount to twenty-eight, besides some small confidential notes. Most of the letters are of some importance. Some of them are peculiarly delicate, and some equally delicate and important. To make extracts from them is a task I should not wish to undertake. To forward to you the whole for that purpose, through the hazards of the mail, is liable to the objection that, as no copies exist, a loss of the originals would be fatal. Under these circumstances it occurs to me that you may be able to spare a few days for a trip from Washington to Montpellier, where you can review the whole, in affording an opportunity for which I shall think myself justified by the confidence reposed in you by those to whom the memory of Washington was most dear, and by the entire confidence felt by myself. If on examining the papers you should find more than you can conveniently extract, I will have copies made of what you may mark for the purpose, and endeavor to procure for them some unexceptionable conveyance.

“Until I learn whether I shall have the pleasure of seeing you, I retain the packet received through Colonel Storrow, which is ready to be returned either personally or through the channel you pointed out.”

Among the first fruits of Mr. Sparks' historical studies in the American field was an article on the “Early Diplomatic History of the United States,” printed in the “North American Review” for April, 1830. He mentions the article, and the subject of Pinckney's draft of a Constitution, in the following letter to Madison, to whom he wrote from Washington, May 5, 1830: “I take the liberty to forward to you a recent number of the ‘North American Review,’ which contains an article (p. 454) written by me, respecting Revolutionary matters, in

which you may possibly find some things to interest you, should you ever have leisure to look into it.

“Since my return I have conversed with Mr. Adams concerning Charles Pinckney’s draft of a Constitution. He says it was furnished by Mr. Pinckney, and that he has never been able to hear of another copy. It was accompanied by a long letter (written in 1819), now in the Department of State, in which Mr. Pinckney claims to himself great merit for the part he took in framing the Constitution. A copy of this letter may doubtless be procured from Mr. Brent, should you desire to see it. Mr. Adams mentioned the draft once to Rufus King, who said he remembered such a draft, but that it went to a committee with other papers, and was never heard of afterwards. Mr. King’s views of the subject, as far as I could collect them from Mr. Adams, were precisely such as you expressed.

“I reflect with unmingled pleasure on my visit to Montpelier. I only fear that my inquisitiveness and paper-searching propensity were too troublesome to you.”

Mr. Sparks wrote from Boston, June 16, 1831, to Madison upon the subject of Pinckney’s letter accompanying his draft of a Constitution sent to John Quincy Adams in 1819: “I have procured from the Department of State a copy of Mr. Charles Pinckney’s letter to Mr. Adams when he sent his draft for publication. This letter is so conclusive on the subject that I do not think it necessary to make any further inquiry. It is evident that the draft which he forwarded was a compilation made at that time from loose sketches and notes. The letter should have been printed in connection with the draft. I imagine Mr. Pinckney intended it.

“Should you have leisure, I beg you will favor me with your views of this letter. It touches upon several matters respecting the history and progress of the Convention.

Do these accord with your recollection? I would not weary or trouble you, but when you recollect that there is no other fountain to which I can go for information, I trust you will pardon my importunity."

Madison sent the following reply to Mr. Sparks from Montpellier, June 27, 1831: "I have received your letter of the 16th inst., inclosing a copy of the letter of Mr. Charles Pinckney to Mr. Adams, accompanying the draft of a Constitution for the United States, and describing it as essentially the draft proposed by him to the Federal Convention of 1787. The letter to Mr. Adams was new to me.

"Abundant evidence I find exists of material variance between the two drafts, and I am sorry that the letter of Mr. Pinckney is far from explaining them. It does not appear, as you inferred, that the draft sent to Mr. Adams was compiled from his notes and papers; but that it was one of the several drafts found amongst them, and the very one, he believed, that he had presented to the Convention, all the drafts, however, being substantially the same.

"Some of the variances may be deduced from the printed journal of the Convention. You will notice, for example, that on the 6th or 7th of June, very shortly after his draft was presented, he proposed to take from the *people* the election of the Federal House of Representatives, and assign it to the *legislatures of the States*, a violent presumption that the latter, not the former, was the mode contained in his draft.

"It is true, as Mr. Pinckney observes and as the journal shows, that the Executive was the last department of the government that received its full and final discussion; but I am not sure that he is free from error in the view his letter gives of what passed on the occasion, or that the error, with several others, may not be traced by a review of the journal.

“ I am at a loss for the ground of his contrast between the latter period of the Convention and the cool and patient deliberation for more than four and a half months preceding. The whole term of the Convention, from its appointed commencement, was short of that period ; and its actual session, from the date of a quorum, but four months, three days. And the occasion on which the most serious and threatening excitement prevailed (the struggle between the larger and smaller States in relation to the representation in the Senate) occurred, as the journal will show, during the period noted as the cool and patient one. After the compromise which allowed an equality of votes in the Senate, that consideration, with the smaller number and longer tenure of its members, will account for the abridgment of its powers by associating the Executive in the exercise of them.

“ Among the instances in which the memory of Mr. Pinckney failed him is the remark in his letter that, very soon after the Convention met, he had avowed a change of opinion in giving Congress a power to revise the state laws, thinking it safer to refuse the power *altogether*. It appears from the journal that as late as the 23d of August the proposition was renewed, with a change only, requiring two thirds instead of a majority of each house. The journal does not name the mover, but satisfactory information exists that it was Mr. Pinckney.

“ Mr. Adams was probably restrained from printing the letter of Mr. Pinckney by the vague charges in it against the Convention, and a scruple of publishing a part only.

“ I have been suffering for some time a severe attack of rheumatism, and I offer this brief compliance with your request of my view of Mr. Pinckney's letter under an unabated continuance of it. This alone would be a reason for desiring that nothing in the communication should be

referred to as resting upon my authority. But there are others, drawn from my relation to the subject and the relation which subsisted between Mr. Pinckney and myself, which must always require that I should not be a party to an exposure of the strange incongruities into which he has fallen, without a fuller view of the proofs, and the obligation not to withhold them, than the present occasion would permit."

The problem of Pinckney's draft continued to interest Mr. Sparks, and he wrote again from Boston, November 14, 1831, to Madison, about the matter: "My mind has got into a new perplexity about Pinckney's draft of a Constitution. By a rigid comparison of that instrument with the draft of the committee reported August 6th, they are proved to be essentially and almost identically the same thing. It is impossible to resist the conviction that they proceeded from one and the same source.

"This being established, the only question is, whether it originated with Mr. Pinckney or the committee, and I confess that, judging only from the face of the thing, my impressions incline to the former. Here are my reasons:—

"1. All the papers referred to the committee were Randolph's resolutions as amended, and Patterson's resolutions, and Pinckney's draft without having been altered or considered. The committee had them in hand nine days. Their report bears no resemblance in form to either of them. Is it probable that they would have deserted these, particularly the former, which had been examined *seriatim* in the Convention, and struck out an entirely new scheme, of which no hints had been given in the debates?

"2. The language and arrangement of the report are an improvement upon Pinckney's draft. Negligent expressions are corrected, words changed, and sentences

broken for the better. In short, I think any person examining the two for the first time, without a knowledge of circumstances or of the bearings of the question, would pronounce the committee's report to be a copy of the draft, with amendments in style, and a few unimportant additions.

"3. If this conclusion be not sound, it will follow that Mr. Pinckney sketched his draft from the committee's report, and in so artful a manner as to make it seem the original, a suspicion, I suppose, not to be admitted against a member of the Convention for forming the Constitution of the United States.

"Will you have the goodness to let me know your opinion? If I am running upon a wrong track, I should be glad to get out of it, for I like not devious ways, and would fain have light rather than darkness.

"'Gouverneur Morris' is in press. There is a great deal about the French Revolution, as well as our own; and you will of course expect a due seasoning of ultra-federalism in the last war. But, on the whole, the work will not be without interest, nor, I trust, unworthy of our literature and history. It will be in three volumes, the first a memoir, and the other two selections from his writings, all of which I hope to send you in January. He has left hardly a scrap of paper on the subject of the Convention, and I shall consequently have very little to say of that matter.

"P. S. You may be assured, sir, that I have no intention of printing anything on this subject, nor of using your authority in any manner respecting it. I am aware of the delicate situation in which you would be placed by such a step, and you may rely on my discretion. I am greatly puzzled, however, in respect to the extraordinary coincidence between the two drafts. Notwithstanding my reasons above given, I cannot account for the committee's

following so servilely any draft, especially with Randolph's resolutions before them, and Randolph one of their number. I doubt whether any clear light can be gained till Pinckney's original draft shall be found, which is probably among the papers of one of the committee. It seems to me that your secretary of the Convention was a very stupid secretary, not to take care of those things better, and to make a better journal than the dry bones which now go by that name.

"I presume you will have no objection to my printing your letter to me of April 8th last, respecting Gouverneur Morris in the Convention. It is valuable in many points of view."¹

Lack of space forbids the republication in this chapter of many of Madison's letters to Mr. Sparks which have already appeared in other connections, such as the "Writings of Madison" and Sparks' "Life of Gouverneur Morris." The originals are preserved in the Sparks collection. The following letter from Sparks to Madison is dated Boston, January 17, 1832, and contains an interesting account of a proposed work on the alliance between France and the United States: "I have this moment received your obliging note of the 7th inst. Yours of November 25th had already come to hand. As to the main point in question, this letter seems to me conclusive, but I am still a good deal at a loss about the first draft of the committee. The history of the composition of that draft would be a curious item in the proceedings of the Convention. Perhaps it may hereafter receive elucidation from the papers of some member of that committee. . . ."

"Your letter respecting the part he took in the Convention I have inserted in the memoir, and am sure it will be considered as a highly interesting contribution,

¹ Madison's answer to this letter is printed in the "Writings of Madison," vol. iv., under the date November 25, 1831.

not more by the public generally than by Mr. Morris' friends.

"The work is now wholly in the printer's hands, and will be published about the first of February. I shall take the liberty of sending you a copy. Books of this kind, I presume, will reach you by mail.

"Washington's papers will go to press early in the summer, and be continued at the rate of three or four volumes a year till completed.

"I am preparing for a work of another description, to be executed in the mean time, namely 'A History of the Alliance between France and the United States, during the American Revolution.' This will be written entirely from original materials, procured from the French and English public offices. It will begin with the first motives of the French for joining the colonies, and pursue the thread of their policy, designs, and acts till the scene was closed by the treaty of 1783, embracing a history of that treaty, drawn from the original papers.

"When I was in Paris the government restricted my researches, allowing me to examine only what they called American papers, that is, the correspondence between the French court and their ministers and other officers, civil and military, in this country, and with our ministers and agents in Paris. The new government has been more liberal, and granted a full examination of all the papers touching American affairs. These consist of a series of 'memoirs' written by the different members of the Cabinet in the year 1775, on both sides of the questions, with the view of fully discussing the subject, and justifying themselves in taking part with America. They called in the aid, also, of two or three eminent juriconsults of Paris, particularly Favier and Pfeffel. I saw some of these 'memoirs,' which were curious, and ably written, but I was not permitted to copy them. There was

a great difficulty in bringing the king into the views of the party which was for acting against England, and which may with strict propriety be called Vergennes' party. Turgot and two or three other ministers were opposed to the aims of the anti-Anglicans.

“Another class of papers embraces the correspondence between the French cabinet and their ministers at the different courts of Europe, during the Revolution, on the concerns of America. These are essential to a development of the entire policy of France. It was the opinion of Mr. John Adams, and others of his turn of thinking, that France secretly traversed and obstructed the efforts of the American ministers in Spain, Holland, and Russia. I have seen abundant proofs that this was an error, founded only in suspicion. These papers will explain the whole matter.

“I have obtained permission from the present French government to have copies taken of all the above papers, and a competent person is now employed in making the inspection: The facts brought together from these materials will be curious, and of very great utility in supplying a branch of our Revolutionary history. They will conflict with some long-standing impressions, but let them conflict if they tell the truth. They will prove that France engaged in our cause advisedly, and acted with honor and fidelity throughout the whole. They will dispel the clouds which jealousy, ignorance, wounded vanity, and mortified ambition unjustly and cruelly cast on Franklin's political character while he was abroad, and show that his integrity and the purity of his patriotism were equaled only by his unrivaled genius and sagacity. The details of the French policy in all the stages of the war will also appear, as well as the secret views of the principal governments of Europe in regard to the American cause.

“In the year 1768, the Duke de Choiseul, then minister, sent to this country the Baron de Kalb, with instruc-

tions to ascertain whether the colonies were in a humor to revolt, as the recent noise about the Stamp Act led him to suppose, and with an intention, in such case, to offer encouragement. I have a copy of all De Kalb's correspondence while in this country, which I lit upon by accident in looking among the old Canada papers deposited in the War Department in Paris. Nobody seems to have seen them from the time they were written to that day, for the French historians are still disputing the point whether Choiseul had any such project. M. de Marbois, in his late excellent work on Louisiana, positively denies it, as did Flassan before him, although Flassan, by order of Bonaparte, had access to all the archives in preparing his 'Histoire de la Diplomatie Française.' The truth is, De Kalb gave an account so unfavorable to the hopes of Choiseul that he was dissatisfied with the mission, and doubtless destroyed the original papers. The copy which I found was written out by De Kalb after Choiseul's resignation, and presented to the new minister in support of a claim to a compensation for his services. It got by accident into the War Department among the Canada papers, which no Frenchman ever cared to think of after the treaty of 1763, and there it has lain concealed ever since. The substance of it will fill up an important space in my projected history. So secret did De Kalb keep the object of this mission to himself, that he never even mentioned it to General Lafayette, though intimate with him for several years afterwards, and the general was much surprised to learn the existence of such papers, for it was his doctrine that Choiseul had no scheme of that sort in his head.

"But lest you should suspect I intend to anticipate my history for your special benefit, I will bring this long letter to a close, with the assurance of the very great respect and regard with which I am, sir, your obliged and most obedient servant,

JARED SPARKS."

The following letter from Mr. Sparks to Madison, written in Boston, July 16, 1830, concerns the first draft of Washington's Farewell Address and Jay's negotiations for peace with England: "I send you inclosed a copy of the extract contained in the draft of Washington's Farewell Address, as first transmitted by him to Hamilton. You will remember my saying to you that this extract purports to be the address which he had intended for the public if he had resigned at the end of the first term. It is doubtless essentially the same as the sketch you sent him. Perhaps it may have undergone slight alterations, if so, I trust you will favor me with an *exact copy* of the original.

"You will receive herewith a number of the 'North American Review' for January last, in which you will find (pp. 15-25) some remarks on Mr. Jay's negotiations,¹ which accord exactly with the tenor of M. Rayneval's letter to Mr. Monroe. The quotations there made are from the original papers, to which I had access, in the British Office of Foreign Affairs. I have written to Mr. Monroe respecting the copy you allowed me to take, but have not as yet received an answer.

"To-morrow I shall set off on a tour² of five or six weeks to Quebec, and the classic regions on the lakes, chiefly with a view of examining minutely the battle grounds, and other localities of historical note."³

¹ Mr. Sparks reviewed at length Pitkin's "History of the United States" in the "North American Review" for January, 1830, pp. 1-25. Special attention is paid to the preliminary negotiations of the treaty of 1783.

² The manuscript journal of this tour to Quebec is preserved among the Sparks papers, and contains interesting historical observations upon battlefields and military campaigns.

³ The answer to this letter is printed in the "Writings of Madison," vol. iv., under the date October 5, 1830.

CHAPTER XXI.

LETTERS TO JUDGE STORY ON WASHINGTON'S PAPERS.

WE have already seen how Mr. Sparks obtained access to the Mount Vernon papers. The first public announcement of his editorial project was heralded in the "National Intelligencer." Mr. F. T. Gray wrote February 13th from Boston to Mr. Sparks: "I have seen the notice in the 'Intelligencer' respecting your work, and saw it to-day in eight other papers, — four in New York and four here." A very elaborate statement concerning the character of Washington's manuscripts and a detailed plan for their publication were given by Mr. Sparks in the form of two open letters to Mr. Justice Story, published in the "National Intelligencer," May 19 and 22, 1827, and also in "Niles' Register," May 26, 1827. They were afterwards reprinted in a pamphlet entitled "An Account of the Manuscript Papers of George Washington, which were left by him at Mount Vernon, with a plan for their publication, Boston, 1827." This pamphlet was used as a prospectus by Mr. Sparks' agents for obtaining subscribers to the proposed work, and was also used by Mr. Sparks himself in order to explain his plan to friends in Europe. No copy of this pamphlet could be found among the Sparks papers, although a manuscript copy of the letters is preserved. The following version was copied from a file of the "National Intelligencer" in Washington. In this form the subject-matter was first presented to the country at large, and it has a permanent historical value.

JARED SPARKS TO JUDGE STORY.

MOUNT VERNON, *May 4, 1827.*

DEAR SIR, — Since I have been at this place, engaged in examining General Washington's papers, I have thought it advisable to defer replying to your kind inquiries, respecting the progress and probable results of my investigations, till I should be able to speak with some degree of certainty and confidence. After two months of assiduous application to the task, I am now prepared to state such particulars as will give you an outline of the subject, both in regard to the extent and character of the papers, and to my own plan for bringing them before the public. You are already apprised of my arrangement with Judge Washington, by which I am to have access to all the papers in the archives at Mount Vernon that belonged to General Washington, and to select and prepare for the press such parts as shall be best suited for that purpose. With this view I have been employed in a general survey of the materials, and in arranging them for future examination and use. It was a habit, adopted by General Washington at an early stage of his life, to preserve copies of all his important letters, as well those of a private as of a public nature. Before the Revolution this was a troublesome labor to him, as the copies were usually taken by his own hand, and this even during the active years of his military command on the Virginia frontier; but after the Revolution he was seldom without a secretary, who transcribed his letters into letter-books as they were written. For several of the latter years of his life he used a copying press, and the impressions thus taken are still preserved, although these letters also are for the most part recorded in volumes, so that in many cases duplicate copies are retained. Such having been his habit during a long life

of extraordinary activity, a large portion of which was devoted to pursuits various in their character and of the highest moment, it may reasonably be supposed that his papers accumulated rapidly under his hands, and that amongst them are many materials worthy of a better fate than that of being shut out from the eyes of the world, and of a more lasting preservation than can be secured to them in the condition of perishable manuscripts.

The earliest written document of much importance from the hand of Washington was the journal of his tour to the Western country, performed by the order of Governor Dinwiddie. This was printed at the time, both in this country and England, and was much applauded, as indicating a discretion, and a spirit of uncommon enterprise in so young a man, he being then hardly twenty-one years old. For several years previously to this period, he had followed the profession of a practical surveyor, in the employment of Lord Fairfax, and had surveyed numerous tracts of wild lands in the upper counties of Virginia, on both sides of the Blue Ridge. In this occupation he seemed to have peculiar pleasure, and in the end it proved of essential service, as it opened to him a knowledge of the country which was afterwards to be the theatre of his early military career; and it inured him to hardships and privations. There are now remaining journals and fragments of journals, in his own handwriting, of some of these surveying expeditions. A small volume, in particular, records the events of a tour of this kind among the Alleghany Mountains, when he was but sixteen years old. In addition to a diary of the principal incidents of each day, this volume contains his field-book, or minutes of surveys, and original drafts of letters to his friends.

But the time at which his papers begin to assume an importance worthy of special notice, as claiming a rank

in history, is when he engaged in the campaign with General Braddock. He had already returned from the affair of the Great Meadows, and been appointed by the governor of Virginia to command a body of new forces immediately to be raised and dispatched to the frontier. But as the Assembly broke up without appropriating any money to carry the scheme into effect, Washington resigned the command, and went back to his farm. Braddock shortly after landed in Virginia, and invited him to join his family as volunteer and aid-de-camp. From this date his papers have been preserved in detail, to the last day of his military services under the Virginia authorities.

These papers were recorded in letter-books, and copied out by himself when written. They consist of his correspondence with Governor Dinwiddie, the Speaker of the Virginia Assembly, the Earl of Loudoun, General Forbes, Governor Sharpe, Colonel Stanwix, Lord Fairfax, and with the subordinate officers under his command; also with his mother, brothers, and other private friends. There is, moreover, in Washington's handwriting, an entire copy of Braddock's general orders, as they were issued daily, from the time he entered Virginia till the fatal defeat, except a few days, while Washington was confined with a fever, and unable to be on duty. After his return from that expedition, and appointment to the command of the Virginia forces, his letters, orders, and instructions are minutely and fully recorded. The whole collection extends through four volumes, embracing not only his public but private letters, and exhibiting a complete history of the operations in which he was engaged. The value set by Washington on these papers may be inferred from the circumstance that, several years afterwards, he corrected the language by erasures and interlineations, and had them all transcribed anew. Both the

originals, thus corrected, and the transcripts, are preserved.

From the end of these military services till the first movements of the Revolution, Washington lived in retirement at Mount Vernon, not otherwise mingling in public affairs than as an occasional member of the House of Burgesses in Virginia. He was devoted to the cultivation of his farms. During this space of fifteen years, therefore, few papers are found of much general interest or value, except as showing the nature of his pursuits, and the traits of mind and character that marked his private life. There are several volumes pertaining to this period, chiefly in his own handwriting, which contain letters to his mercantile correspondents in London, invoices of articles shipped and ordered, journals of daily accounts, ledgers, letters to tenants and agents, and entrances of all the minute details of business incident to a personal management of his large plantations. In those days it was the custom of the Southern planters to ship their produce directly to the London market, and receive from that place, once or twice a year, by special order, all the articles of importation necessary for family use, thus acting in the double capacity of merchant and farmer. This practice was followed many years by Washington, and his papers will show that he pursued it with a skill and attention that proved him not less acquainted with the various branches of business than prompt and diligent in prosecuting them.

We are now arrived at the opening scenes of the Revolution, after which almost every day of Washington's life affords matter for history; and, happily, from that date, the records of the great events in which he bore so conspicuous a part, the testimonials of his acts, opinions, and motives, are numerous, well-preserved, and attested by the sanction of his own hand. Being actuated by a single

aim to public good, which left him nothing to conceal, and apparently anticipating the eagerness with which posterity would trace his footsteps and search into his deeds, his habitual caution to preserve every document that could in any manner help to lay open his conduct to the broad inspection of the world seemed to increase with the responsibility of his station and the wider sphere of his duties. There was probably no important public act, either performed by himself or with his counsel or approbation, for which his motives and purposes may not be easily gathered from some of his papers; and so regardless was he of any discoveries which the prying eye of curiosity might make in this respect, that he seems to have taken no pains to separate private from what might be more properly called public papers, any further than circumstances might suggest to him the prudence of such a measure for a temporary period. In whatever station he was placed by Providence, listening to no other monitor than his conscience, and obeying no other guide than the rectitude of his own heart, he never sought to shield his conduct from the most rigid scrutiny of mankind, nor to withhold or disguise any testimony that might be used in a faithful narrative of his actions. This brilliant gem in the crown of Washington's glory, this stern virtue and unmingled purity of motive, at the same time it exalts his name above every other that has been called great, communicates to his historical character a reality peculiar to him alone, and stamps the records he has left behind him with indelible marks of truth. As no country has been so fortunate as our own in the hero that achieved its national existence and greatness, so none could rely with such assurance on the facts which narrate the story of its early struggles and growing renown.

Washington's Revolutionary papers have all been transcribed into large folio volumes, amounting to forty-four

in number, and arranged according to the following classification:—

1. Letters to the Congress of the United States; to committees of Congress; to the American ministers plenipotentiary at foreign courts; to individual members of Congress in their public characters. This class contains seven volumes.
2. Letters to officers of the line, of every rank; to officers of the staff; and to all other military characters of every denomination. Sixteen volumes.
3. Letters to conventions, and committees of safety and correspondence; to governors, presidents, and other executives of states; to civil magistrates, and citizens of every denomination. Five volumes.
4. Letters to foreign ministers; to subjects of foreign nations in the immediate service of the United States, but not in virtue of commissions from Congress; to foreign officers of all other description. Two volumes.
5. Letters to officers of every rank and denomination in the service of the enemy; to British subjects of every character, with the enemy; to persons applying for permission to go to the enemy. One volume.
6. Proceedings and opinions of councils of war, and opinions of the general officers respecting the various points on which they were consulted from time to time by the commander-in-chief. Three volumes.
7. Private correspondence during the Revolution, being letters written to persons both in private and public stations, but on subjects of a private nature. Three volumes.
8. Orderly-books, containing all the orders to the army, entered in detail from the day he took command of it at Cambridge till he left it at Newburgh, at the end of the war. Seven volumes.

These volumes are arranged with a remarkable exactness of method, copied with elegance and care, and written throughout in a uniform and neat style of penmanship. Each class of subjects is brought together in a strict chronological order, and a copious index is added to every volume. The whole was executed under the immediate direction of Mr. Richard Varick, who was appointed, towards the close of the war, recording secretary to the commander-in-chief. He was employed nearly two years and a half, with the aid of three assistant clerks, in arranging and transcribing these papers. It hence appears that there are two distinct copies of every letter and other paper, from the beginning to the end of the Revolution. The originals, or copies of first drafts, which were preserved by Washington for occasional reference in camp, and from which the above volumes were transcribed, are mostly on separate sheets of paper; they are now filed in perfect order, with such labels and directions on each that any one in the whole series can be immediately consulted.

When the Revolution had terminated, and Washington was settled on his farm, although relieved from public duties, his correspondence continued to be very extensive with eminent persons in this country and Europe, and frequently on subjects of much interest and moment. From this period till the time of his accepting the Presidency, his copied letters fill six folio volumes; scarcely any of them have been printed, and on many accounts they may be considered among the most valuable of his written remains. Notwithstanding he was closely occupied with his agricultural pursuits, and visited by crowds of company from all parts of the United States and from the Old World, yet he claimed to himself hours of seclusion, and evidently bestowed no little pains on the letters he wrote to a large circle of friends, and to a few emi-

nent strangers who had courted his correspondence. To the prominent statesmen of this country he repeatedly pointed out the defects of the old Confederation, lamenting the evils that were daily undermining the body politic, and which were to be ascribed to a badly organized system of government, calling loudly on all to suggest and apply a remedy, to rouse the people to a sense of their danger, and to bring the reflecting part of the community to unite in energetic measures to stop the tide of ill-fortune that threatened to sweep away the fair fabric of liberty which had been erected at so dear a sacrifice of blood and treasure. These were perpetual themes with him in his letters to those who, from their weight of character or public station, exercised a commanding influence; and when these letters shall be published, it will be seen that the agency of Washington, in preparing the way for the new Constitution, was much more efficient than has generally been supposed. Another subject, upon which he often dwelt with apparent fondness, was the internal improvement of the country, and particularly the importance of water communications between the East and the West. His correspondence with Mr. Jefferson and other gentlemen on this subject is full of information, combined with sound views of policy that have since been successfully acted upon by the wisest men of the nation. Soon after the war was closed, he visited the internal lakes of New York, and in one of his letters he emphatically predicts that a water communication would at no distant day be opened through the western parts of that State, and enlarges on the benefits that would be derived from such a work. In short, there were few topics of much interest at that time on which he was not led more or less to touch in his letters, and especially such as related to the political condition and prospects of the country.

By his foreign correspondents he was made acquainted with the impressions entertained in Europe of the American States, and he was thus enabled to render some service by communicating intelligence and correcting errors. His numerous letters to Lafayette are fraught with a warmth of friendly feeling and kindly recollection which impart to them an uncommon charm; and his correspondence with Rochambeau, Count d'Estaing, Count de Grasse, and other French officers, with whom he had shared the toils of war and the triumphs of victory, is highly honorable to the parties, and replete with incidents that may be perused with pleasure at the present day.

The following are the names of a very small number only of the persons with whom he habitually corresponded during the period to which I have been alluding. In this country: Franklin, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, Richard Henry Lee, Edmund Randolph, Patrick Henry, Jay, Knox, Lincoln, Moultrie, Clinton, Charles Carroll, Benjamin Harrison, Humphreys, Gouverneur Morris, Grayson, George Mason, Arthur Lee, Boudinot, Robert Morris, Trumbull, Henry Lee, Marshall, Pinckney, Rutledge, Hopkinson, Thomas Johnson, Dr. Ramsay, General St. Clair, Baron Steuben. In Europe: Lafayette, Rochambeau, Count d'Estaing, Count de Grasse, Duke de Lauzun, Chevalier de Chastellux, Chevalier de la Luzerne, Count de Noailles, Marquis de la Rouiere, Count de Moustier, Dumas, Don Diego Gardoqui, Count de Florida Blanca, Paul Jones, Countess of Huntington, Mrs. Macaulay Graham, Arthur Young, Lord Fairfax, Dr. Gordon, Sir Edward Newingham, and numerous others.

When Washington entered upon the arduous office of the Presidency he was, of course, obliged to relinquish a portion of his private correspondence, yet his early-formed and long-continued habits of industry procured him

leisure from his public duties, and within the years of his presidential labors are seven volumes of recorded private letters, besides many others of which press copies were taken, and which were not entered in books. A long letter he regularly wrote, once a week, and sometimes oftener, to the manager of his plantation, press copies of which he retained; and he kept up a spirited correspondence on agricultural subjects with Sir John Sinclair, Arthur Young, Mr. Anderson, and other persons. His European correspondents rather increased than diminished, but his answers became brief and formal. Many, indeed, were turned over to his secretary. It appears to have been a fixed principle with him, all his life, never to receive a letter of any description, respectful in its language, without replying to it, and, commonly, with great promptness. The number of letters which came to him from all quarters, on subjects having no relation to his own concerns, would hardly be credited without ocular proof. Letters from persons in distress, asking charity; letters from old soldiers and soldiers' widows, making claims on the government; letters suggesting projects of improvement; letters innumerable from Europe, desiring information as to the inducements for emigrating to America, and inquiring about lost relatives or friends supposed to be in this country, or about lands or other property in some of the States, — these are but a few of the topics upon which he received almost daily communications. All the world seemed to think that, if they wished to know anything concerning America, they had only to write to Washington. In no instance did he treat such applications, obtrusive as they were, with harshness or neglect. In acts of charity he was open-handed to an extreme; where information was desired, he frequently submitted to a good deal of trouble in collecting it; where claims were presented over which he

had no control, he would put the petitioner into the proper channel for having them examined and adjusted. To all letters of this sort, whether he could return a favorable answer or not, and however humble a rank in life the writer might sustain, he never failed to reply in a condescending and friendly manner.

Among the letters demanding particular attention, while he was President, are those of a private and confidential nature to our ministers abroad, — Gouverneur Morris, Pinckney, Jay, Monroe, King; and those to the members of the Cabinet, — Jefferson, Hamilton, Randolph, Pickering, Knox, — during his absence at Mount Vernon, and while he was on the western expedition caused by the insurrection in Pennsylvania. Morris was in France at the first movements of the Revolution, and the correspondence with him goes largely into a discussion of principles and events then showing themselves in that country. But in all the papers left by Washington, there is nothing which can be read with more satisfaction than his private correspondence with Mr. Jay while the British treaty was in agitation and progress. Such a flame did that instrument kindle in the nation, when it was promulgated, that, even at the present day, it is almost impossible to touch upon it without stirring up some of the slumbering embers of party. Could the private letters of Washington and Jay have been exhibited in broad daylight to the public, when the treaty was laid before the Senate there would have been but one loud and undivided voice as to the motives of these men, their unsullied patriotism, and ardent efforts for the best interests of the country, whatever might have been thought of any features in the treaty itself. In fine, I take it upon me to say, without qualification, that, among the mass of Washington's private and confidential papers pertaining to the stormy seasons of his administration, there is no

record that dreads the light, none that would, in the smallest degree, detract from the brightness of his character by being exposed. The early dissensions between Hamilton and Jefferson he endeavored to soothe and quell, for he was a sincere friend to them both. He gave every facility to Randolph that he could possibly claim or desire, for making a full and fair vindication; and in all times of trial and excitement he maintained a dignity, firmness, and composure which, at the same time they proved the integrity of his heart, calmed the troubled elements of party, and reared the pillars of government on a solid and durable foundation.

In addition to the volumes of letters just mentioned as pertaining to the period of the Presidency, there are fourteen other volumes, in which are recorded the transactions of the President with Congress and the heads of the departments, and which consist of letters that passed between him and the secretaries on special subjects; also, opinions, reports, and intelligence from the secretaries. Among other records is a private journal kept by the President, in which his official acts and intercourse with the departments are daily noted down.

After Washington had again retired from the scenes of a public station, his letters were still numerous and important to the end of his life, especially those written to President Adams, Pickering, Hamilton, Pinckney, Knox, and McHenry on the concerns of the provisional army. Nor were his old correspondents forgotten or neglected. At this period, also, he wrote on agricultural subjects, and gave minute instructions in writing to his managers for the cultivation of his farms.

I have only to add that, besides the papers hitherto mentioned, there are three volumes of addresses received by him at different times from States, cities, towns, religious societies, colleges, academies, Masonic lodges, benev-

olent institutions, civil, political, and military associations, and other corporate bodies without number. Some of these were sent from Europe. They are all methodically recorded, together with the answers to them, and the originals are for the most part preserved.

Having thus presented you with a brief sketch of General Washington's papers, as they are now found at Mount Vernon, I shall defer to another letter an exposition of the method by which I propose to arrange and prepare them for the press.

Meantime, I am, sir, etc.,

JARED SPARKS.

Hon. JOSEPH STORY.

MOUNT VERNON, *May 7, 1827.*

DEAR SIR, — Having in a former letter presented you with a brief account of the character and importance of General Washington's papers, as they are preserved at Mount Vernon, I now proceed to explain the manner in which it is contemplated to prepare them for the press, and send them out to the public. You will recollect that it was stated to have been his custom from early life to retain copies of his letters and other papers. These copies amount to more than sixty manuscript folio volumes, besides others on file which were never transcribed, the whole embracing his public and private letters, nearly all he wrote, in fact, on military, political, civil, agricultural, and miscellaneous subjects.

It is obvious that it would be quite inexpedient to print in detail such a mass of papers which the public can neither spare money to purchase nor time to read; yet every American will desire to have preserved, in a durable form, such portions of the writings of Washington as illustrate his own great deeds and character, and reflect honor on the country whose national existence and prosperity his services contributed so much to create

and establish. A judicious selection from the whole, therefore, is all that can with propriety be attempted. Limits should be fixed, which will not be so narrow as to exclude anything of essential value, nor yet so broad as to incumber the work with materials that will add more to its bulk and expense than to its interest and utility. At this medium it is my intention to aim. Amid such a multitude of papers, treating on topics so various, and relating to events of the first magnitude, as well as to the innumerable incidents of private life, the task of selection and classification will not be without its embarrassments. How far these may be effectually overcome must remain to be proved by the experiment.

Notes and historical additions will be inserted throughout the work, tending to elucidate the text, and to place in the clearest view the motives, opinions, and actions of Washington. In discharging this duty, however, special care will be taken to avoid prolixity, and to introduce nothing which shall not have a direct bearing on the subject in hand; for it is not my purpose to connect with the writings of Washington a history of the times, any further than that history may be developed by the writings themselves, and by the introduction of such facts as have an intimate alliance with them. But, to lead you to a more exact understanding of my plan, I shall descend somewhat to particulars, and draw out the scheme which, upon mature reflection, I have concluded to follow. A general method, by which the materials may be thrown into proper classes, is the first requisite; and the next is a skillful arrangement of those materials in their respective divisions, accompanied by appropriate notes and historical elucidations. To compass both these ends, the work will be divided into six parts, in each of which papers of a similar description will be included, according to the order now to be specified: —

PART I.

Letters and Other Papers relating to Washington's Early Military Career in the French Wars, and as Commander of the Virginia Forces.

This period will occupy a comparatively small portion of the work, yet it will by no means be the least valuable. When it is recollected that Washington was then a mere youth, engaged in hazardous enterprises, to which he was led by his native ardor and spirit; that, from the age of twenty-two to twenty-seven, he held a very responsible command over the united forces of the largest colony on the continent, and was required to defend a dangerous frontier, where he was exposed to the perpetual incursions of the French and Indians; that he acquitted himself honorably on all occasions, and received the public thanks of his government, and the unanimous applause of his fellow-citizens, for his good conduct,—when these circumstances are brought to mind, the conviction cannot be resisted that an account of such a train of occurrences, written by his own hand while these were taking place, must have much in it worthy to be treasured up among the permanent records of the country, for the inspection of the present and of future generations. Neither should it be forgotten that this was the theatre in which he gained the knowledge and experience that carried him successfully through the great Revolutionary contest. In conducting these early campaigns, he rested mainly on the resources of his own mind, and was driven by necessity, as well as inclination, to familiarize himself not more with the tactics and skill of military science than with the intricate and embarrassing duties of providing supplies for an army. Hence it was that, sixteen years afterwards, when he took command of the Continental

forces at Cambridge, he was prepared to enter at once upon the charge of a station beset with difficulties which, it is probable, no other man in the country had experience to surmount, however well armed he might have been with prudence and fortitude. Regarded in this light, as affording the best history of the events to which they refer, and of the formation of Washington's military character, these papers come to us with high claims. But they have other qualities in their own merits not less to be esteemed; they are written in a plain but perspicuous and energetic style, replete with sound observations, and everywhere showing the same elevation of mind, the same insight into human nature, the same undeviating sense of justice and stern regard for moral principle, the same perseverance in the discharge of duty, which marked his future years. Some of the distinguished persons with whom he corresponded at this period were mentioned in my former letter.

In making the selection for this part, regard will be had to the substance and historical character of the papers, so as to exhibit the intellectual habits, moral feelings, and special views of the writer together with as regular a narrative of occurrences as can be obtained by such a method. The notes will be designed chiefly to explain allusions in the text to particulars necessarily omitted, to fill out breaks in the narrative, and occasionally to trace the connection between the proceedings on the Virginia frontier and operations in other colonies, with remarks on the colonial policy of the English government then prevailing.

PART II.

Letters and Other Papers relating to the American Revolution.

Here is opened a wide field, but the papers are so admirably classified, according to Washington's directions, that little difficulty will be felt in exploring it. All the letters, whether private or public, the orders, instructions, addresses, and other documents which may find a place under this division, will be printed in strict chronological order. In some respects a classification by subjects and campaigns would be preferable, but, taking the whole together, this would create a confusion and transposition of dates that would overbalance any advantage that might be derived from such an arrangement. By keeping in the order of time, the thread of history will be preserved entire, although sometimes obscured by extraneous matter. Letters to the President, members and committees of Congress, to the governors of States, officers of the army, and private individuals will be inserted collectively in the exact order of their dates. Subjects, particular trains of events, distinct military operations, the doings of the States in relation to the army, proceedings of committees of Congress while visiting the army, defense of fortifications and military posts, correspondence of the commander-in-chief with the French officers, accounts of detachments and of the separate lines of the army, — all these and similar subjects, which extend through a considerable space of time, may be easily examined by the aid of an index which will be added at the end of the work.

To make a choice of the best materials, from so voluminous a mass as forty-four volumes of manuscript, is the main difficulty to be encountered in preparing this part.

The two volumes of Washington's official letters which have been printed embrace those only to the president of Congress, for about three years and a half of the war. Some of the others to the same officer were also printed in the newspapers. Yet all these together constitute a very small part of the Revolutionary letters, and hardly any of the remainder were ever made public. In selecting papers under this large division, I shall be guided by one rule only, — that of choosing such as shall seem most worthy of lasting preservation in the shape of historical annals. These will not always be the letters to persons highest in office; on the contrary, many of the private letters are more valuable than the public ones, because the writer utters his thoughts more fully and with less reserve. There is, for instance, a letter from Washington to his brother, soon after the battle of Germantown, which gives a more satisfactory account of that affair, for a reader of the present day, than his public communication to Congress. The same may be said of a similar letter concerning the capture of Fort Mifflin. His private letters to the officers of the army, particularly to Greene and Lafayette, and indeed to most of the major-generals, often throw light upon his official dispatches by expressing his opinions and purposes with more freedom and confidence. No distinction will be made, therefore, between official and private letters during the Revolution, but whatever is most pertinent will claim the preference.

The notes to this division will be frequent, growing out of a fruitful stock of materials. Four abundant sources of these exist among Washington's papers: first, the books of orders, in which the daily proceedings of the army through the whole war are entered; secondly, the results of councils of war, and the opinions of the general officers in writing, on important topics submitted

to them by the commander-in-chief; thirdly, the letters of the army, which are all preserved; fourthly, returns received by the commander-in-chief from the officers of the army, weekly and monthly, reports of the inspectors, the quartermasters, and other officers for superintending the various departments of the army, and minutes respecting the arrangements of the different lines. Use will also be made of a large and valuable collection of materials which I have obtained by a personal inspection of the Revolutionary papers in *the public offices of all the old States*. As these are manuscripts, and have never been printed, it may be presumed that they will be consulted with profit. The private papers of several of the major-generals of the army, and members of the old Congress, have likewise been examined, and the results will be rendered subservient to the same purpose. The papers of the old Congress itself have all been kept, and are now in the office of the Secretary of State. They are of the highest importance in connection with this subject, and will be carefully consulted. To guard against the danger of redundance, where the theme is so fertile and matter so full, I shall endeavor to confine the notes strictly to facts and plain deductions illustrative of the text, keeping clear of conjectures, speculations, and theories, which may safely be left to the imagination of the reader. A few incidents, which produced considerable excitement when they took place, and in which the character of Washington was concerned, will perhaps be examined anew, such as the cases of André and of Asgill, the affair of Conway and Gates, and that of General Charles Lee. The original papers relating to these subjects, some of which were never published, are on file. The policy of Washington, in a few of his military movements, may also receive further investigation. But these are only hints, and to what extent they will be verified it may not be wise now to predict.

PART III.

Private Correspondence on Public Affairs.

You are already informed that after the Revolution Washington took a deep interest in public concerns, although living and acting in retirement. His letters betray the secret workings of his mind, and the painful emotions with which he contemplated the prospects of the country under the old Confederation. To his friends in Europe and America he wrote much and feelingly on this subject. His letters upon the internal navigation of the States may likewise be considered of a public nature; and particularly his correspondence with several persons on the convention for forming the new Constitution, and the progress of the state conventions for adopting the same. To the letters of this description, which will come under this third division, may be added his private letters to our ministers in foreign countries, to the members of the Cabinet, and to several of his other intimate friends while he was President. If there were any such thing as a secret history of Washington's administration, it might be expected to be developed in this correspondence; but in truth there is no such thing. The contents of these letters, it is true, have not been made known, and this is the whole amount of their secrecy: when taken in connection with one another, no caution is required in submitting them to the public eye; and to withhold them would be to keep out of sight some of the strongest testimonies of his singular virtue and patriotism. Another class of letters, which may be ranked under this head, are those written to President Adams, Colonel Pickering, and the other heads of departments; and, also, to Hamilton and Pinckney, during the two last years of his life.

Parts of this division will require a good many notes, especially the letters to ministers abroad and the members of the Cabinet. These involve topics that will need some further explanation than is contained in the letters themselves, but which may often be derived from the answers, and other documents. The records of intercourse between the President and the departments, mentioned in my last letter, will be consulted for the same purpose, and also the official correspondence during Washington's Presidency, on file in the office of the Secretary of State.

PART IV.

Messages and Addresses.

In the first years of the new government, the President's communications at the opening of the sessions of Congress were called speeches, and those transmitted afterwards, till the end of the session, were denominated messages. All these will come into this fourth part, together with proclamations, and a selection of some of the best addresses, or rather replies to addresses, that were made to Washington at different periods of his life.

To this part free additions will be contributed by way of notes. In the character of Washington there was not a more predominant practical trait than his extreme care to possess himself of the views of persons in whom he had confidence, respecting any public measure, before he proceeded to act. This was his uniform practice in the army, and one to which he adhered more rigidly, if possible, after he was placed at the head of the government. A speech or message was rarely composed before he had consulted the members of the Cabinet, and solicited their opinions separately in writing, both as to the points suit-

able to be introduced, and the manner of introducing them. When these opinions had been compared, deliberately examined, and weighed, he would construct his message according to the dictates of his judgment, thus enlightened, sometimes making free use of what had been furnished, at others choosing in preference the suggestions of his own mind. It was a rule with him, however, to adopt what he deemed the best thoughts, words, and expressions, from whatever quarter they might come. Several of these elements of messages are preserved, and are curious as showing the steps by which a mind like Washington's was gradually led to results on subjects of delicacy and magnitude, and the invariable caution with which he submitted his views to the public. Among the persons whom he appears to have consulted with special confidence were Hamilton, Jefferson, Randolph, and Pickering, of the Cabinet, and also Jay and Madison. Even after Hamilton retired from the Cabinet, he was applied to with scarcely less freedom and frequency than while in a public station.

The opinions of the members of the Cabinet, commonly written out with care and labor, on various important subjects brought up from time to time for discussion, possess much value as connected with the history of the events of that day. It was a period when some of the most interesting points relating to the intercourse between the United States and other countries had not been settled, and when our infant republic was not of an age to have gained wisdom and character by experience. On the question whether a minister from France, during the distracted state of that country, should be received without qualification, it is well known the Cabinet were divided, — Hamilton and Knox being on one side, and Jefferson and Randolph on the other. This involved another question, — whether the treaty with France was

binding on the United States, or whether the dissolution of the old French government had made it null. This question was argued with great ability by Hamilton and Jefferson, on opposite sides. Other important opinions of the respective members of the Cabinet were those relative to the ratification of the treaty with Great Britain; also, respecting the recall of the American Minister from France; and a series of opinions on the resolution of the House of Representatives requesting papers from the President which he refused to grant. In these subjects, and others of a similar kind, the public took a deep concern, and the papers in question afford the fullest testimony that they were not acted upon by the President without earnest inquiry and deliberation, and the use of all the means that could be obtained for informing and guiding his judgment. These papers will be freely consulted, as occasion may require.

PART V.

Miscellaneous Private Letters.

Compared with the other materials, the number of letters strictly private, and suited for publication, is not large. It is presumed that letters of this sort, being deemed less important, were not copied with so much scrupulous care as others. Taking in the whole series, however, there will be found not a few which are in all respects worthy of the writer, and will add to the value and dignity of the work. The benevolence and kindness of his nature, which could hardly be manifested in the correspondence of a public man, sent out from a camp or the highest office of state, will here be disclosed. His remarks on human life in its connections with retirement and the social principle; his interchange of feelings and

sentiments with relations, friends, and neighbors; his advice to the young, counsels to the imprudent, consolations to the afflicted; his reflections and practical hints on the proper economy of time and means,—all these have attractions which will make his private letters highly valued. They present his character as a private man in an engaging light, and one which will not be eclipsed by his public virtues.

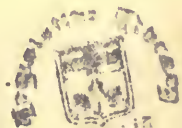
PART VI.

Agricultural Papers.

There was no station in which Washington took more delight, or the duties of which he discharged with more zeal and activity, than that of a practical farmer. His achievements in this walk were prodigious. It may be fairly questioned whether any other individual in the country, not excepting the most industrious and enterprising, who has been devoted to this pursuit alone, has ever accomplished so much. He was commander of an army and at the head of a nation for a few years only at a time, but a day never passed in which his farm was out of his mind. During the whole war he was planning improvements, directing them, and often writing letters of minute instructions to his managers. While President of the United States it was his standing custom to write weekly, and to receive weekly returns, in which he required great particularity and exactness in specifying occurrences, and the employment and progress of the laborers. I have before me a volume of press copies of letters written in one year, during the Presidency, to his manager and overseers. Some of them extend to several pages, and they average more than one a week. They are written in his own hand, with its usual fair and regular character, and bear every mark of having been as

much studied in expression and style as any of his compositions. In some cases, and probably in most, they were written and copied out by himself before the press impressions were taken. Such was his habit for years amidst the burden of his public cares. There is also before me a curious agricultural document, dated four days before his death. It is a manuscript pamphlet of twenty-four folio pages, written in a close hand, containing instructions to his manager for the cultivation of three farms on the estate at Mount Vernon the following year. Each farm was divided into lots, which were numbered. In the pamphlet very full instructions are given how to cultivate *every lot* in the three farms during the next year, stating the crops, with remarks on the soil, the products of former years, and the results of former experiments. Washington died, you will recollect, in the middle of December, and this pamphlet, drawn up evidently with much labor and reflection, was already prepared to be handed to the manager at the beginning of the year, prefaced by a letter of general directions on the importance of method and forethought in farming operations, and this notwithstanding he was himself to be on the plantation and exercise daily supervision.

These instances are mentioned only as examples; they indicate the habit, and it is unnecessary to add more. For a time he kept an agricultural journal, and was engaged in experiments on a rotation of crops, noting down for a series of years the crops of each lot, with remarks on the comparative success of different rotations. He was at much pains to stock his farms with the best breeds of animals, and his grounds were adorned with rare and curious trees and shrubs, collected from various parts of the United States and from foreign countries. His correspondence with Sir John Sinclair, Mr. Anderson, and Arthur Young, on agriculture, has been printed. It is



not my intention to select much for publication under this head, but such papers will be included, and such illustrations appended, as will exhibit in their due proportions the character of Washington on his farm, and his attention to the humbler concerns of life.

Here I bring to a close what I proposed to say in reply to your inquiries; and if your patience has carried you along with me thus far, you will possess as full and accurate an account of the present condition of the papers of General Washington, and the manner in which they are to be prepared for publication, as I have been enabled to embrace within the limits which I prescribed to myself. You will observe that the great object is to publish such a collection of Washington's writings as will hold a permanent place in the historical literature of the country, and transmit to posterity in one body the best memorials of his character and actions, and the best fruits of his mind, that were recorded by himself. I will add that the letters *received* by him constitute a mass of materials more extensive and important than would be inferred from the casual manner in which I have alluded to them, and that they will afford me very essential aids throughout the work. They amount in number to more than *twenty thousand*, and the literary merits of a portion of them are of a much higher order than is common in letters of the same promiscuous character; comparatively few persons wrote to Washington on trifling subjects, and few without more than ordinary care in regard to ideas and style. At no distant day it is presumed a selection from these letters will be published. Each volume of the work in contemplation will probably have an appendix, in which extracts from them will occasionally be inserted. I hardly need repeat to you, what you know

already, that Chief Justice Marshall most cordially approves my undertaking, and will favor me with such assistance, by his counsel and otherwise, as his intimate knowledge of the papers will make it easy for him to render.

If you ask me how large the work will be, when finished on the above plan, I cannot reply with certainty to your question. I may venture to predict, however, that it will not be less than eight volumes nor more than twelve; and these bounds have suggested themselves in accordance with the principle heretofore stated, that it will not be advisable to print so much as to encroach on a proper economy of purse and time in the reader, nor so little as to leave materials of substantial value behind. If you ask, again, when the publication will be closed, I am equally at a loss for a definite answer. I have nearly completed a general assortment of the papers, and prepared them for a removal to Boston, where I shall apply myself to the task with as much expedition as the nature of the undertaking and my other pursuits will admit.

As the work is of a kind to have an equal interest with readers in every part of the United States, it will be published by subscription, and every person so disposed will have an opportunity of procuring a copy with facility from the hands of agents to be employed for the purpose. Within a few weeks a prospectus will be issued and put in circulation. It is intended that the style of printing shall be handsome, and worthy of the subject, but not so expensive as to impose an unreasonable tax on the purchasers. The volumes will be published one, two, or three at a time, and at such periods as circumstances may render convenient.

A work thus comprising the best of Washington's

writings, faithfully prepared in its literary execution, and published in the form and manner here described, will have claims, it is hoped, to general approbation, and to a liberal patronage from the American public.

I am, sir, etc.,

JARED SPARKS.

Hon. JOSEPH STORY.

CHAPTER XXII.

PUBLICATION OF SPARKS' WASHINGTON.

JUDGE STORY wrote to Mr. Sparks from Salem, June 1, 1827: "I have read with unmixed satisfaction your public letters as well as your private letter recently addressed to me. As to the former, I confess myself under the greatest obligations to you for the full, exact, and most interesting view they present of the Washington MSS., and of your plan for the publication. I agree with the public in opinion that nothing could occur more completely to sustain the elevation of General Washington's character and to increase the admiration of his talents and virtues, than your development of his acts and writings. There is but one sentiment on the subject. All the world is busy in praising the enterprise and the editor. I go along heartily with the common tide, glad 'to pursue the triumph and partake the gale.' I also entirely approve your plan for the publication. It is deemed universally judicious, and in my judgment is the very best that could be devised. I think the publication will have a great sale, and will secure a most extensive patronage. What do you mean to do as to England? You ought, if possible, to secure some of the profits of an edition there. On this subject we must talk when I have the pleasure of meeting you.

"I rejoice exceedingly in your success in this enterprise. I am confident it will give you a permanent fame with the best of all associations, with the life and glory of the father of his country. May God bless and prosper you in the sequel is the sincere wish of your respectful and affectionate friend."

Judge Washington was so much pleased with the letters to Judge Story that he wrote to Mr. Sparks as follows: "Your letters to Mr. Justice Story have excited but one sentiment everywhere, so far as I can understand, and that, the most favorable to your undertaking. Public curiosity is highly wound up and will, I doubt not, be most abundantly gratified when the work comes out. Public confidence in the plan of the work and the talents of the editor is certainly great and universal. I have no apprehension that anything can occur to weaken it."

In a letter to Judge Washington, written by Mr. Sparks from Philadelphia, June 4, 1827, is the following passage regarding the general public recognition of his plan of publication: "I have been gratified with the manner in which the public has received my letters to Judge Story. They have been printed in almost every paper that has come under my eye, and as far as I can learn with universal approbation. This indication of public sentiment is encouraging, and as nothing can diminish the interest felt in General Washington's papers, so I trust no circumstance will occur to weaken the confidence which seems now to be reposed in the editor."

It is quite clear from Mr. Sparks' correspondence with Judge Story that editorial discretion was to be the determining factor in the selection and arrangement of Washington's papers for publication. There was no thought of a complete edition of all of Washington's writings at this early date, although Mr. Sparks recognized the possible demands of the future in this regard. His ideas upon the inexpediency of printing everything in his popular edition appear in the following letter to David Bolles, of Eastford, Connecticut, June 21, 1827: "Your views of the mode of publishing are in some respects judicious, yet I should not in any case think it advisable to publish 'everything.' Washington wrote a vast many letters on matters of busi-

ness, which were of a temporary nature, and have no public value. I am persuaded, after a full examination, that it is best to make a selection of the most important papers which may be treasured up as permanent materials of history. These will be suited to hold a place in all libraries and to be consulted by all persons. Hereafter, perhaps, it will be expedient to print others, which are less valuable and designed for a less extensive circulation. When the work shall appear, I flatter myself that you and the public generally will be satisfied with the plan proposed."

Before Mr. Sparks sailed for Europe in December, 1827, he engaged Mr. Samuel A. Eliot to supervise the selections and copies that were to be made from Washington's letters. Indeed, by a document dated December 10, 1827, Mr. Sparks, in case he should not return, made over his entire interest in the Washington papers to this same friend, Mr. Eliot, who had advanced money to organize and support the enterprise. In making this assignment Mr. Sparks did not include his previous labor and expenses, which he estimated at one thousand dollars. Mr. Eliot wrote to Mr. Sparks July 8, 1828: "Washington's works have cost me now about \$2,000, but have come to a stand at present. Charles Bowen has about one hundred and fifty pages copied toward the first volume, but he is now engaged as William's clerk, and has deferred the remainder."

Mr. S. A. Eliot wrote again to Mr. Sparks from Boston, November 25, 1828, as follows: "The four volumes of Washington's letters which you left with me to select from and copy are ready, with all the notes and illustrations which seem necessary; which are very few, for the letters explain themselves very much, leaving only enough to the imagination of the reader to exercise it agreeably. I think you have rather overestimated the amount of those

letters. With all the requisite notes they will hardly cover two hundred and fifty pages, or about half a volume; and the sources of information with regard to his early life, before the commencement of his letters, are so exceedingly meagre that three hundred pages will be enough for everything as far as the years 1758-59, and from there to the Revolution ten lines will tell the whole story, and as I think it very important to compress the work, as far as is consistent with the purpose of giving a full and true view of Washington's character and mind, I was quite pleased to find that such was the state of the case. They are admirable letters, and considering his time of life, the character he had already established was wonderful."

Mr. Samuel A. Eliot took the greatest interest, from the outset, in his friend Sparks' editorial enterprise. Indeed, without Eliot's financial aid and friendly coöperation, the execution of the project would have been well-nigh impracticable. Eliot lent considerable assistance also in the preparation of manuscript, in the revision of proof-sheets, and correction of plates. It is perfectly clear from the correspondence¹ of the two friends that he was even more zealous than Sparks for the reputation of Washington. Samuel Eliot and Charles Folsom were the two principal advisers of Jared Sparks in the publication of the "Life and Writings." The friend first named furnished the capital required. The second saw the work through the University Press at Cambridge.

EDITORIAL DUTY.

The question of editorial duty with regard to preserving the letter or the spirit of original writings was early raised by Charles Folsom. In a letter to Sparks, January 31, 1827, Folsom inquired concerning the method proposed in copying certain manuscripts that had been

¹ MS. letter of S. A. Eliot to Jared Sparks, June 6, 1833.

intrusted to him: "In copying the letters, etc., you committed to me, the copier asks if the bad spelling and false syntax are to be retained in the copy. I answer, 'Yes, certainly; only let the character be fair and legible. The copy of original papers should retain all such peculiarities of the author, as they serve to show his quality and education, as well as the fashion of his times. Besides, such emendations of orthography and grammar are hazardous, and in authoritative documents the citer should be able to know the very cut of the beard of his witness. We ought to have no other means of understanding such papers than were had by those to whom they were addressed, lest we understand too much or too little.' Please tell me if your doctrine is like mine, for we stop till we know your mind. Some of the papers are illiterate enough for a common soldier." It is not absolutely certain that these observations refer to Washington's letters, for Mr. Sparks had not yet removed the great mass of papers from Mt. Vernon, but it is highly probable that some of Washington's writings, elsewhere collected by Mr. Sparks, had been intrusted to Charles Folsom and his copyist. In any case, Folsom's views are interesting as early representing a strict construction of editorial duty.

About a year later, in his journal for January 15, 1828, after a conference with John Quincy Adams, then President of the United States, Mr. Sparks made this memorandum: "Mr. Adams thought it best to correct freely all blunders in orthography and grammar which appear in Washington's letters. These errors are common to all writers. He observed that he had seen some of Voltaire's manuscripts; that they were remarkable throughout for incorrect spelling. He also observed that he often found himself falling into the same blunders." Here we have the liberal view of editorial duty, corresponding perhaps to President Adams' loose construction view of the Ameri-

can Constitution. Judge Marshall must have entertained the same editorial sentiments, for he corrected freely what James Madison called "specks of inaccuracy" in Washington's letters. It is not strange that Mr. Sparks followed the example of Marshall, the advice of John Quincy Adams, and the literary standards of his time.

We should, moreover, never forget that Mr. Sparks, when he began his work upon the Washington manuscripts, had been for some years editor of the "North American Review," and that he understood his business. Like every careful editor, he regarded it as his duty to correct manifest faults in contributed articles or in printers' proof. Mr. Sparks once declared to William B. Lawrence, in a letter dated March 16, 1829: "It should be law with editors to omit what they think proper, but never to insert an opinion without the approbation of the writer of the article." Mr. Sparks never asked his contributors to allow him the privilege of correcting their blunders or of omitting doubtful passages. He always did what seemed to him his editorial duty, boldly and freely, without making apologies. Even in these latter days, writers for the press generally yield to editorial discretion, and are sometimes grateful for their literary salvation. No man, except an American humorist or an author of stories in dialect, could really enjoy seeing in print his own misspelled words or manifest errors.

Mr. Sparks thought that a dead author was entitled to some consideration from his literary executors, and that the writings of George Washington ought to be printed in such corrected form as the author himself would have approved. Washington had already begun in his lifetime that process of literary revision of his own letters which Jared Sparks completed, according to his best judgment. He could not disregard Washington's example. He made no secret of his editorial methods. They are all fully

explained in the prefaces to the second and third volumes of "The Life and Writings of Washington."

Mr. Sparks did exactly what he undertook to do, and was required to do by his agreement and understanding with Judge Washington and Judge Marshall. Mr. Sparks edited Washington's papers with some literary discretion, with a due regard to the interests of the living as well as of the dead. He proposed to issue in attractive, readable, popular form, a series of twelve volumes of good selections from a great mass of historical and biographical materials concerning the father of his country. It was a patriotic and literary undertaking, not a mere antiquarian reprint or an indiscriminate collection of documents.

No publisher in the world would have dared at that early period to attempt a complete edition¹ of all of Washington's writings, without regard to the popular demand and the prevailing literary taste. Jared Sparks knew what he was trying to do, and did it like a faithful editor. He showed his good sense in adapting his work to the then needs of the American people, and to the literary taste of the times in which he lived. It was a period when popular interest in American history was just dawning. Chief Justice Marshall had set the example of correcting and condensing Washington's letters. Bancroft was writing his rhetorical history of the United States, with an ingenious use of printed sources, and quo-

¹ In a letter dated at Madrid, September 2, 1828, Alexander H. Everett said to Mr. Sparks: "State papers and public documents of whatever value are, as you do not need to be told, *caviar* to the many, and even the name of Washington will not, I apprehend, carry into circulation more than a limited quantity. The entire collection of his papers will probably in the end be printed at the public expense. In the mean time, a somewhat choice selection would, I should imagine, answer your purpose better than a too voluminous one, and fully satisfy the present appetite of the common reader at home and abroad."

tation marks at will. Individuals were collecting family papers for discreet publication in biographical form. Peter Force was about to begin his "Documentary History of the American Revolution." Neither copyists nor editors in those days were very critical. Even the best scholars thought more of literary appearance than of literal accuracy in the printing of historical texts. As an illustration of the literary spirit of the times, Edward Everett's letter to Jared Sparks, April 23, 1833, may here be cited. Everett actually made the following proposal for a readable edition of the records of the United Colonies of New England: "Would not a new edition of the records of the United Colonies, with modernized orthography, and other facilities for reading, with a history of that league, by way of introduction and notes, be a valuable work? The preparation of it would be holiday sport to you." In the days of Everett, Sparks, and Noah Webster, almost every American editor¹ modernized old-fashioned spelling and piously corrected ancestral mistakes. The early publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society show what methods of publishing original documents long prevailed in New England.

¹ Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in a personal letter to the present editor, gave this advice with regard to treatment of the question of Mr. Sparks' conception of editorial duty: "In dealing with his alterations of Washington's letters, I think you should point out that this practice should be studied (like witchcraft) in view of the habits of the period. It is only very lately that there has come to be any strict sense of the value of a quotation mark. Bancroft, Hildreth, Frothingham (R.), all revised their quotations without saying so; Professor E. T. Channing in his life of William Ellery did the same thing; and his nephew, my cousin, William Henry Channing, did the same thing constantly in the memoirs of Margaret Fuller, of which I have the MS. letters and diaries he used. It has only been outgrown since the habit came up of printing *verbatim et literatim*. Now, a quotation mark has some meaning, but it is very recent."

With regard to the literal accuracy of Sparks' version of the "Writings of Washington" it is well to remember what the editor himself said about the character of his work in the introduction to part one: "In preparing the manuscripts for the press, I have been obliged to use a latitude of discretion, rendered unavoidable by the mode in which the papers have been preserved. They are uniformly copied into volumes, and this task appears to have been performed, except in the Revolutionary correspondence, by incompetent or very careless transcribers. Gross blunders constantly occur, which not unfrequently destroy the sense, and which never could have existed in the original drafts. In these cases, I have of course considered it a duty, appertaining to the function of a faithful editor, to hazard such corrections as the construction of the sentence manifestly warranted, or a cool judgment dictated. On some occasions the writer himself, through haste or inadvertence, may have fallen into an awkward use of words, faults of grammar, or inaccuracies of style, and when such occur from this source, I have felt equally bound to correct them. It would be an act of unpardonable injustice to any author, after his death, to bring forth compositions, and particularly letters, written with no design to their publication, and commit them to the press without previously subjecting them to a careful revision. This exercise of an editor's duty, however, I have thought it allowable to extend only to verbal and grammatical mistakes or inaccuracies, maintaining a scrupulous caution that the author's meaning and purpose should thereby in no degree be changed or affected."

Mr. Sparks' matured views of editorial duty are frankly expressed in the following letter of advice, July 4, 1842, to Mr. G. A. Ward concerning a proposed edition of the letters of Thomas Corwin: "Special care should be taken to have a correct spelling of the proper names of places

and persons; a point too often neglected. The Latin and English quotations will require attention. The whole manuscript should be prepared for the press before it goes into the printer's hands. It is now full of inaccuracies. It should be compared with the original. Corrections should be freely made, because Mr. Corwin generally wrote in haste, and without the least suspicion that what he was writing would ever be printed. Under such circumstances, it would be great injustice to an author to send his manuscripts to the press without a thorough revision. The letters I suppose to be retained only in the *first drafts*, which are generally corrected by the writer in his transcripts, and often left imperfect in the drafts. For this reason the letters should be attended to with particular care. Many of the long paragraphs throughout should be broken up and made shorter." Mr. Sparks held such views to the end of his days, and there are many persons living who practically agree with some of his ideas of editorial duty. There are probably very few persons in private or public life who would consent to the posthumous publication of their own letters or journals, without the exercise of some literary discretion by a friendly editor. Froude, perhaps, best illustrates what a friend and editor should not do. Of course it is very difficult to draw the line between private matters and things that concern the public. Here is opportunity for good sense.

EDITORIAL WORK.

We can imagine the difficult nature of the editorial task to which Mr. Sparks devoted himself for a period of nearly ten years. In a letter written from Boston, December 21, 1829, to William Jay, Mr. Sparks observes incidentally: "The entire mass of Washington's papers, amounting to forty thousand letters, sent and received, is now in the room where I am writing." That must have

been a busy editorial office where Jared Sparks tried to bring some literary order out of a chaos of historical materials. When the Washington papers came into his hands, they were in loose bundles, with the exception of the letter-books. One of the first tasks was to have the letters to Washington chronologically arranged. This work was done under Mr. Sparks' direction by the Rev. Dr. Harris, of Dorchester, and the files were then strongly bound. Dr. Harris also indexed the entire collection. This index,¹ a large folio volume, Mr. Sparks found invaluable in selecting and arranging his materials. It was afterwards acquired by the State Department during the secretaryship of Daniel Webster. The work of copying the Washington letters for the press was intrusted to various parties.

¹ This valuable index is spoken of by Mr. Sparks in the following letter to Daniel Webster, July 15, 1842 : " I have received a letter from Mr. Stevens, of Vermont, in which he mentions having spoken to you about an index to the letters of Washington which are now in the Department of State. He has mentioned the same to Mr. Dickens, and he advises me to send the index to you for your inspection. I found such an index absolutely necessary for the use of the papers while I was preparing Washington's writings for the press. It was made by the late Rev. Dr. Harris, and I paid him for it \$450, which I thought at the time a moderate charge. There are references to about twenty thousand letters alphabetically arranged, with the volume and page designated, and the date of each letter affixed. In short, it is a very complete work of the kind, and would no doubt be a valuable addition to the series of volumes now in the Department. I judge of its utility not only from my own experience, but from the circumstance that I have been applied to within two or three years by several persons for extracts from this index, to guide and facilitate their examination of the original letters for historical purposes. I shall send it to you by the first opportunity, and will sell it to the Department for \$450, the original cost. If it should not be wanted, I wish Mr. Dickens to return it to me. I shall be much obliged, also, if he will acknowledge the receipt of it when it arrives."

In a letter to the New York "Evening Post," in April, 1852, Mr. Sparks briefly described the method by which he made his selections from the Washington letters: "To decide what papers should be selected in preference to others, where nearly all of them were in a certain degree important and valuable, was felt to be a responsible, delicate, and difficult task, requiring a discriminating judgment and perfect impartiality in estimating their contents. Moreover, it was precisely one of those cases in which any two minds, acting under different impressions, though aiming at the same end, would be likely often to differ. Under these circumstances, the course was taken which was believed to be the best suited to guard against erroneous decisions and estimates. The whole collection of papers, including as well the letters written by Washington as those received by him, were first perused deliberately and with careful attention. This was the labor of nearly a year. The letters chosen during this perusal were transcribed, and they formed a mass much too large for the intended work. This mass was several times revised and was reduced to a smaller compass, with constant reference to the letter-books for the purpose of comparison and of substituting other letters which, upon further examination, might seem to have higher claims, either as preserving a more connected series of historical events, or as showing in a stronger light the opinions, intellectual traits, and personal characteristics of the author. In this way the selection of the whole work was made, and whatever faults of judgment may appear as to the choice of one letter instead of another, I can truly affirm that the task was not performed with negligence or haste, nor without due consideration of every case as it arose."

When the time came to send manuscript to the printer, Mr. Sparks removed from Boston to Cambridge. There he was so fortunate as to obtain the Craigie house for his

family residence. He was first married¹ October 16, 1832. In his journal for April 2, 1833, he records with manifest pleasure: "This day began to occupy Mrs. Craigie's house in Cambridge. It is a singular circumstance that, while I am engaged in preparing for the press the letters of General Washington which he wrote at Cambridge after taking command of the American army, I should occupy the same rooms that he did at that time. Mrs. Craigie's house is the one in which he resided, and which he made his headquarters during his residence in Cambridge. We purpose to remain here during the summer, as well on account of its being a charming summer residence as that my presence near the printing-office is now very convenient. Washington's writings and the little volume of Franklin's letters are now both in press at Mr. Folsom's office in Cambridge. The college library also affords other facilities, being the most complete collection which the world affords of books relating to the history of America." The following extracts from Mr. Sparks' journal indicate the gradual progress of his great work. June 16, 1832: "Since the 1st of May I have been engaged in preparing for the press the first part of Washington's writings, particularly his correspondence during the French War. In addition to the MS. materials which I possess, I have examined the gazettes of that day, and also such printed documents and notices as have been preserved. From these I have added occasional brief notes for illustration."

March 1, 1833: "I have at last made arrangements for publishing Washington's writings, with Hilliard, Gray & Co., publishers, of Boston. I am to furnish them with the stereotype and other plates, and they are to allow me a definite sum for every copy printed, as per contract. I have likewise made a contract with Charles Folsom, of

¹ Mr. Sparks' family life will be noticed in a later chapter.

Cambridge, to print the work, or rather to supply me with the stereotype plates. Mr. Folsom's scholarship, his skill and accuracy in correcting the press, and his high personal character are a pledge that the printing will be executed in the best manner. He has made arrangements with the Boston Stereotype Foundry to execute the plates. It is my intention to have two volumes published as soon as November, and to go on with the work at the rate of about three or four volumes a year till finished. During the winter I have been mostly engaged in preparing this work for the press."

February 1, 1834: "Two volumes of Washington's writings have recently been published; that is, the second and third. The first volume will consist of a *Life of Washington*, and is to appear during the progress of the work. I can execute it much more satisfactorily after having gone over minutely with the papers in preparing them for the press. The printers are constantly employed, and it is my intention to bring out three more volumes in the autumn."

July 22, 1837: "Finished the '*Life of Washington*,' and sent the last sheet of the manuscript to the printer. The whole work in twelve volumes is now completed. It is ten years since Washington's papers were put into my hands, and a large part of my time during that period has been employed in preparing the work for the press. For the last five years I have been almost wholly devoted to it; an undertaking, in magnitude and importance, vastly beyond what I had anticipated, but which I have executed in as faithful and thorough a manner as I was capable of doing it, and which I trust will not be without public benefit."

MODE OF PUBLICATION.

Mr. Sparks considered various plans for the publication of his great work. At first he proposed to issue it by sub-

scription. Agents were secured in various parts of the country. Long before any manuscript was sent to the printers, the Boston list of subscribers numbered over two hundred and the New England list about the same. From New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, about two hundred names were secured. Three hundred more were obtained in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, with over two hundred from Alabama. These facts show how favorably the enterprise was regarded before a page had been printed.

It was finally deemed best to transfer, at a fair valuation, all subscription lists to a publishing house in Boston, and to sell to the firm the right of publishing and circulating the "Life and Writings of Washington" during the time the work was in press, and for a short term of years after the final issue. In order to control the typographical character of the work, Mr. Sparks contracted with the University Press, at Cambridge, for the composition and stereotyping of his twelve volumes. He then proposed, February 21, 1833, to Hilliard, Gray & Co., of Boston, to allow them to print from his plates four thousand copies of the entire work at sixty-two and one half cents per volume, thus expecting to realize from each \$2,500, or \$30,000 for the whole series. He finally accepted a somewhat smaller royalty upon each volume. After deducting the cost of the plates and of preparing the manuscript for the press, Mr. Sparks enjoyed a comparatively small return for his editorial labors. He wrote to Thomas Searle, of London, October 1, 1833, that "the demand in this country does not promise to be such as to afford me any adequate remuneration for the years of labor and the heavy expenses which the execution of the work will have cost me when completed." His publishing agency failed before the work was launched, but he was able to save himself from the wreck, for he owned the

plates. A new arrangement for publication was made in 1838 with Messrs. Folsom, Wells & Thurston, proprietors of the University Press in Cambridge, who paid Mr. Sparks a royalty of fifty cents a volume on the "Writings of Washington," and of eighty-five cents on the "Life." In 1840 the same firm contracted to publish an abridged edition of the "Life" in two volumes, with a royalty of twelve and one half cents a volume.¹

REVIEW OF THE WORK.

The biography of Washington, which appears as the first volume of Mr. Sparks' edition of the "Life and Writings," was issued last in the series of twelve. The editor naturally wished to embody in his introductory biographical work the best results and latest discoveries

¹ This abridged and popular edition was issued in 1842. Mr. Sparks repeatedly changed his publishers. In his journal for October 20, 1841, he makes this entry: "Closed and signed a contract with Messrs. Tappan & Dennet, of Boston, by which they are to have the exclusive privilege of publishing the 'Writings of Washington,' 'Life,' and 'Abridged Life,' for the term of five years from the 1st of October, 1841, according to the conditions stipulated in the contract from this date." Extract from journal, July 24, 1846: "Concluded and signed a contract with the Harpers for the publication of a cheap edition of Washington's writings." Harper & Brothers agreed to put the work on the market at a price not exceeding \$1.50 per volume, and to pay Mr. Sparks a royalty of twenty-five cents a volume.

An attempt was made by Marsh, Capen & Company to issue, in the School Library, a popular version of the "Life" based on Sparks' work, but Judge Story and the Circuit Court in Boston decided that the book was an infringement of copyright, and its circulation was prohibited. Contracts were made with Little & Brown, in 1852 and 1854, for publishing the "Life of Washington," and a new edition of the "Writings." In a memorandum, evidently designed for Little & Brown, May 3, 1852, Mr. Sparks notes that more than 7,000 sets of "Washington's Writings" had been sold; 8,500 of the "Life," and 5,500 of the "Abridged Life." Little & Brown paid Mr. Sparks a royalty of \$2.50 on every set of twelve volumes.

derived from a careful digest of the great mass of Washington papers. Mr. Sparks arranged the materials for the entire publication in five parts. The first contains Washington's correspondence before the American Revolution. These letters are chiefly concerning the frontier wars with the French and Indians. It is this part of Washington's writings that has occasioned the greatest historical dispute, on account of discrepancies between the various texts. This first part was published in the second volume of the series, with an elaborate preface stating the principles on which the whole work was to be executed.

The second part comprised six volumes, from the third to the eighth inclusive, and embraced Washington's official and private letters regarding the Revolutionary War. These volumes are really an authentic history of that great struggle of America for independence. They contain his contemporary observations of passing events, and reveal the true character of the commander-in-chief. There are various appendices to these volumes. One of the most interesting facts brought out is in the appendix to the sixth volume. It is there shown, from letters and notes of George III. to Lord North, that this minister was really opposed to the prosecution of the American war. Mr. Sparks derived these materials from Lord Holland, whose interesting correspondence upon the subject is preserved among the Sparks papers.

The third part of the "Writings of Washington," or the ninth volume, is devoted to his private letters, from the time of his resignation as commander-in-chief to his inauguration as President. The fourth part is contained in the tenth and eleventh volumes, and comprises Washington's letters, public and private, during his two presidential terms and the two remaining years of his life. This period is most important in the political history of the country, as illustrating the origin of parties, our diplomatic relations

with foreign countries, and the development of Washington's national policy. Mr. Sparks introduced into the appendices to these volumes many valuable materials regarding the cabinet dissensions of Jefferson and Hamilton and our foreign relations. The fifth, and concluding part of the work, was the twelfth volume, containing Washington's speeches, addresses, proclamations, and messages to Congress. In the appendix Mr. Sparks gave illustrations of Washington's business methods and of his remarkable interest in agriculture. The editor also presented the results of his long and careful study of the authorship of Washington's farewell address. Among the Sparks papers there are many letters relating to this subject. Mr. Sparks also discussed the religious character of Washington, and appended valuable lists of army officers and public officials during Washington's military and civil career. A general index, containing more than one hundred pages, was printed at the end of the twelfth volume, with careful references to names and events mentioned in the course of the entire series. Interesting portraits, facsimiles, surveys, and military plans were introduced into the body of the work. More than one thousand pages of original and illustrative matter was contributed by the editor in the form of appendices. Valuable and extensive footnotes were also added by Mr. Sparks for the explanation or historical illustration of Washington's text.

JUDGE STORY'S VIEW.

For historical purposes, it is interesting and important to review the opinions of Mr. Sparks' contemporaries regarding the execution and character of his work. The following letter, October 19, 1833, from Judge Story to Mr. Sparks, will commend itself to every fair-minded reader, not only for the honest and intelligent appreciation of Mr. Sparks' editorial labors, but also for the clear

discernment of the possible objections to the literary method of printing original texts. After all, however, that "antiquarians" can do in the way of exact reprints, and after all that the "cynical critic" can say, it will be found that the public has indeed exaggerated the amount of corrections made by Mr. Sparks. Judge Story makes a perfectly fair statement of the whole case, and his verdict will stand the test of time, which is the test of truth:—

"I have examined your specimen volume of Washington's letters with considerable care; and confess myself very greatly pleased with it in all respects. The paper and print are good; the letters themselves quite characteristic and interesting; and your own notes excellent for the illustration and connection of the matter. I do not see well how they could be improved.

"I have run over the MS. copies of the letters, in order to see practically the bearing and extent of your emendations. There is not an instance in which you have failed to give the identical sense with more accuracy and clearness. You have done exactly what I think Washington would have desired you to do, if he were living. I cannot, therefore, in any manner object to it on my own account.

"Still, however, I have some doubt whether the antiquarians and devout admirers of Washington will not object to your emendations of the style. To correct the grammatical errors (it seems to me) will be deemed by every person an appropriate duty of the editor. But the change of words merely to express the thought more appropriately, or the change of the form of the sentence merely to make it read more clearly, or, in a literary sense, more correctly, will perhaps be deemed a liberty not required, and very unfair, in the opinion of some, to the *veritable* character of the documents themselves. Many may

be inclined to say, Give us the letters as Washington wrote them, with all his irregularities of style, and awkward modes of expression. We shall still have the raciness of the original soil, and the form and impress of the times in which he lived, and the taste of which his letters are a relic.

“I merely suggest this for your consideration in your future labors, as the public will be apt to exaggerate the amount of your corrections, and no access can conveniently be had to the MS., to show how little has been done in this way. Indeed, beyond the mere necessary emendations of grammar, you have made few alterations; so few, as to be of little account in the whole work. And, after all, Washington will be judged by the general tone and character of his writings¹ more than by mere phrases, whether they are in bad taste or simply inelegant.

“What I feel most interest in is, that no cynical critic should have an apology for depreciating the intrinsic value of the whole collection as the *genuine* compositions of Washington. And I am not sure that, on this account, it might not be well to mark with an asterisk every place where any alteration whatsoever occurs in printing the future volumes. This would obviate every possible objection.

“I know you will pardon my freedom in making these suggestions, because of my anxiety that you should receive the fullest praise for your most meritorious labors. I am sure that your name will forever be connected with that

¹ This remark is eminently just. In the main, Washington's writings are printed by Mr. Sparks as he found them, and the popular judgment, so far as it is based upon these writings, is correct. No restoration of “mere phrases,” no pointing out of textual variations, often made by Washington himself, can alter the essential character of Washington and of his writings. One might as well think of altering the general character of the Bible by a revised version, — “the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.”

of the original author. You will confer a durable value on his letters by your illustrative notes, and save from utter oblivion many highly important and interesting facts.

“As to your general plan, it seems to me to admit of no improvement. It is exactly what I should most desire in every work of this nature.”

CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL.

In the course of his editorial work upon the writings of Washington, Mr. Sparks received various letters from Judge Marshall, from which the following extracts are taken. May 6, 1834: “Mr. Thompson has forwarded to me the second and third volumes of the ‘Writings of Washington,’ for which I am greatly indebted to you. I have perused them with much gratification. The work is greatly enriched by the additions which your careful researches have enabled you to make to the papers you obtained at Mount Vernon. Your notes of illustration are extremely valuable. But I have read no part of these volumes with so much pleasure as the series of maxims under the head of ‘Rules of civility and decent behavior in company and conversation.’ These rules, of which I had never before heard, furnish a key with which to open the original character of this truly great man.”

April 28, 1835: “I have deferred acknowledging the receipt of your favor of the 4th, until I should have it in my power to look over the three additional volumes of your great work, which you have had the kindness to forward to me through Mr. Sanxay. I am much indebted to you for this continued and gratifying attention.

“Our Washington appears himself, and consequently to advantage, in the full-length portrait you have given of him. Your illustrative notes are very interesting, and add much in my opinion to the value of the text. That in the

appendix to the fifth volume, which develops Conway's cable, is peculiarly so. Many of the letters had not previously been seen by the public.

"The papers in the appendix to the sixth volume which show the difference of opinion between the king and Lord North respecting the American war disclose an historical fact which was entirely unknown, at least in this country. The obstinacy with which his Majesty pursued his original plan, though previously pretty well understood, is presented in a still stronger light than I had imagined. The more rational views entertained by Lord North were not even suspected.

"The fact to which you allude as to Champs had been noticed by me when originally perusing the letters. I think it not improbable that the thing might have been in contemplation before the execution of André, and that the hope of saving him was at first mixed with that of punishing Arnold. That the first object had become unattainable was probably forgotten when the narrative was composed.

"I wish you all the fame and success to which your well-directed and laudable researches entitle you, and am, dear sir, with great respect and esteem, your obliged and obedient
J. MARSHALL."

EDWARD EVERETT.

Probably the best contemporary notice of Mr. Sparks' "Life and Writings of Washington" was an article of sixty-three pages in the "North American Review" for October, 1838, from the pen of Edward Everett. The following brief extracts will serve to show in what esteem Mr. Sparks' labors were held by one of the most scholarly men of his time: "The two volumes now before us complete the publication of Mr. Sparks' edition of Washington's writings. The American press has produced no

work of higher value. The character of the author transcends all vulgar praise. The interest of the events which form the subjects of his writings is inferior to nothing in history. The qualifications of the editor, literary and moral, are of the highest order; and his opportunities, everything that could be desired for the skillful performance of his work. . . . We consider the publication of a standard edition of the writings of Washington as a matter of importance in a national point of view. . . .

“It will be readily understood that the present publication, although extending to twelve volumes, contains but a portion of what is embraced in the original papers. Mr. Sparks at one time entertained the idea of publishing in a separate work the entire collection. This eventually, no doubt, will be done; but it will be an undertaking too expensive for any but the public resources. Mr. Sparks candidly admits the difficulty of the task of selection, but states it to have been made with care and deliberation, regardless of the time, expense, and labor of examination requisite for the task.

“The materials for the notes and illustrations contained in the appendices have been derived from various sources at home and abroad, mostly from unpublished manuscripts, not seldom from sources opened by the good fortune and diligence of Mr. Sparks, and to which it is by no means certain that any future inquirer will have equal access. They possess the strongest claim to be considered as authentic, and as new contributions to history.

“We cannot but think that the countrymen of Washington are under especial obligations to the British government, then administered by the Duke of Wellington, for the extraordinary liberality with which their archives were opened to Mr. Sparks. We have reason to think that he enjoyed a freedom of access to the papers pre-

served in the public offices which would not readily have been granted to a British subject, and that this liberality had its strong motive in national comity. When it is considered that the great objects of Mr. Sparks' researches were the events of a war with Great Britain, it cannot be deemed an ordinary exercise of magnanimity. Equal liberality was displayed by the ministry in France, though of course, in that quarter, in reference to the American war, less reason existed for an opposite course. It must be satisfactory to the liberal and distinguished individuals who extended these important acts of courtesy to Mr. Sparks that he has furnished them no cause to regret their generosity. Not a single trait of indiscretion is disclosed in his work. Far from abusing the great power placed in his hands, by being the depository of the entire correspondence of Washington, and by his unrestrained access to the archives of England and France, it would be, we are persuaded, impossible to point to a sentence in his volumes, penned for the gratification of a prejudice personal or national.

“Upon the whole, we dismiss his work with unqualified satisfaction. Its extent required a patience of labor which few men could have brought to the task. To these have been added rigid literary as well as moral integrity, and that love of his theme which engaged him in supplementary and illustrative researches in this country and Europe, of the most important and interesting character. Mr. Sparks must not look for his reward to pecuniary compensation. Notwithstanding Mr. Moore's recent complimentary remarks on the splendid dowry which literature now brings to those who espouse her, we doubt not he has been as well paid for the lightest of his own graceful effusions, by the Mæcenas of Albemarle Street, as Mr. Sparks will be for his ten years of unrelaxing and conscientious labor. His reward has been already in part enjoyed; it

must be found in the consciousness of laboriously and worthily performing a noble work ; in the conviction that he has contributed to give a wider diffusion and a more abiding permanence to the fame of Washington ; and that whenever the authority of the greatest and best of chieftains and patriots is appealed to in all coming time, it will be in some association with his own name and labors."

In a letter to Mr. Sparks, April 6, 1838, Everett said : "Do not think you have labored in vain. You have as much cause of self-gratulation, in reference to your work, as usually falls to the lot of men. You are conscious of having done a great and good work *per se* ; that is much. It is not 'thankless,' as in a moment of despondency you suggest. The public, I think, appreciate your labor ; it has earned you an enviable reputation. *Vide* the notice, in the 'Courier,' of the last number of the 'North American Review,'¹ which I mention only as a straw showing

¹ In a notice of American historians in general and in particular of Force's documentary history of the American Revolution, in the "North American Review" for April, 1838, there occurs the following appreciative mention of Mr. Sparks : "The great merit of Mr. Sparks, giving him the first rank among the critical students of our history, consists in his candor and his completeness. In the selection of documents he appears ever to have been guided by the highest reverence for historic truth. But more than all, he perceived clearly that the history of our Revolution, the life and character and influence of Washington, could not be derived from American sources alone ; and with a wide grasp, which proves his mind to be enlarged not less than accurate, he has sought materials in England and on the continent of Europe. He saw clearly the momentous importance of the diplomatic connections of our country ; and would not rest satisfied, till, at a vast expense of time and fortune, he had culled the most interesting memoirs from the archives of London and Paris, and, through friends, from the papers of the Spanish court. And he has in consequence been able to accomplish a great work. He has published such an edition of Washington's works as is never likely to be excelled ; thus winning a claim to regard by his zealous care for the

which way the wind blows. That you have suffered in a pecuniary point of view (as I infer from your letter), I truly regret. I hope it may not be a permanent loss.¹ If it should, you must console yourself with the reflection that you are not alone in this. I have done some hard literary work in my day, to which I suppose I am indebted for my progress as a public man, if progress it can be called; but as far as money goes, eight thousand dollars would not compensate my direct losses. As to fame, I have never had a cheering word south of New England, or beyond the Atlantic. But

remains of our greatest benefactor, and permanently connecting himself with a name that will never perish.

"The admirable fund of historic information which Mr. Sparks has acquired, and holds in his own mind, ought not to rest unemployed. It would take an apprenticeship of many years for a new critic — and a critic of equal natural endowments is a rare phenomenon — to attain the position which Mr. Sparks occupies. His judgment is disciplined; his acquisitions, such as to save him from imperfect conceptions or undue estimates of the importance of new documents; familiar with the relative merits and activity of the men of the Revolution, we cannot too strongly desire that his mind may continue to be bent upon illustrating the history of his country.

"The works of American historians to which we have alluded were executed by individuals, single-handed and unaided. It was chiefly the energy of his own character which sustained Mr. Sparks in a course of investigations, more varied and thorough than had been undertaken by his predecessors. The work which particularly engages our attention, and which may in some measure be ascribed to the honorable emulation that was kindled by the example of Mr. Sparks, appears under national auspices." The above notice is attributed to George Bancroft, and is a remarkable testimony to the influence of Jared Sparks upon American historical literature and publication.

¹ In a letter to his mother, April 13, 1838, Mr. Sparks spoke of financial losses: "I have been a severe sufferer by the state of the times, having lost almost all my property by the failure of a large publishing house in Boston [the American Stationers' Company]. But I am not disheartened, and shall go on to make more as I made what I have lost."

“‘ Yet I argue not
 Against Heaven's hand or will, nor bate a jot
 Of heart or hope : but still bear up and steer
 Right onward.’

“ At least I try to do so, and what I want in practical wisdom myself, I make up (as you see) in good advice to others.”

SPARKS' ESTIMATE OF HIS WORK.

An author or editor is sometimes, consciously or unconsciously, the best judge of his own labors and limitations. In a letter dated at Cambridge, November 8, 1837, and addressed to the Rev. C. S. Henry, of New York city, Mr. Sparks makes the following modest estimate of his edition of Washington: “ I have received your letter of the 30th ultimo. If Dr. Hawks can find leisure to write a review of Washington's writings, I can assure you that I know of no gentleman to whose charge the work can be intrusted with more confidence. It is such a ponderous affair, however, that I fear it will prove a more laborious task than he anticipated ; for to do justice to it, a pretty full reading of the book will be necessary.

“ I do not think that any suggestions of mine would afford much light to the reviewer. The matter of the work will speak for itself ; and as to the execution, I am perhaps the last person who can form a just estimate. I feel bound to say, however, that I have done the best that I could ; having spared neither time, labor, nor expense in collecting the materials and preparing them for the press. The undertaking has employed me the larger part of ten years. With reference to the plan of execution, the preface and the introductions to the second and third volumes should be examined. In writing the ‘ Life,’ the notes, and additions, I have endeavored to keep my mind free from all party biases, and as Washington in his

whole career stood above party, I imagine the reviewer will be the most successful by assuming and maintaining a similar tone. In the character and conduct of Washington, there is nothing to palliate, defend, or vindicate. Time has already dissipated the shades which the virulence of party strove to throw around him, and he now stands forth a bright and noble example, as free from faults, considering the vast number of trying scenes through which he passed, as is consistent with the imperfect condition of humanity.

“ In the second volume are some new particulars, such as are contained in the account of the death of Jumonville, the battle of the Great Meadows, and Braddock's defeat, which I think the reviewer might properly touch upon a little to set the early acts of Washington in their true light. A word might be said, also, respecting the Washington family, which from the beginning was highly respectable.

“ In the notes and other additions, I have not aimed at historical narrative or discussions, but merely at the illustration of Washington's writings and actions. A gentleman so well versed in historical matters as Dr. Hawks will doubtless discover errors; but I trust these will be found as few as could be expected in a work of such compass. Very great pains have been taken on this head, and in almost all cases I have relied on original manuscript documents.”¹

¹ It cannot be too emphatically urged that this was the great merit of Sparks as an historian. It distinguished him among some of his contemporaries. William H. Prescott, writing to Mr. Sparks, January 1, 1841, about Mr. George Bancroft, said: “ He does not place, however, the same stress on original documents that you and I do.” And again, February 1, 1841: “ You speak in your letter as if you had just learnt that Bancroft talked of visiting Europe, to collect MSS. He has always talked of it, and does not think of going this year, I understand him. As to turning him from the project of

Another equally characteristic estimate of his work may be found in Mr. Sparks' letter, January 7, 1839, to Samuel Ward, Jr.: "In regard to my own labors, I would remark that the notes are drawn mostly from original

the Revolutionary history, you might as well turn him from his politics. It is certainly an unpleasant thing to have another writer traveling over the same ground, at the same time with one's self. But allow me to say that I think you much overrate the evil in the present instance. Bancroft has undertaken the entire history of the country, from the colonization to the present day. The Revolution forms but a single feature of it, and will not, he informs me, occupy more than two volumes, beginning at '58. With you, the Revolution is the whole subject, and will doubtless be extended into several volumes. There is all the difference in your plans that there is between the history of Mignet and Thiers. You are as little likely to interfere in your manner of treating the story. He is sketchy, episodical, given to building castles in the air, you on *terra firma*, the basis of original documents, which he sets much less value on than either of us do, and will not take half the pains, nor spend half the money you have, in collecting. You advise me to recommend him Philip II. for a subject. I know by experience what this interference is, for the most popular writer in the country cut into my subject, and helped himself to two of the biggest and fattest slices in it, the Conquest of Granada, and the Discovery of America. I was sorely troubled at the time, but I believe it was treated on so different a plan from mine as to prove no injury. This is my honest opinion on the matter. And as such I intimated something of the sort in the close of my article on Bancroft, meaning to say something acceptable to you. But it seems you think otherwise. My article has not given much satisfaction, either, to Bancroft, though I certainly have said quite as much as I think right. But I shall not fret my gizzard about it.

"We passed a merry evening yesterday, at Eliot's, who dined Club. Several of our members are on their travels, Mason in Cuba, Folsom in Alabama, and yourself. So Club will be a traveled gentleman in his old age. There is one member, I guess, will stay at home. The time will not be far distant when we may expect you, and I shall have many questions to ask, which we will discuss over a cigar and glass of wine, if you don't come home too fine a gentleman for such gross pleasures." Mr. Sparks was then in Paris.

manuscript materials ; many of which were derived from papers procured in the British and French offices. It was not my aim to write a commentary, but merely to illustrate the writings of the author by such additional facts as bore on the points immediately under notice. This plan was adopted to avoid overloading the work with extraneous matter, and to give as much room as possible for the writings of Washington. You will easily imagine how many opportunities I thus passed over for enlarging on many interesting topics, for which I had abundance of materials, and on some of which I certainly could have thrown new light. But I adhered strictly to my plan throughout, that is, to confine myself as closely as possible to the actions and sentiments of Washington.

“ Another point I also aimed at with all my might, and that was, to be impartial both in regard to our quarrel with England and to our own later parties. This is worth mentioning because it was a difficult task. The passions are so much at work in times of war that even the most dignified state papers contain acrimonious and extravagant expressions, that discolor truth and sometimes pervert it. If I had given way to national feeling, and chosen to exhibit a dark picture of our enemy, nothing would have been more easy than to put a black spot on almost every page, and quote grave authorities as my vouchers. But I thought it more fair to suppose both parties had better motives than each allowed to the other, and to keep their mutual charges and reproaches out of sight. I was the more encouraged in this course as I had before me the sublime example of Washington.

“ The ‘Life,’ as you will have observed, is a narrative, and not an essay or dissertation. When it is examined as a literary composition, this distinction should not be overlooked. My judgment may have deceived me, but this form seemed to me the best suited to the object. I have

introduced every important event in the natural order in which it occurred, to such extent and with such remarks as the space allotted to me would allow ; taking care at all times to avoid digressions, keep closely to my subject, and preserve a just proportion in the parts. The impression thus left on the reader's mind, I would fain believe, will present an accurate delineation of the actions, character, moral traits, and intellectual capacities of Washington. But in all this I may be mistaken. I have told you only what I attempted to do. It remains for others to execute the same task in other forms and with more success. An essay on the life, writings, and genius of Washington is a noble theme, and may be undertaken by an abler hand."

GRATITUDE OF THE WASHINGTON FAMILY.

Mr. Sparks' execution of his contract, although long delayed by the vast amount of labor involved and by the necessary prosecution of other historical undertakings, was perfectly satisfactory to the Washington family. In his journal for August 7, 1837, Mr. Sparks records that "Mr. Bushrod C. Washington and Mr. J. K. Marshall came here from Virginia, for the purpose of settling the account of the publication of Washington's writings, according to my contract with Judge Washington and Judge Marshall made ten years ago. The account was settled to the entire satisfaction of all parties up to the present date." Judge Washington and Chief Justice Marshall died before the completion of the work, but their families shared the profits¹ on equal terms with Mr. Sparks.

¹ After deducting the cost of travel, stereotype plates, etc., Mr. Sparks was able, in 1837, to divide with the above parties the sum of \$15,384.63. The expenses incurred by him amounted to \$15,356.37. Mr. Sparks furnished the plates. The various publishers assumed all further risk, and paid a royalty on every volume. Mr. Sparks con-

Mrs. Jane Charlotte Washington wrote the editor from Mount Vernon, May 25, 1838: "The first and twelfth volumes of the 'Writings of Washington,' which through your kindness I have recently received, show me you have completed a great work, and rendered justice to the beloved and honored father of our country, by a full and judicious exhibition of his character. You are hereby entitled to the gratitude of that country; but more especially and directly, to the thanks of those who feel the additional interest given by consanguinity and name. I therefore tender you for my children and self, our sincere acknowledgments; and as a small memento of our gratitude, ask your acceptance of a cedar cane, cut from the vault where for years it grew, and shaded the honored remains of Washington."

This gift was singularly appropriate, and perhaps more welcome to Mr. Sparks than the giver imagined. Twenty-three years before, on the 30th of December, 1815, when teaching school at Lancaster, he had written to his friend, William B. Sprague,¹ then a family tutor near Mount Ver-

tinued at various intervals, down to 1856, to divide profits with the Washington and Marshall families; but the first-fruits were by far the best.

¹ In his "Narrative and Critical History of America," vol. viii. p. 417, Mr. Justin Winsor makes the following interesting statement, based upon Draper's "Essay on Autograph Collections," p. 14: "While William B. Sprague was a tutor in a family near Mount Vernon in 1816, he obtained from Bushrod Washington permission to take 1,500 letters from the Washington papers, provided he left copies in their stead. This was the foundation of Dr. Sprague's famous autograph collection." The scrap of General Washington's handwriting sent, April 27, 1816, by William Sprague, to his friend Jared Sparks, was the historic germ of Sparks' collection of the writings of Washington.

Sprague's further relation to the development of Mr. Sparks' interest in the writings of Washington is seen in the following letter, January 6, 1826, from Jared Sparks to William B. Sprague: "I have it

non : "I was once in Alexandria with an intention of visiting Mount Vernon, but was disappointed ; whenever you return, will you bring me a stick cut from a tree which overshadows the tomb of Washington, one that will be suitable for an elegant cane ? I will get it ornamented with a silver head and suitable inscription. Don't forget it." Probably Sprague's memory failed to respond to this appeal, but Mrs. Washington by her well-chosen gift unconsciously gratified an early and long-cherished sentiment.

Jared Sparks replied to Mrs. Jane C. Washington, as follows : "I have but very recently received your kind letter dated May 25th. I trust this will be a satisfactory explanation of what might otherwise seem an improper delay in answering it. The cedar cane cut from the tomb of Washington has likewise come safely to my hands. I have been favored with many expressions of thanks and approbation for the task I have performed in bringing before the world the writings of Washington with a sketch of his life ; but I assure you that nothing connected with this arduous undertaking has afforded me so much pleasure as this testimonial from one who is well qualified to judge, and who speaks in the name of a family whom I was most ambitious to please, in my endeavors to do jus-

in contemplation to publish an edition of Washington's works, that is, his official letters, state papers, and private letters, with notes and historical illustrations. In accomplishing such an object, it is very desirable that I should, if possible, have *all* his writings. You may probably know something of this subject. Will you do me the favor to reply to the following queries ?

"1. Did not Washington retain copies of nearly everything he wrote ? 2. In what condition are his papers at Mount Vernon ? 3. Are they all in the hands of Judge Washington ? 4. Do you think he would give me permission to have access to them and to take copies ? 5. Does Mrs. Custis possess many of the papers ? 6. Did you ever hear any intimation that any of the family had an intention to publish any part of Washington's letters ? Will you be pleased to speak as fully on these subjects as your knowledge will admit ?"

tice to the father of his country. The cane will be preserved among my most cherished treasures, not more on account of the associations it revives than as a token of the esteem of its donor.”

GEORGE BANCROFT TO JARED SPARKS.

BOSTON, *March 2, 1839.*

“Accept my warmest thanks for your beautiful present. The work is beyond my praise for its calmness, accuracy, and intense interest of authenticity.

“Once I was traveling in spring from the West to New York; drearily, though steadily, I dragged along through deepest mud, stopping to ford rivers, supplying bridges by rafts, till on reaching Albany, I entered a steamboat and careered down the river at the glorious rate of fifteen knots an hour. Such as my feelings were on exchanging the dangerous, snail-like dragging through mud-holes and half-decayed snowbanks for the speed and beauty and comfort of the steamboat, such is my joy when from the darker periods of colonial history I come upon those which you have enlightened.

“It is saying little to say your book should be in every American family; you have been the first to give the world a full-length portrait of Washington, and I set the highest value alike on your larger picture and on this its miniature.¹ You have ‘stooped to truth,’ and so given your work the widest and an imperishable interest.”

JARED SPARKS AND LORD HOLLAND.

Mr. Sparks wrote to his friend Lord Holland, December 3, 1838, as follows: “I have taken the liberty to send to your lordship a copy of ‘Washington’s Writings,’ which I beg you will accept as a small token of my remembrance of the civilities I received from you in Lon-

¹ A separate edition of the “Life,” 1839.

don, and of the kind services you rendered in enabling me to procure materials for the work in the British public offices. It has gone on slowly through the publishers' hands, but it has been a great and laborious undertaking, and its progress could not be hastened. The sale has been large in America, and it still continues in all parts of the United States. Von Raumer in Berlin, and Guizot in Paris, are preparing editions suited to the German and French markets. I have little hope for it in England. Its tone and matter are so entirely American that it cannot be expected to excite a strong interest in a British reader. But its dignity should raise it above national prejudice; and its moderation, candor, and fairness may justly entitle it to the respect, if not to the approbation, of every Englishman.

“Lord Brougham, in his sketch of Washington's character in the last number of the ‘Edinburgh Review,’ has placed much too low an estimate on his attainments. His early education was imperfect, and he was never a scholar; but in all the subjects which related to his pursuits in life, no man was better informed. He was a profound student in the military art, politics, and agriculture, both in their theory and practical application. He sought knowledge with eagerness, and was always prepared to act with a perfect understanding of whatever topic came before him; and this is one of the secrets of his success. Lord Brougham is equally mistaken in what he says of his slowness of apprehension. His penetration was acute and quick, and his judgment unerring; but it was a rule with him never to decide on any matter till it was necessary. This gave him the appearance of slowness. The consequence was that he always decided right, having no steps to retrace, no errors to correct. When the occasion required it, he decided instantly, and with almost equal infallibility. A thousand instances of this kind might be cited, as well in his political as military career.

“If I may judge from my own observation while in England, the character of Washington is not well understood nor duly estimated there, even by gentlemen of large intelligence and clearness of mind. I am inclined to believe, too, that there is a little unwillingness to see it in its brightest light. Perhaps this is natural, but it is to be regretted; for the past is now history, and truth under all circumstances is better than error.

“I am engaged in preparing a history of the American Revolution; and before it is completed, I shall probably make another visit to London and Paris for the purpose of enlarging my stock of materials.”

Lord Holland replied from Holland House, March 31, 1839: “It really grieves me to think that I have left your magnificent and acceptable present, and the obliging and interesting letter which preceded it, so long unacknowledged. Perhaps the hope in which I somewhat idly indulged of giving your book, even during the interruptions of a London and parliamentary life, that careful perusal which it manifestly demands, as well as an intention of consulting the ‘Review’ you mention, may with the help of your good-nature, in some little degree, absolve me from the charge of inattention. True, however, it is that I was baffled on both of these projects. I therefore avail myself of the first holidays I have to beg your forgiveness, and to assure you that I am far from being indifferent, and on the contrary warmly grateful for this mark of your recollection. Let me add my congratulations on your having achieved a work to which all lovers of liberty and all admirers of public virtue have been looking forward for some time, and to which you are, my dear sir, quite wrong in supposing that English readers can be indifferent. National prejudice, on all that regarded Washington personally, has never been strong in my recollection, and is, I assure you, with respect to him

entirely, and almost with respect to the cause which he carried nearly, extinct. Not only, to use the phrases of Mr. Fox, your common 'origin and the near relation you bear to us, but that most glorious of parts acted by Washington,' makes a larger portion of my countrymen regard even with fondness the character, and with unbounded admiration, though not possibly with unmixed delight, the career, of the great and good founder of your commonwealth. With his familiar habits and personal attainments and manners we are of course comparatively little acquainted, but that ignorance does not, I believe, lead to any false estimation of his character, but merely tends to quicken our curiosity about such particulars. It does not seem to me that the public are likely to judge either of his attainments or his readiness of apprehension from the report of any English writer, even Lord Brougham, for it is quite evident that he could have no very good opportunity of ascertaining the truth.

"The last part of your letter affords me almost as much pleasure as the first. It gives me hope of seeing you again here, and assurances that you 'are likely to persevere in pursuits useful to your country, to literature, and to the cause of truth. Those like yourself, Mr. Everett, and Mr. Ticknor, who have so long and so laudably devoted themselves to the pursuit and encouragement of literature in America, must have watched with unmingled delight the rapid strides it has lately been making in that country. Do us the justice to believe, my dear sir, that in this all who cultivate our common language most unfeignedly rejoice. For one, I most fervently hope that that bond of common language which ministers to us the same pleasures and the same tastes may, in conjunction with many other causes honorable to both countries, contribute to protect us from all those false notions of pride, jealousy, and suspicion which so often involve in war neighboring

nations divested of such natural sympathies, from all unnecessary, fruitless, and ruinous hostilities.

“Do not, I pray you, neglect to apprise me when you are on the point of visiting London. If I can be of the slightest use in facilitating your researches, dispose of me without scruple, and believe me your sincerely obliged and devoted
VASSALL HOLLAND.”¹

GOVERNMENT PURCHASE OF WASHINGTON'S PAPERS.

Negotiations were begun in 1834 by the Secretary of State with the Washington family for the purchase of the Washington papers by Congress. In the House of Representatives the question was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Through Edward Everett this committee sought information from Mr. Sparks regarding the extent, character, and value of the collection. Mr. Sparks wrote the following letter to Mr. Everett, March 3, 1834:—

“I have received your letter of the 22d ult. asking such information as I can furnish respecting the amount and character of the manuscript papers left by General Washington, and my opinion as to the sum which Congress may reasonably pay for them.

“The amount of the papers may be understood from the following summary:—

“1. Public and private letters and other papers before the Revolution, embracing his official correspondence during the French War, *seven folio volumes*.

“2. His entire correspondence, official and private, from the beginning to the end of the Revolution, including other military papers of great value, recorded in *thirty-seven volumes*. Also,

“The first drafts of the above papers on file, being the identical papers which were retained and consulted by

¹ Henry Richard Vassall Holland, born 1773, died 1840.

General Washington in the army. It thus appears that there are two copies of all his letters written during the Revolution. The recorded copy was made near the end of the war.

“Again, there are *six volumes of orderly-books*, embracing the whole war, except a part of the year 1778, the volume for this period having been lost.

“3. Letters and miscellaneous papers, public and private, after the Revolution, coming down to the end of his life, *thirty-six volumes*. Among them are the records of his intercourse with the different departments while he was President, and many important Cabinet papers. There are, besides,

“4. The *original* letters received by Washington, and numerous original papers on public affairs, military, civil, and miscellaneous, chronologically arranged in a continued series, amounting to *one hundred and seventeen* large volumes.

“5. A few miscellaneous papers on file. Hence the whole collection consists of *two hundred and three volumes*, besides the copy of Revolutionary correspondence on file. The papers are throughout methodically arranged, well preserved, and strongly bound.

“As to their value in a pecuniary sense, or the sum which Congress may reasonably pay for them, it is a question not easy to answer, but I have no objection to express my opinion. When I took them into my hands, I would have given for them as literary property, *twenty thousand dollars*. The use I am making of them, by selecting parts for publication, will reduce this value; but still, if the purchase of them is deemed a national object, I should think \$20,000 the lowest price that ought to be affixed to them.

“As a historical treasure to the nation, they are altogether invaluable. I have examined all the public offices

in the country containing papers relating to Revolutionary events, and I do not hesitate to say that the manuscripts comprise a mass of materials for the history of that period more authentic, rich, and important than can be obtained from all the public sources combined.

“It would be easy to go into detail, and set forth the grounds of my opinion, but this would perhaps be gratuitous. I will only add that my impressions have been derived from a very thorough examination of the subject, and that they have constantly grown stronger as I have advanced.”

The whole collection of Washington papers was purchased by Act¹ of Congress, approved June 30, 1834, for \$25,000. At this time only five volumes of Sparks' edition of Washington were through the press. Seven more

¹ “*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby appropriated, to be paid out of any [money] in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, to enable the Secretary of State to purchase the manuscript papers and a portion of the printed books of General George Washington, the said papers and books to be deposited and preserved in the Department of State, under the regulations the secretary shall prescribe. Approved, June 30, 1834.*”

An attempt was afterwards made to sell the remaining portion of the private library of George Washington to the British Museum. Fortunately for the honor of America, this negotiation was stopped. The books were finally bought by American subscription, and found a resting-place in the Boston Athenæum. Mr. Sparks and his friends took an active interest in this rescue of the Washington library. The following letter from Mr. Charles E. Norton to Mr. Sparks, June 6, 1848, gives the conclusion of the whole matter: “I am glad to be able to inform you that the matter of the Washington library is at last settled. We have agreed to give Mr. Stevens \$3,800 for the books, of which \$500 will come from the Athenæum, the remainder from the subscription. The books will be here, I hope, by the end of the week. A meeting of the subscribers will probably be called for day after to-morrow. I know you will be pleased with this result.” Cf. Stevens' “Recollections of James Lenox,” 109, 110.

were to be printed, and the editor was naturally desirous of retaining all the papers in his possession until the work of publication was completed. Mr. John Forsyth, the Secretary of State, was disposed to require a prompt delivery of the manuscripts in accordance with the Act of Congress which required their deposit and preservation in the State Department. Mr. Sparks felt that he had certain rights in the matter, under his contract with Judge Washington, and refused to surrender the papers until his work was done. He said Colonel George C. Washington had in his possession the originals of General Washington's entire correspondence during the Revolution, and these might at any time be deposited in the Department of State. Mr. Sparks wished only to retain the copies. Colonel Washington had also taken home with him from Cambridge ten volumes of "Army Returns," being all the papers of that description. Mr. Sparks thought these papers would suffice for purposes of consultation in matters concerning the Pension Office¹ or other branches of the government. After considerable correspondence, Mr. Sparks was allowed to retain the papers which he needed until he was ready to give them up.

In his journal for December 23, 1836, we find the following record: "Delivered the Washington manuscript papers into the hands of George C. Washington, to whom they were left by Judge Washington's will. It is a little more than nine years since I received them from Mount Vernon. Mr. George C. Washington has sold them to the government, and they are to be deposited in the Department of State. Although I have not quite completed

¹ Jared Sparks to the Hon. John Forsyth, August 11, 1834, letter-book; Forsyth to Sparks, August 22, 1834. See, also, printed report No. 381, Committee on Foreign Affairs, on Washington's Books and Papers, April 1, 1834, 23d Congress, first session, vol. iii.

the Life of Washington, I have nevertheless made all the use of the papers which I desire."

LETTERS TO WASHINGTON.

Among the papers still in Mr. Sparks' possession after the publication of the "Life and Writings of Washington" were about twenty thousand letters originally received by the general. The reading of this enormous mass of correspondence was begun by Mr. Sparks at Mount Vernon. While there he addressed a letter, March 30, 1827, to Judge Washington, proposing the publication of three or four volumes of these letters upon the same terms as those agreed upon for the other papers. This arrangement was duly made, and finally carried out.

The following letter, April 21, 1830, to Jared Sparks, from the Rev. Dr. Thaddeus M. Harris, of Dorchester, Mass., is interesting, as showing how this material was first arranged in chronological order, according to Mr. Sparks' instructions: "I have now completed what I undertook to do with the letters which you confided to me. They are spread open, and arranged in exact chronological order, by the year, month, and day of the month, and done up in suitable bundles well tied together, and the year and month marked on the paper in which they are severally wrapped. Where papers or letters were inclosed, the letter which contained them is placed first, and inclosures next, generally in the order in which they were referred to; and then they are stitched together with strong thread. During the years 1780, 1781, and 1782, there were many of these, and the assorting them occupied considerable time. I would remind you that, in some instances, inclosures are referred to which are not in the letters that mention them. This is easily accounted for. They were probably documents to be used in cases where they went into other hands.

“As to dates, where the year and month are stated, and not the day, the letter is placed at the end of the month. Where there was no date, and yet I was able to ascertain in what year the letter was written, it is placed at the end of the year. Such as are wholly without dates, and I could not readily determine the year, I have filed in a separate bundle. Had I time to have read the letters, or indeed have considered myself at liberty to do so, I might undoubtedly, in certain cases, have arranged them in more perfect order. This will be apparent to you when you find ten or fifteen letters of the same date, but from all quarters of our country, and some perhaps from Europe, and yet part of them relating to the same event, and therefore to be placed consecutively, without the intervention of such as were of foreign matters. But I did not read any further than to ascertain the date, and not the subject. I had, indeed, some curiosity, but conscientiously suppressed its indulgence.

“Every letter, nay every scrap, is now placed where it should be, according to my best judgment; and the bundles are all suitably packed in the boxes in which they were brought out, and in another box which I found it necessary to have made; and they have all been returned to Mr. Bowen, who has had them *safely deposited with the other Washington papers*; and to relieve myself of the solicitude about their safety while under my care, and the responsibility attached to the keeping them, I deemed it proper to take Mr. Bowen's receipt for their return.

“As the letters are written on paper of different size and shape, it will be exceedingly difficult to bind them, especially as there is no inner margin; and I can conceive of no more practicable way than to have volumes prepared of ordinary paper, of the size on which the largest are written, and then the letters placed between the leaves, and attached to them with paste. Thus the paging may

be more distinctly entered, and the volumes will be of uniform dimensions.

“I judge that about one third part of the letters will be separated, before binding, as irrelative to the great object of history, and those you will undoubtedly fold and file as they were; and at last a *general index of writers*, referring to volume and page, with the date of the letter, will be requisite.

“I hope that you will not consider me impertinent in these suggestions. I have become so interested in the letters that I venture such remarks, though I would not presume to give an opinion. You will excuse the freedom of an old friend, though it partakes somewhat of the garrulity of an old man. As I have aimed to accomplish with accuracy and fidelity the arrangement of these letters, I hope that what is done may meet your approbation and facilitate your labors. It will gratify me to know that this letter has reached you, that you are well, and accept the affectionate regards of your friend.”

Mr. Sparks contemplated the publication of selections from these letters to Washington about the time the printing of the “Life and Writings” was drawing towards a close; but his publishers, Hilliard, Gray & Co.,¹ dissuaded him from the immediate execution of his excellent project. They thought that the mind of the public might be somewhat confused by the appearance of a second series, which Mr. Sparks proposed to call “Mount Vernon Papers,” and that the sale of the “Life and Writings of Washington” might thus be injured. Accordingly, Mr. Sparks deferred his plan until a more convenient season.

In 1853, the year of his retirement from the presidency of Harvard College, he published, through Little, Brown & Co.,² four large and handsome volumes called

¹ Hilliard, Gray & Co. to Jared Sparks, February 17, 1835.

² This firm gave Mr. Sparks a royalty of fifty cents per volume

the "Correspondence of the American Revolution." This consisted chiefly of letters to George Washington from eminent contemporaries.¹ The materials for this work Mr. Sparks had derived largely from the Mount Vernon papers, intrusted to him by Judge Bushrod Washington. According to the original contract, which by this time had been almost forgotten by the heirs of Judge Washington and Judge Marshall, Mr. Sparks faithfully divided the proceeds of the sale of this new work. Students of the American Revolution have found, and will long continue to find, this collection of letters to Washington an invaluable repository of well-arranged papers, full of historical information.

In a review² of this collection the "London Athenæum" said, August 6, 1853: "This is from its very nature a book for the use of public writers and future historians, and it is of great importance that it should have been edited in this wise, moderate, and liberal spirit. Mr. Sparks has enough of confidence in the real greatness of his country and in the patriotism of his countrymen to make him an impartial chronicler of all that concerns their fame."

Mr. George Bancroft acknowledged the value of Mr. Sparks' last editorial work in the following letter from New York, May 13, 1853: "While the public is greatly your debtor for your most interesting and instructive volumes of 'Revolutionary Correspondence,' I am also personally very much obliged to you for an early copy of the work. Apart from the fact that so many of the letters for the use of the stereotype plates for a period of five years. The first edition comprised thirteen hundred complete sets.

¹ One hundred and ninety different writers were represented in this correspondence by, altogether, about one thousand letters.

² The "Correspondence of the American Revolution" was also reviewed at length in the "North American" for July, 1853, and in the "National Intelligencer" for June 4 and July 30, 1853.

are entirely new, the collective whole presents another evidence of the transcendent greatness of Washington. The correspondence shows him the central point in all the weighty domestic transactions of the country; and we learn from what we may almost call the living record, how all his contemporaries approached him as their superior. I have heard it said that a very high object gives the most perfect impression of its loftiness when it is gazed upon from a midway elevation. We here stand upon the shoulders of the illustrious men of Washington's time, and see how far upward we must still look to measure his superiority.

“I applaud the exactness with which in this beautifully printed series you seem to have followed the originals of the letters; I deplore the chariness with which you add notes from your unexhausted fund of information; and I pray that you may live long, alike to write the history of the period with which you are so familiar, and to make further publications from the vast stores which your untiring vigor in research has brought together.”

CHAPTER XXIII.

EUROPEAN EDITIONS OF SPARKS' WASHINGTON.

GERMAN EDITION.

GEORGE BANCROFT, writing from Northampton, August 25, 1827, advised Sparks to arrange for a German edition of the writings of Washington, saying that two volumes might find a sale if they were composed of letters most illustrative of Washington's character. Bancroft also jocosely recommended, as a literary market, "the South American Republics, Mexico and Guatemala! your pets; there is the field for you." Bancroft concludes his letter by saying: "You are a lucky fellow, selected by a favoring Providence to conduct a good ship into the haven of immortality, and to have your own name recorded as the careful pilot. But I envy not Cæsus his wealth, nor you your glory."

Francis Lieber wrote to Mr. Sparks, September 7, 1827, concerning a German edition of Washington's writings. Lieber thought they would have a great value for general history, and proposed to make such selections and annotations as would suit a German public. Through his friend and patron, Professor Niebuhr,¹ at Bonn, Lieber thought a German publisher could be secured, although he feared that, in some parts of Germany, such a publication as the writings of the American patriot might not be allowed. Lieber spoke feelingly upon this point, for he once had

¹ See Lieber's "Reminiscences of Niebuhr" for an interesting account of the early relations between the Roman historian and the German-American publicist.

been imprisoned in Prussia for his political sentiments, and had been liberated only through the influence of Niebuhr, by whose advice he had emigrated first to England and then to America. It would have been a noble service if Francis Lieber, who, with George Bancroft, was among the first to bring German historical science to America, could have presented to German patriots the history of the American struggle for freedom, as described in the writings of Washington.

We have seen in a former chapter how Mr. Sparks made a special visit to Germany to make arrangements with some resident scholar for the translation of select portions of the American work. He failed to find Niebuhr at Bonn, although he had a pleasant and encouraging interview with Schlegel. In the University of Göttingen Mr. Sparks discovered, as he believed, the right man for the responsible work of introducing the "Life and Writings of Washington" to the German nation. Definite arrangements were made with Professor Saalfeld for the translation. Mr. Sparks afterwards sent him the first part of his work, but the German professor "became deranged and died," as appears from a letter of Mr. Sparks to a correspondent in Hamburg.

Through the influence of George Ticknor, Professor Frederick von Raumer, of Berlin, was afterwards engaged to make suitable selections from the American work, and supervise a translation into German by Miss Tieck. How this satisfactory arrangement was brought about is fully explained in the following letter from George Ticknor to Jared Sparks, Dresden, March 11, 1836: "I did not wish to write to you until I could tell you that I had discharged the trust about Washington's writings, which you committed to me last summer. This I could not do until to-day. But at last it is done, — done, too, I trust, to your satisfaction, — and I hasten at once to give you an account of the way in which it has been arranged."

“ We came to Germany somewhat later than I intended when I wrote to you from Dublin ; and we came, therefore, as directly as we could to Dresden. We stopped on our way at no place where we could probably serve you, except at Bonn. There was, however, nobody there or in that part of Germany to whom I was at all willing to trust your commission ; and of course I postponed it till we should arrive here. We reached Dresden November 20th, and immediately afterwards I advised with M. de Lindenau, the astronomer, one of the most direct, wise, and practical men I have ever known, and a person of much political consequence here. He commended me to Falkenstein, the king’s librarian, as competent to do the work, but not having perhaps time, and as perfectly competent to counsel. I found him so. The first person he mentioned was Von Raumer, the first historian alive in Germany, and the author of ‘ Travels in England,’ just published. I hardly hesitated an instant, but still I thought it best to talk with Lindenau and Tieck, both of whom thought him the best man in Germany. He was in England, you know, last summer, to consult the archives of state, and is perfectly familiar with English ; he is liberal in his politics ; he is necessarily occupied with our affairs in writing his modern history ; he is a known admirer of Washington’s character, etc., etc. I wrote to Mr. Wheaton, therefore, who knows him ; and he, approving also, sent Von Raumer my letter offering to him the translation of Washington’s writings. The answer was that he was desirous to do it, but wanted to see the work and to settle some terms with Brockhaus, the great publisher of publishers. This made a sort of negotiation necessary, which I urged on as well as I could, writing three times to Von Raumer through Mr. Wheaton ; but at last, getting weary of this mode, I wrote the following letter to Mr. Von Raumer directly : —

“DRESDEN, *January 17, 1836.*

“DEAR SIR, — By a letter from Mr. Wheaton of the 4th, I learn that it is probable you will make an arrangement with Brockhaus by which you will be enabled to undertake the publication in German of Washington's life and writings. I am very much gratified at the prospect, because I am anxious that a work in itself so important, and in its relations and character so national, should appear under the best auspices; and, as the negotiation between us is so far advanced, I take the liberty to address you directly, and make you the specific propositions which Mr. Sparks, the editor of Washington's writings, has authorized me to make: —

“I. The German translation is to comprise the whole of the “Life of Washington,” which is to fill one volume of the American work; and as much of the writings which constitute the remaining eleven volumes as you may judge expedient.

“II. The translation is to be as exact as the difference of idiom and clearness of style will permit; and your name is to appear as the only one responsible for its fidelity and respectability.

“III. You will add any notes you may think desirable for the German public.

“IV. You will make such arrangements as will best satisfy and suit yourself with the bookseller, as Mr. Sparks does not wish for any pecuniary benefit.

“Please answer me in French or English at your early leisure as to these propositions; for I wish to send your answer to Mr. Sparks, who does not read German. As soon as he receives it, he will send you the work as far and as fast as it is published, and acquaint you more at large with his views. I remain, etc., G. T.’

“A month having elapsed without my receiving any

reply, I wrote Mr. Wheaton February 19th that I was becoming anxious and worried, and begged him to see Mr. von Raumer. He called on him, but failed to find him at home, and wrote me the next day that he was going to Copenhagen. I had become, therefore, nearly desperate and quite annoyed, when, just as I was beginning to look out for somebody else, I received this evening the following letter: —

“‘BERLIN, *March* 6, 1836.

“‘SIR, — I must beg your pardon that I have not earlier answered your most friendly letter. But I have received, not before yesterday, the notice that Mr. Brockhaus will print and that one of my friends will translate Mr. Sparks' work under my direction. I agree with all the other remarks and conditions of your letter; and I think the whole affair shall be easily arranged at Dresden. In two or three weeks, I hope to present to you these my most respectful compliments. I remain, sir, your most faithful

V. RAUMER.’

“The truth is, he waited to get a copy from England, and afterwards to make his bargain with Brockhaus; so that, though you have waited a little, things are more clearly and surely settled than they could have been earlier. You have, too, I think, obtained the most suitable person in Germany. He is not quite fifty years old, and you have a specimen of his English above. . . .

“In the matter of the French translation I have, of course, done nothing; but I hope we shall be in Paris a year from next autumn; and if then or at any other time I can assist you in this or any other matter, I shall be much pleased. We have been here nearly four months, and have found our residence truly agreeable and useful. Mrs. Ticknor is decidedly improved by it, and the rest of us have been altogether well and happy.” . . .

Ticknor wrote again to Sparks from Dresden, April 1, 1836: "I wrote you March 11, and sent the letter duplicate by Havre and by Hamburg, so that you might be sure to receive it as soon as possible. This forenoon Mr. von Raumer came to see me, and confirmed everything I wrote to you before. He accepts your propositions, as I made them to him in my letter of January 17th, of which I send you a copy; and I therefore should hardly have troubled you with writing to you again about it, if he had not told me this morning that he is going in two or three weeks to England to pass about four months in the public archives there, collecting documents for his history of the last three centuries; and that you may address letters, parcels, etc., to him under cover to the Baron de Bülow, Prussian ambassador, London, if sure to arrive there before the middle of August next. This will be a great convenience to you. He tells me that Brockhaus, the great publisher at Leipzig, has already announced the work, and that the translation will probably be made by a daughter of Tieck, who has translated some plays of Shakespeare that have been published (with those translated by Schlegel) under her father's name. I know the lady very well, and her extraordinarily beautiful and exact translations, and congratulate you on the choice Von Raumer has made, which is so much the better as her father will see the work as it goes on, and he is not only more familiar with English literature than most English scholars, but is at the head of German literature. Von Raumer himself speaks English fluently and well, and seems a spirited, active, and agreeable man."

Raumer received from Mr. Sparks the volumes of Washington's writings as fast as they were published, and made such selections as seemed most desirable for the German edition. Brockhaus, the publisher, and Raumer both agreed that letters relating to Washington's political

ideas were more important for Germany than were letters regarding the Revolutionary War. Raumer reported his choice of materials, and Sparks replied, June 20, 1837: "The selections marked in your letter seem to me judicious and well-chosen. I have no doubt your judgment will dictate to you what is best suited to the German public. Miss Tieck's well-known skill as a translator will insure accuracy in that respect, which I deem of much importance. Washington's style is so unambiguous and direct that it will not be difficult to render his meaning with a good deal of accuracy into another language, particularly the German, as his idiom is purely English.

"The 'Life of Washington' is nearly all printed, and constitutes the first volume. It is as strictly a personal narrative as the events of his life will admit, but he was for so long a time acting at the head of public affairs, either in a military or civil capacity, that it has been impossible to divest the narrative of an historical character. I have endeavored to interweave as many incidents as I could, and thus to increase the variety and interest. It is best to translate the 'Life' entire, as there is a close connection in all its parts; but should you think it too long for your purpose, you may probably find passages that can be omitted, though the process should be applied with care. I should be unwilling to have any parts abridged or condensed, as this would change and mar the character of the original."

Writing again September 1, 1837, to Professor Raumer, Mr. Sparks said: "The more you can find time to contribute by way of preface or introduction, the better, as whatever you may write will not fail to recommend the work to the favor of the German public. I suppose it is your intention to put your name on the title as editor of the German edition, and my name as author of the 'Life,' and editor of the original work."

The German edition finally appeared under the following title: "Leben und Briefwechsel Georg Washington's nach dem Englischen des Jared Sparks bearbeitet. Herausgegeben von F. von Raumer." (2 vols. 8vo, Leipzig, 1839.) Mr. Henry Wheaton, the American Minister in Berlin, said of this German edition of the writings of Washington: "It has excited the greatest interest in this quarter, and many regrets are expressed that the whole was not given." It would have been impossible for Von Raumer and his publishers to reproduce the entire work in German. They were obliged to make selections suited to popular taste and to the existing demand. Mr. Sparks did the same thing with reference to the whole body of Washington's writings. In his controversy with Lord Mahon, to be reviewed in a later chapter, Mr. Sparks justified his own omissions by reference to the German, French, and English abridgments of his work. He said: "The selection was reduced by M. Guizot to six volumes in the French edition. Von Raumer compiled the German edition in two volumes; and a London editor thought the same number sufficient for the English public."¹ It

¹ Mr. Sparks here refers to the two-volume edition of the "Life and Writings of Washington" pirated by Colburn, of London, after the completion of the American edition. The English work comprised the biography by Sparks and certain selections from Washington's letters, with notes by an English editor. Mr. Sparks pronounced this pirated edition a compilation made without judgment or any competent knowledge of the subject. When the second and third volumes of the original work appeared in 1833, Mr. Sparks had a duplicate set of plates made in Boston and shipped to Thomas Searle, in London, with instructions to sell them to some respectable publisher, like Longman, Murray, or Bentley, with the copyright which the plates would secure to the purchaser. From previous conversations with English publishers, Mr. Sparks had made up his mind that the exclusive privilege of printing and circulating in England the works of Washington was worth two hundred and fifty pounds a volume. He now thought that an English publisher ought to give three hundred

is said in the Harvard MS. class-book, 1815, compiled by the Rev. R. M. Hodges, of that class, that there is an Italian translation of Sparks' "Washington."

FRENCH EDITION.

When Mr. Sparks first visited Paris, in the summer of 1828, he made arrangements with Guizot,¹ then professor pounds for duplicate plates delivered in London. In this expectation Mr. Sparks was greatly disappointed. The cost of producing these plates in America was relatively much greater than in England, and Mr. Sparks' agent could not dispose of them at any profit. A small English edition of vol. ii. was struck off and put on sale by Mr. Rich, but so large an undertaking was not easily launched. The duplicate plates for these two volumes were finally broken up, and this plan of republication was abandoned. When the American edition was completed, there was some correspondence with James M. Campbell, Regent Street, London, with reference to securing an English copyright upon an edition imported from America in sheets, and published for the proprietor with a London imprint; but this project proved impracticable. There was nothing left for Mr. Campbell to do except to import the American copies for sale and subscription at ten pounds. For a time the publishers dealt exclusively with him. Then came the pirated edition issued in two volumes by Colburn at twenty-eight shillings. He intended to publish additional volumes, but was severely attacked in English papers by Campbell and other reviewers, and finally became discouraged with his own piracy. For notices of this English edition, see "London Monthly Review," January, 1839, and "North American Review," July, 1842. J. G. Palfrey wrote the American notice. Colburn's work was entitled "Personal Memoirs and Diaries of George Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the American Armies and First President of the United States. By Jared Sparks." It was first issued in 1839, and was redated in 1842. Concerning the failure of Mr. Sparks' English edition, see Obadiah Rich's "Bibl. Amer. Nova," ii. 259.

¹ The following extract from Mr. Sparks' letter to General Lafayette, July 26, 1828, explains the way in which Guizot was first approached. See, in this connection, Sparks' Paris journal, printed in this volume, *ante*, pp. 97-99: "Do you remember that we conversed the other morning on the subject of providing a translation of Washington's works in Paris? I believe you are acquainted with M.

of history in the university, for a French translation of suitable parts of Washington's writings. Guizot agreed to superintend the publication, to prefix his name to the work, and to supply an original introduction, with notes if necessary. In 1830 occurred the second French Revolution, which brought Louis Philippe to the throne and made Guizot Minister of the Interior. On the 6th of November in that year, Mr. Sparks wrote him requesting the privilege of examining certain papers in the French archives, and saying: "Allow me to congratulate you, sir, on the recent remarkable events in France, and on the distinguished and honorable part which you have been called to act in a cause so glorious, and so auspicious to the best interest of humanity. If the Old World regards the scene with surprise and doubt, the New World looks on with admiration and joy. Your many and great duties will, I fear, deprive you of the power of rendering that service to the name of Washington which you had anticipated in consenting to prepare the French edition of his writings, but I trust it will still receive your patronage, and come out under your superintendence."

The work of preparing the writings of Washington for publishing went on much more slowly than Mr. Sparks had originally contemplated. It was more than ten years from the time he began to collect materials to the completion of the published work. On the 7th of August,

Guizot. Would he not be willing to undertake the translation? I do not know him personally, and therefore cannot conjecture whether his taste or his pursuits would allow him to engage in such an enterprise, but if they would, I presume no man is better qualified to do justice to the writings of our illustrious friend. As far as I am acquainted with M. Guizot by reputation, I should feel great confidence in his ability and qualifications. The work would not press on his other engagements, as it will come out in parts, and slowly. I send you two copies of a pamphlet which you may perhaps use to advantage." This pamphlet contained Mr. Sparks' letters to Mr. Justice Story.

1837, he wrote to George Ticknor, who was then in Europe: —

“Washington’s writings are now completed. I shall send a complete set for you to Paris in October. If you arrive there before that time, it will be as well, perhaps, not to attempt any arrangement before you receive this set of the work. I think I told you that M. Guizot agreed with me to take charge of a translation. We have had no correspondence since; but it is not likely that he would now have any thought of such an undertaking. Considering what has been done, however, it seems proper that he should be consulted before any steps are taken. He may possibly suggest some hints that may be useful. M. de Tocqueville might perhaps interest himself a little. I correspond with him. But your judgment will dictate. I shall consider the business in your hands, precisely as it was in Germany, and according to the tenor of the letter that I wrote to you on the subject two years ago.”

George Ticknor replied from Paris, November 13, 1837: “When I arrived here two months ago, I found your letter of August 7th desiring me here to make an arrangement for translating portions of Washington’s writings, such as I made in Germany; but advising me to do nothing in relation to it till the volumes should arrive. On the 6th of October I received your further favor on the same subject; and on the 20th, I think, I received the books, in good condition and without charges.

“There was no doubt in my mind that M. Guizot would be the most proper person to apply to, and as I was in the habit of seeing him constantly, I so far neglected your indication of waiting that I spoke to him on the subject before the books arrived. His answer was ready: ‘Je ne demande pas mieux.’ Nothing, however, could be done, or at least nothing could be finally settled, until the

books could be shown him, and he could see what he was to undertake. Meantime he left Paris to visit his constituents, and returned only in season for the elections, which occurred on the 5th of this month. As soon as these were over I went to see him, and the next day I sent him the books with the following note:—

“November 9.

“MY DEAR SIR,— Mr. Sparks desired me to make only four conditions touching the French translation of Washington’s writings. They are:—

“1. That the “Life” be translated entire, with so much of the other eleven volumes as you may deem expedient.

“2. That any additions which may be made in the form of notes or otherwise be distinctly marked as such.

“3. That the translation be made with as much literal exactness as the difference of idiom and character in the two languages will permit.

“4. That your name appear on the title-page as the only name responsible for the French translation and publication.

“Mr. Sparks hopes you will further understand that he will always be ready and happy to give any assistance that may be in his power to make the task of selection less burdensome to you, and otherwise to render the French work what you may desire to have it.

“I need only add that I am already aware how much he will be gratified to know you have consented to undertake the French publication, because your name will be the best pledge to his country that he has, in this respect, fulfilled his whole duty. In assurance of this, I will beg you to give me such an answer to this note as I can transmit. Accept, etc.

G. T.’

“I have just received the following answer:—

“‘MON CHER MONSIEUR, — J’ai reçu les douze volumes, que vous m’avez fait l’honneur de m’envoyer. Je consens, avec grand plaisir, de me charger de surveiller la publication d’une édition française des œuvres de Washington. Je choisirai les pièces, qui me paraîtront d’un intérêt assuré pour la France. J’en ferai faire la traduction et je mettrai mon nom à cette édition. Je tiens à l’honneur de l’associer ainsi à celui de votre grand homme. Veuillez donner à M. Sparks cette assurance, et lui offrir en même temps mes complimens bien exprimés. Il a déjà eu la bonté de m’envoyer son “American Diplomatic Correspondence,” et je ne suis pas sûr de l’en avoir remercié, tant j’étois alors occupé.

“‘Je vais faire venir des libraires pour les engager à publier cette édition de Washington. La librairie et la littérature française sont dans un bien triste état depuis quelques années. J’espère, cependant, que je trouverai un éditeur convenable.’

“The only doubt expressed, you observe, is concerning booksellers. I suppose, from his conversations, however, that this is a very slight doubt. At any rate, if his name does not procure a bookseller, there could hardly be hope of obtaining one in France. But he does not propose to have any remuneration from the booksellers. He does it merely for the honor. So does Von Raumer, who also receives nothing. . . .

“You are kind enough to say that you can probably furnish me with any American autographs I may want. Three years ago I should have cared less to possess them than I now do ; but in Germany, in Italy, and now here, it has chanced, with very little exertion on my part, that I have picked up a considerable number, which, even in Europe, are quite curious. To these I shall be truly glad to add any American ones you can conveniently give

me. If you will make up a little parcel, no matter how many duplicates there may be in it, and will send it to Baring & Co., London, through Mr. Savage, noting on the outside that it is to remain there (in London) till I call for it, I do not doubt I could obtain in the way of exchange what I could get in no other way. Washington and Franklin will bring almost anything in Europe, but I suppose they can hardly be had, even in America.”

To this letter of Ticknor's Mr. Sparks replied, January 15, 1838: “Your kind favor of November 13th has lately come to hand. I need not say that I have been exceedingly gratified with your success in engaging M. Guizot to undertake a French edition of Washington. Although when I was in Paris he seemed pleased with the project, yet I had no expectation that he would now think of it, considering his public station and duties. The arrangement is very fortunate. Please to accept my best thanks for the part you have taken in effecting it. I shall write to M. Guizot soon, with proper expressions of my sentiments on the occasion, and two or three hints which I wish to bring to his mind. Your letter to him, however, contains everything in relation to the mode of executing the work, and on this point I shall say nothing, but leave the whole to his judgment.

“The parcel of autographs shall soon be made up and sent to Mr. Savage. I fear, however, that you will find little use¹ for American autographs in England. The

¹ Mr. Sparks spoke from experience. When he first went abroad in 1828, he took with him several interesting autographs of George Washington and gave them to celebrities whom he met, for example to Lord Holland, Sydney Smith, and M. Guizot. Mr. Sparks had doubtless come to the conclusion that it was better to keep American autographs in America. In a letter to James Madison, December 29, 1827, Mr. Sparks made much the same request as Ticknor made of Sparks: “I have collected several of General Washington's autograph letters, which I intend to distribute in different parts of

Washington papers are all returned, and I am nearly drained of autographs, but I will send you two or three. With Franklin's I am better stocked, having found two huge trunks of his papers in a garret seven miles from Philadelphia, where they had lain nearly forty years. Among them are many in his own handwriting, from which I can select several autographs suited to your purpose. We have the seventh volume of Franklin's writings now in press, and there will be two or three more. From various quarters I have collected a great deal of new matter, and I trust the work in this new garb will hold an honorable place in our literature."

Ticknor addressed the following letter to Sparks from London, March 26, 1838: "I wrote you only once from Paris about the Washington papers because I had only once anything to say; and though I am much in the same condition now, I feel as if you ought to be distinctly informed even of that. The truth is, Guizot has had more difficulty in finding a publisher than I anticipated, more perhaps than he did, and had not succeeded when I last saw him, the evening but one before I left Paris, which was ten days ago. His proposition to the book-

Europe, in public libraries and other institutions where they will be preserved with great care, and to much better purpose than among the private papers of individuals, where they will be subject to repeated accidents and eventual loss. Colonel Pickering and Mr. Hamilton have supplied me with a good many interesting specimens. If you can select some from your files which you have no objection to part with and will forward them to me, I can assure you they shall be disposed of in such a manner as I think you will approve." Mr. Sparks must have acquired, in later years, a dread of autograph-hunters. The name of such correspondents was literally legion. Perhaps the two most successful early collectors were his two friends Dr. William B. Sprague, of Albany, author of "The Annals of the American Pulpit," and Mr. Robert Gilmore, of Baltimore, whose interesting "Tour in the Eastern States in 1797," with original pen sketches of Boston and New York, was published in the bulletin of the Boston Public Library, April, 1892.

sellers was to make about four volumes of the work ; to add a preface of about fifty pages of his own, the needful notes, and to require nothing from them but to pay the translators and print it handsomely. This proposition he made at once to Didot, who at the end of a fortnight refused it ; then to Didier, who also refused after hesitating a month ; then to another bookseller whose name I have forgotten, but who was not more inclined to the undertaking ; and finally to Gosselin, who had it under consideration when I came away, and was not likely to give his answer before next month, April. But from what Guizot said, I think it rather probable that he will undertake it, though, it must be admitted, good and serious books are a deplorable drug in Paris nowadays. One thing, however, is certain. If Guizot's name will not procure a publisher, no name in France will ; so that you may consider yourself as having done whatever can be done in the case. I left both the copies you sent me in his hands."

The result of these negotiations is thus recorded in Mr. Sparks' journal, September 18, 1839 : " When Mr. Ticknor was in Paris about two years ago, he made an arrangement with M. Guizot to edit and publish a French translation of the ' Life and Writings of Washington,' or rather a selection suited to the French public. Mr. Ticknor has just received a letter from M. Guizot dated at Paris, July 26, 1839, from which the following is an extract : —

" J'ai enfin trouvé un éditeur convenable pour Washington. L'édition française aura six volumes. La " Vie de Washington," par M. Sparks, et mon Introduction rempliront les deux premiers. Quatre volumes seront consacrés à des lettres et pièces choisies. J'ai fait ce choix, et la plupart des lettres sont déjà traduites. La " Vie de Washington " l'est aussi, et même imprimée. Je m'occupe de l'Introduction. Dans six semaines ou deux mois j'enverrai le manuscrit à l'impression, et l'ouvrage entier

paraîtra au mois de Novembre ou de Décembre. Les éditeurs qui font cette entreprise s'appellent M. Badimont et M. Dillon. Le premier est riche. L'ouvrage sera mis en vente chez les trois ou quatre principaux libraires de Paris. Les éditeurs désirent beaucoup en placer aux États-Unis, autant d'exemplaires qu'il se pourra. Je leur ai promis que vous feriez, à ce regard, M. Sparks et vous, tout ce qui seroit en votre pouvoir.

“ Je me félicite, mon cher monsieur, d'associer mon nom dans cette publication, à celui de votre grand homme, plus grand encore, que je ne le pensois avant de l'avoir considéré de près. Je vis avec lui depuis quelque temps, et c'est une noble et salutaire société. S'il avoit paru sur son compte en Amérique, ou sur l'histoire de votre Révolution en général, quelques choses de nouveau, et d'un peu intéressant, vous seriez bien aimable de me l'envoyer. Je serois charmé d'avoir dans ma bibliothèque une collection un peu complète des documents et des ouvrages importants sur ce grand événement de la civilisation moderne.

“ J'espère que l'édition française sera faite avec soin. Je le recommande beaucoup aux éditeurs et à la personne chargée de la surveillance matérielle de l'entreprise.

“ Je vois que M. Sparks a publié une “ Vie de Gouverneur Morris.” Lui seroit-il possible de m'envoyer un exemplaire? Je suppose que je trouverai là des détails sur le parti fédéraliste. J'ai les ouvrages de Jefferson, et sa Vie par Tucker, qui me font bien connaître le parti démocratique.”

In Mr. Sparks' journal, March 25, 1840, are the following extracts from a letter from Guizot to Ticknor, dated Paris, December 10, 1839: “ Les quatre premiers volumes de notre Washington viennent de paraître. Ils contiennent mon Introduction, la “ Vie de Washington,” par M. Sparks, et deux volumes de “ Lettres Choiesies.”

“ Les deux autres volumes de “ Lettres Choiesies et

l'Atlas," qui compléteront l'ouvrage, paraîtront vers la fin du mois de Janvier prochain.

“La traduction de la Vie de M. Sparks est exacte. Je regrette qu'elle ne soit pas écrite avec plus d'élégance. Le traducteur a la phrase un peu lourde. Je regrette aussi qu'il ait imaginé de supprimer beaucoup de notes. Je les trouvois toutes utiles et intéressants. J'étais à la campagne pendant que ces volumes-là ont été imprimés, et je n'ai pu y regarder d'aussi près que je l'aurois voulu.

“J'ai vécu, tout l'été dernier, en intimité avec votre grand homme. J'ai trouvé cette intimité aussi salutaire que douce pour l'âme, et je serois heureux d'en propager dans mon pays l'impression et le goût.

“Je vous remercie infiniment des livres que vous et M. Sparks avez bien voulu m'envoyer. Soyez, je vous prie, auprès de lui l'interprète de ma reconnaissance. L'été prochain, à la campagne, je lirai à mon aise sa “Vie de Gouverneur Morris.” Combien son Franklin doit-il avoir de volumes? Mettra-t-il aussi en tête une “Vie de Franklin”?

“Je désire beaucoup en effet recueillir sur l'histoire de votre Révolution tous les documens et ouvrages importants. J'attache en particulier beaucoup de prix aux Biographies. Cette étude spéciale et approfondie de la vie et du caractère des honorés distingués est à mon avis ce qu'il y a de plus instructif sur le vrai sens et le vrai caractère des événements.

“Puisque je suis en train d'indiscretion, j'ajouterai que, s'il vous tombait sous la main quelque lettre autographe de vos grands hommes, je serai charmé de l'avoir. J'ai une collection de ce genre, peu nombreuse, mais très choisie. M. Sparks a déjà eu la bonté de m'envoyer une lettre de Washington.”

Mr. Sparks adds this note in his journal: “I have just received the French translation of four volumes of Wash-

ington's writings. The 'Life' is translated entire; with a selection from Washington's papers. Two volumes more are to be added. M. Guizot's Introduction¹ makes 171 pages of the first volume; well written, elevated in its tone, and just in its sentiments."

The reader would never discover from Mr. Sparks' journal, nor from his letters to friends, that he was at all dissatisfied with Guizot's work. But there was one grievance of which the editor of this memorial is credibly informed. The French edition of the "Life, Correspondence, and Writings of Washington" does not mention upon the title-page,² as does the German edition of Rau-mer, the American editor from whom the work was derived. To all appearances Guizot³ is the only editor and

¹ Guizot's Introduction upon "The Influence and Character of Washington in the Revolution of the United States of America" was well translated into English by the Hon. George S. Hillard of Boston, and was published in 1840. There is another English translation, by Henry Reeve.

² The French title-page reads as follows: "Vie, Correspondance et Écrits de Washington, publiés d'après l'Édition Américaine, et précédés d'une Introduction sur l'Influence et le Caractère de Washington dans la Révolution des États-Unis de l'Amérique. Par M. Guizot, Membre de l'Institut." Paris, 1839-40. 6 vols. 8vo, with an atlas in quarto, 22 plates. Gosselin, 60 francs.

³ An interesting side-light upon the possibly political motives of Guizot in introducing the French translation of Washington appears in the following extract from a letter to Mr. Sparks from Charles Sumner, who wrote from Vienna, November 26, 1839: "A few evenings ago I had a considerable conversation with Prince Metternich about Washington, for whose character he professed a great respect. He was expecting to receive very soon Guizot's translation. I was happy in the opportunity of stating to him your labors in illustration of the life and character of our great man. I leave this place to-night for Prague, Dresden, and Berlin.

"You have doubtless seen the German *abrégé* of your Washington; also the article in the 'Journal des Débats' on Guizot's translation. The 'Journal de Frankfort' says that Guizot has endeavored to find in Washington the type of his own opinions in the *juste milieu*,

the whole work the result of his industry and enterprise. In France and in Canada the work is known as Guizot's Washington. Guizot, in his preface only, recognizes Mr. Sparks as the American editor of Washington, and as the original authority upon Washington's life. Such French recognition is, however, more honorable than that accorded by some of Mr. Sparks' own countrymen, who have not only utilized his collected materials and writings without sufficient acknowledgment, but also at the same time have disparaged his work in the interest of new and seemingly independent editions. Mr. Sparks, with characteristic and generous forbearance, never publicly expressed dissatisfaction with M. Guizot's method of introducing the French edition of Washington, but his personal friends were aware that he did not approve of Guizot's title-page.

Notwithstanding his editorial grievance, Mr. Sparks wrote to M. Guizot, May 25, 1840, in a spirit at once cordial and appreciative. M. Guizot was at that time French ambassador at the court of St. James: "Through the hands of Mr. Ticknor I have lately received your edition of the 'Vie, Correspondance et Écrits de Washington,' and I hasten to assure you of my entire satisfaction with the manner in which the work has been executed, and of the great pleasure I have derived from the perusal of your Introduction. The character of Washington is drawn with striking force and accuracy, and the political condition of the United States during his public life is well conceived and skillfully portrayed. The justness of the sentiments expressed in the Introduction, its tone of candor, moderation, and impartiality, and its enlarged and

whereas Washington was a steady friend of progress. Other papers charge Guizot with publishing at this juncture — one month before the Chambers — in order to bring his name and political sentiments before the public, in the hope of reaching a ministerial *fauteuil*. I write this in haste, to be taken by the courier to London."

liberal views, cannot fail to recommend it to every American, and, indeed, to every one who wishes the success of free institutions. A translation has been made by a gentleman well qualified for the task. It will shortly be published. Mr. Everett, late governor of Massachusetts, has reviewed the work for the next number of the 'North American Review.'¹

"Allow me to thank you for the volumes of your historical lectures, which came with those of Washington. The first course of lectures I already possessed, and I have frequently perused it with equal profit and pleasure. The translation of this course is much circulated and read in America.

"Some time ago I sent to you the two remaining volumes of Franklin's works, making ten in the whole, which I trust have reached you safely. This edition is more complete than any that preceded it, containing many original papers and letters; and it is constructed upon an entirely new arrangement. There has been no good French edition of Franklin's writings. Would not a selection, something like that from the writings of Washington, with a suitable introduction, meet with success with the French public? I have now in the course of preparation a history of the American Revolution. My attention has been turned to the subject for many years, and I have collected a large mass of original materials. When I was in Europe, eleven years ago, my researches related wholly to this period of history, although they had reference particularly to the political life of Washington. My materials have accumulated from year to year, but I cannot complete them without another voyage to Europe. I shall probably sail for England early in July, and arrive in London about the first of August, when I shall hope to have the honor of seeing you."

¹ This notice was published in July, 1840.

When Mr. Sparks visited Paris the second time, in the winter of 1840, M. Guizot was minister of foreign affairs, and he used his official influence to secure the American scholar every possible facility for research in the French archives. He entertained Mr. Sparks together with General Cass, then American minister, at dinner. Several members of the House of Deputies were present. Mr. Sparks patriotically noted in his journal that the party was "something like one of the President's dinners in Washington."

In a letter, January 26, 1842, to Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, Mr. Sparks said: "While I was in Paris last winter, about forty gentlemen, at that time resident there, subscribed to procure a portrait of M. Guizot from the pencil of Mr. Healy, a young American artist of great merit and promise. The subscribers, I believe, had a twofold object in view, first, a testimony of respect to M. Guizot on account of his general character, and particularly for the lively interest he has taken in the affairs of this country and the impartiality he has shown in his admirable Introduction to the French edition of Washington's writings; and secondly, to bring forward in a favorable manner the genius and skill of a worthy and accomplished young artist.

"The picture has been finished and shipped to the care of the collector in New York, addressed to the President of the United States. It is said to be a perfect likeness,¹ and to answer the entire expectation of the subscribers.

¹ Concerning the Guizot portrait, Mr. Robert Walsh wrote Mr. Sparks from Paris, December 19, 1841: "The portrait of M. Guizot has been exceedingly well executed by Mr. Healy. It is a perfect likeness. . . . M. Guizot gave many long sittings to the painter; he sacrificed more of his time to his good-will than I thought he could possibly afford. He deserves every kind of distinction in our country."

It was decided that the ultimate disposition of the picture should be left to the government of the United States, with the hope and belief that it would be deposited in some public place at Washington suited to the dignity, station, and character of the distinguished person whom it represents. It has been suggested that the library of Congress would be particularly appropriate for this purpose, since the high distinctions to which M. Guizot has arisen have been derived as much from his literary as his political attainments.

“I have been requested by the gentlemen in Paris who have taken charge of this business, to write to you on this subject, and solicit your kind assistance in procuring for the picture a proper location. I doubt not you will cheerfully comply with their request in a matter which will require little trouble in itself, but may have some degree of importance in its results, especially as it will be looked upon by the French people in somewhat of a national point of view.”

In 1855 was published by Didier in Paris a “*Histoire de Washington et de la Fondation de la République des États-Unis, par Cornelis de Witt*,¹ précédée d’une *Étude Historique sur Washington, par M. Guizot*.” This work, to which Guizot’s essay² served as the introduction, is a more elaborate treatment of the same subject, based upon a careful study of Sparks’ “*Life and Writings of Washington*.” An examination of Cornelis de Witt’s footnotes indicates to what extent the French author has drawn upon the American for original and material information. De Witt was Guizot’s son-in-law.

¹ Thomas Balch, of Philadelphia, translated De Witt’s “*Washington*.” See MS. Letter to Jared Sparks, September 16, 1857.

² Guizot’s “*Vie de Général Washington*” was published separately at Paris in 1839.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SPARKS' EDITION OF FRANKLIN.

MR. SPARKS' experience in editing the life and writings of Washington as well as of Gouverneur Morris naturally suggested other editorial enterprises of a similar nature. At one time he thought of publishing the papers of Alexander Hamilton. To this end he corresponded with representatives of the Hamilton family. He endeavored to obtain access to the papers of John Jay. He received permission to edit the life and letters of Lafayette. He was asked to write the lives of General Greene, George Clinton, General William Eaton, and many others. The idea of an edition of the writings of Franklin was early conceived by Mr. Sparks. He wrote for information upon the subject March 6, 1830, to Benjamin Vaughan,¹ who, in 1779, had edited a collection of Franklin's writings: "Having it in contemplation to prepare an edition of Franklin's works for the press, I know not to whom I can apply for information on the subject of his writings with so much probability of success as to yourself. I presume

¹ Excellent bibliographies of the various editions of Franklin's writings are given in Sparks' preface, in Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," vol. vii. pp. 421, 422, and John Bigelow's recent edition of Franklin. Best of all is Paul Leicester Ford's "Bibliography of Benjamin Franklin." Mr. Sparks made use of a few notes from Mr. Benjamin Vaughan's (1779) and William Temple Franklin's (1817) editions, but indicated the fact in every case by appending the initials of the author. This good example has not been followed by all American editors who have exploited Mr. Sparks' historical annotations.

there is no one living whose personal acquaintance with him was more intimate, or to whom he intrusted his thoughts and opinions with less reserve. Neither can I doubt that you will be disposed to render any aid in your power towards a complete and well-arranged collection of his writings. The topics upon which it is desirable to procure information may be ranked under the following heads: —

“1. The various editions of Franklin’s works or any part of them, either in French or English. I should be glad, if possible, to ascertain the dates of places of publication of all the different impressions of his writings which have been printed.

“2. Manuscript materials which have never been printed, whether letters, essays, or tracts, in the hands of individuals.

“3. The condition in which he left his papers, what became of them, and whether any of them are still remaining, and where.

“4. Printed letters, or other pieces, which have appeared in different publications, but have never been collected into any edition of his works.

“Any information you can give me on these topics will be of value, and I trust will be turned to a good account. You are aware that no full and creditable edition of Franklin has ever been brought out. Is it not due to the fame of this great man, as well as to the honor of his country, that such an attempt should be made?

“I am much indebted to you for the kind reception I met with in London from your brother and son, and from the Marquis of Lansdowne. All these gentlemen rendered me essential service. My researches in the public offices were entirely successful, and have been productive of a rich stock of historical materials, which I hope will one day be converted to a proper use.”

In a letter to Edward Everett, November 19, 1832, Mr. Sparks described his plan and told what collections he had already made: "I was not aware that you have thought of a biography of Franklin. It is four years since I resolved, some time or other, to bring out a complete collection of his works. The first volume I intended should be a Life. For these purposes I have been collecting all the materials I could find. The best London edition is crude, and the American is worse. In short, no kind of justice has been done to Franklin, either in his biography, or the publication of his writings. I have obtained from England and France everything of his which could be found, both in print and manuscript, and have orders there to pursue the search. From the Marquis of Lansdowne I got an entire copy of the correspondence of the English commissioners in making the treaty of peace, which had been preserved by his father. It contains much about Franklin. In the French offices, also, I obtained many particulars illustrating his conduct as minister. At the time of his death, five or six of the magistrates of Paris delivered eulogies, which are not to be found on sale, and which I have ordered to be copied. Several French works of the day speak of Franklin. These I have procured, as far as I could find them. From several quarters, also, I have collected from sixty to a hundred original letters of Franklin, mostly private, and never printed. You are aware, perhaps, that there is still in existence a large trunk of Franklin's papers, resting quietly in a garret, where it has been more than thirty years, with fragments of divers electrical machines and philosophical instruments which formerly belonged to him. I spent a day in that garret. The trunk contains a pretty full collection of his papers during his residence in France, but hardly anything original of his own. All the papers of this sort were culled out, and carried to France, by W. T. Frank-

lin. The trunk should be examined, however, in writing a biography. A rich treasure of materials may likewise be found among Governor Franklin's correspondence, or papers, in England. It is evident that but a small portion of his father's letters to him have been printed, and they must contain more of Franklin's views and opinions for twenty years than can be ascertained from all other sources.

"I mention these things merely as facts. I know not that our plans will in any way interfere; nor can I tell when I shall carry mine into execution. 'Washington' is a burden of colossal weight, which I must first throw off."

Before executing his project for an edition of Franklin's complete works, Mr. Sparks determined to issue a small volume of Franklin's familiar letters, many of which were in Mr. Sparks' possession and had never before been printed. The following letter to Franklin Bache, December 26, 1832, explains this preliminary undertaking: "You will recollect that some time last March I called to converse with you respecting Dr. Franklin's papers, and you showed me a volume containing copies of several early letters. In my researches I have collected somewhat more than one hundred original letters of Dr. Franklin, which have not been printed, and these chiefly on private and domestic subjects. They exhibit the author in so amiable and engaging a light that I have thoughts of publishing them separately in a small volume. I think the sale will bear out the publication, and it will be presenting Franklin to the world in a character which has been but slightly developed in the more public letters contained in the collections of his writings. Kind feelings and an indulgent temper are everywhere manifested, and are rendered doubly attractive by the peculiar charm and simplicity of his style. The effect of the whole will be, I

am sure, to endear his name still more closely to his countrymen and to the world.

“To make this collection as perfect and to give it as much consequence as possible, I should be glad to obtain the unpublished letters in your possession, with the view of inserting them in connection with those which I now possess. Of some of them I probably have the originals, particularly such as were written to his relations in Boston. But there must be others which exist only in the copies recorded in the book which you showed to me. I cannot doubt your desire to favor my design, and that you will be willing to contribute whatever you can to aid its success. This you can do by sending me copies of the letters in question ; or, if you will forward to me the volume itself, I will take care that it shall be safely and speedily returned.”

Extract from Sparks' journal, March [no date], 1833 :
“During the progress of my historical researches I have obtained original letters of Franklin amounting to more than one hundred, mostly to his relations and intimate friends. These are curious and interesting. In Philadelphia I also found in some old pamphlets which belonged to Franklin, now in the Philadelphia Athenæum, marginal remarks, in his own handwriting, which are particularly important for their political complexion, and as expressing the opinions of Franklin respecting the disputes between England and the colonies which gave rise to the Revolution. Neither the letters nor these remarks have ever been published, and I thought it due to the character of Franklin, and the honor of his country, to bring them before the public. They have just gone to press, and will appear in a small volume entitled ‘Familiar Letters and Miscellaneous Papers of Dr. Franklin, now for the first time published.’”¹

¹ “A Collection of the Familiar Letters and Miscellaneous Papers

Jared Sparks sent a copy of this book to General Lafayette, to whom he wrote from Boston, June 5, 1833: "I took the liberty, a few days ago, to inclose to you a little volume of the familiar letters of your early friend, and the friend of mankind, Dr. Franklin. They are of small political consequence, but they are highly characteristic of their author, bearing all the marks of his peculiar genius, his wisdom and sagacity, and they exhibit very pleasing evidences of the goodness of his heart. As the manuscript has fallen into my hands, I thought the publication a just tribute to his memory."

It is interesting to note that the question of literal accuracy in the reproduction of Franklin's style was raised, soon after the publication of the "Familiar Letters," by Mr. Benjamin Waterhouse, who wrote as follows to Mr. Sparks, June 6, 1833: "You may deem it a whim, but I wish you had printed Franklin's letter to me without altering an iota of it as it regarded punctuation and *capitals*, as a sample of the old school of writers, who *capitalized* all *nouns*, and because it is all written by his own hand except the superscription. I have not myself relinquished entirely the old fashion. I consider a *noun* with a capital letter a sort of file-leader, and the verb a commanding officer, and all useful in the march, while the interjections are fife and drum. Mr. J. Q. Adams never omits the catchword at the bottom of the pages in his private letters. There is a conveniency in the custom in all long MSS. I consider, *e. g.*, Shaw's edition of Lord Bacon as a more perfect mode of printing than the one adopted of Benjamin Franklin. Boston, 1833." The work was reviewed by Mr. Sparks' friend, Rev. W. B. O. Peabody, in the "North American Review," vol. xxxvii. p. 249. According to the contract with Charles Bowen, the publisher, the book was printed in Cambridge by Mr. Folsom, in the same style as Sparks' "Theological Tracts." The edition was one thousand copies, and Mr. Sparks received fifty cents a page for his editorial work.

late years ; and yet our friend Folsom, somehow or other, managed to work me out of my favorite catchword."

In Mr. Sparks' journal for February 22, 1834, is this memorandum : " I have agreed with Hilliard, Gray & Co. to prepare an edition of Franklin's works for the press, which is to be printed in the same style as Washington. I am to write an original Life, which is to constitute the first volume ; and also to add notes and such other matter as I choose. It is intended to stereotype the work, and to bring out two or three volumes a year."

Mr. Sparks' method of procedure¹ in preparing for his larger edition has been already indicated in a letter to Mr. Benjamin Vaughan, printed at the beginning of this chapter. From this venerable English gentleman, the friend and early editor of Franklin, Mr. Sparks received numerous valuable and suggestive letters. In his preface Mr. Sparks says : " Mr. Vaughan's intimate friendship and correspondence with Dr. Franklin, for many years, probably enabled him to contribute more from his personal knowledge than could have been furnished by any other survivor."

Mr. Benjamin Vaughan wrote to Mr. Sparks from Lowell, February 15, 1833 : " I am happy to learn from you that you are making a collection of unpublished letters written by Dr. Franklin, with which the world is soon to be favored. I know of no person more likely to accomplish such an object to general satisfaction than yourself. It would give me pleasure to be able to become

¹ Among the bound historical MSS. collected by Jared Sparks, and now deposited in the library of Harvard University, are his notes and memoranda used in writing a continuation of Franklin's Life, and in preparing an edition of his works, 1836-40 : 1. Particulars concerning Franklin's family. 2. Notes used in a continuation of the Life of Franklin. 3. Notes for a preface to Franklin's works. 4. First sketches of an arrangement of Franklin's writings for an edition of his works.

a contributor to the success of your enterprise, but upon recollection I do not find in what manner I can be useful on this occasion. I am at a distance from most of those who corresponded with Dr. Franklin, as well as from their representatives; and cannot, therefore, procure anything for your purpose from *others*. As to his letters to *me*, he in general either published them himself, or directed me to publish them, which I always did (in the latter case, however, by suppressing my name as his correspondent). He sometimes wrote to me about his private affairs, and sometimes to give me little commissions to execute. Of the latter description was a letter to purchase for him strings for a *viol de Gamba*, with a book of instructions for the management of the instrument; which is likely to have been one of the last letters which he ever wrote, but is certainly one in which the public could feel no interest, having been intended probably to serve some of his young connections. I observe, by the way, that his handwriting was not very essentially impaired at that date.

“As to any efforts of mine to bring certain of Dr. Franklin’s pieces before the public, to which you seem to allude, I regret that they were of a nature to give me little satisfaction, since they ought to have been attended with more leisure than it was at the moment in my power to give them. In like manner I feel concerned that certain letters of mine have been made public, either by him or by his grandson W. T. F., which were written in haste, and were only for his own inspection. But these matters are now without remedy.

“Before I conclude, permit me to express my concern that confinement to my bed, in consequence of a serious accident, prevented my having the pleasure of seeing you when you called in the summer of 1830; and that your arrangements did not permit you to return to the westward by the way of Hallowell. At my time of life the

same chances for meeting you are not likely to be often renewed, and therefore my disappointment on this occasion is scarcely likely to be made up to me.

“The *viol de Gamba* mentioned above is an instrument now probably out of use, though Abel, the composer, endeavored to procure it favor by touching it with much feeling and expression, so much, indeed, that he could have few imitators.”

Mr. Benjamin Vaughan continued until within a day or two of his death¹ to correspond with Mr. Sparks, and furnished him with many bits of information which proved highly useful in his editorial labors. The letters are too detailed for reproduction here, although the following, dated at Hallowell, June 17, 1835, is of general interest: “I have just read over Dr. Franklin’s Life sent to me by Mr. Walsh formerly, in which are matters not found elsewhere, but which of course cannot have escaped you. There certainly never was a man more literally *faber fortunæ suæ* than Dr. Franklin, nor more truly the constructor of his own mind. He made up the finest nature out of the finest art, and had the clearest possible conviction of the *sterling value* of virtue. At our Whig club, they were once talking of the relative force of the different evidences for the truth of Christianity (as miracles, prophecies, etc., etc.). One of the company, hurt at finding Dr. Franklin silent on the occasion, urged him to speak. ‘I think,’ says the doctor, ‘that the man who fulfills the precepts of Christianity has the best proof of its divinity.’ This was said with as much promptness as he ever said anything.

“I was struck, in reading Mr. Walsh’s present, with the hint that Dr. Franklin’s scene before the Privy Council would have made a subject for a picture. The room was

¹ Benjamin Vaughan died December 8, 1835, aged eighty-five. He wrote a letter to Mr. Sparks December 6th.

small, and the doctor stood erect and motionless, but self-composed, in a corner by himself, as if he had been placed as a criminal on his trial. I remember well his dress-suit. I think his wearing that suit at signing the treaty with France, and his letter in taking leave of Strahan, are the two points in his temper on which he was nearest to forgetting himself."

Mr. Sparks began an interesting correspondence with Mr. Petty Vaughan, of London, son of Benjamin Vaughan, upon the subject of Franklin's papers. Writing August 21, 1837, Mr. Sparks said: "I am engaged in preparing for the press a new edition of Franklin's writings. Four volumes have already been published. A large mass of his papers recently found in Philadelphia, and now in my possession, will add much to enrich this edition. By these papers I discover that he wrote letters to several gentlemen in England, copies of which have not been preserved. I have thought it may be in your power to assist me in procuring copies of some of them, which are probably valuable. To three persons in particular he wrote frequently, namely, George Whately, Dr. Price, and Granville Sharp. It may be presumed that the descendants of these gentlemen, or some branches of their families, have preserved the original letters. Should it not be too much trouble, I shall be greatly obliged if you will make the inquiry, and obtain copies of such of Dr. Franklin's letters as can be found.

"The correspondence with George Whately and Dr. Price was of long continuance. With Granville Sharp I believe it took place wholly after the American Revolution. It related to the affairs of the Episcopal Church in the United States. It appears by Granville Sharp's letters that he then lived in the Old Jewry. If you should succeed in procuring copies of any of Franklin's letters, it is desirable that they should be forwarded to me as soon

as it can be done, because the work is now in the press. You can send the parcel to New York, to the care of any of your correspondents there, and a line to me at the same time in the mail, informing me to whose care it is sent, that I may look after it. I will pay all expense to your order at sight, either in Boston or New York.

“Your father’s early edition of Franklin’s works has been of great service to me. His notes are extremely judicious, and I have adopted most of them, taking care to give him due credit. In the preface I shall speak in a proper manner of his edition. During a few months before his death, he favored me with several valuable communications in aid of my undertaking. I am going immediately to Philadelphia, where I shall pass some time in completing my researches for materials for a Life of Franklin. Mr. John Vaughan takes a lively interest in the subject, and affords me many facilities. I make no apology for troubling you with this business, knowing your readiness to promote a good cause, and believing that you will not think your time misspent in contributing to do honor to the great name of Franklin, who was so long connected in close ties of friendship with your family.”

The following letter, March 5, 1838, to John Quincy Adams, shows at once the difficulties and the progress of the undertaking: “You are probably aware that I am engaged in preparing for the press an edition of Franklin’s writings. The design is to make a complete collection of all the papers and letters suited to publication which he is known to have written. From a careful inspection, I am led to believe there are some letters of an official character written to your father, particularly in the years 1779, 1780, and 1781, which have not been published; and if so, I have thought you would not object to their being copied for that purpose. I could send the

dates of all the letters in my possession to your son, and these might be compared with the originals, by which it could be ascertained whether there are any that have not been printed. Will you have the goodness to write to me on this subject?

"I have been very successful in procuring materials for this edition. In a garret seven miles from Philadelphia I found two large trunks of Dr. Franklin's papers,¹ which had lain there undisturbed forty years. They consist chiefly of the papers which accumulated in his hands during his public mission in France. The letter-books only were taken to Europe by William T. Franklin, and these formed the basis of his edition published in London. In the mass are many original drafts in Dr. Franklin's handwriting. When he went to France, he intrusted a box of papers to Galloway, including all his letter-books during the fifteen years of his agency in England. This box was broken open and rifled when the British evacuated Philadelphia, and a large part of the papers were taken away

¹ Extracts from Sparks' journal, April 17, 1837: "Mr. Fox went again with me to his country-seat, where we got all the Franklin papers in order, and sent them in two large trunks to Philadelphia. The whole weight is four hundred pounds, there being at least thirty cubic feet of solid papers. They are mostly arranged in files.

"Mr. Fisher has kindly selected and copied many things relating to Franklin in the Logan papers. He offers also to look for other materials in Philadelphia, particularly among the descendants of those who were correspondents of Franklin. Mr. John Vaughan, as usual, has rendered me great service."

July 24, 1837: "Commenced the examination of Franklin's papers in the great trunks which I brought from Philadelphia. They have been classified and arranged by a young man whom I have employed in that service.

"Volumes second, third, fourth, and fifth of Franklin's works have been published, the sixth is in press. I find many new materials in these trunks, which will come into the edition, as well as much interesting biographical matter."

and never recovered. Others were scattered and lost, but a few of them were gathered up, and they were found in one of the great trunks. Among them are about one hundred and fifty letters to his wife, many to other persons, and some original philosophical papers. On the whole, the discovery has been fortunate."

In a letter August 23, 1838, to Henry Wheaton, American minister at Berlin, Mr. Sparks writes: "You ask what I am about. It would be difficult to tell you in a few words. Washington was finished a year ago. I have since been mostly employed with an edition of Franklin, seven volumes of which have been printed in the same style as Washington. There are to be ten in all. The first volume is to constitute the Life of Franklin, being his autobiography as far as he wrote it, continued by me to the end of his life. The work embraces a complete collection of his writings, with notes and remarks here and there. . . . Many original letters have also come into my hands from various quarters. These resources have afforded a great deal that has not hitherto been published, and all highly creditable to the talents and character of Franklin. With this work I trust my editing career will end. I have planned a history of the American Revolution,¹ on an extended scale, having studied that subject at the fountain-head for ten years. I know not when it will be executed. I intended going to Europe the present year for the purpose of completing my collection of materials, but amidst the late wreck of human things I have lost almost my whole property, and am obliged to abandon the project for some time, and perhaps forever. The tenth

¹ Mr. Wheaton wrote to Mr. Sparks upon this subject, December 24, 1838: "I think you should write the whole history of our Revolution, that *initiative* of the great mutation now going on in Europe. But even the episode of our international relations with France will be of the highest interest."

volume of the 'American Biography' is now in press, and it is uncertain whether the series will be continued any further."

Of special interest regarding previous editions of the writings of Franklin is the following letter, October 14, 1839, to William Vaughan: "Your kind favor of September 19th has just come to hand, and I am greatly obliged to you for your attentions to my request respecting Franklin's letters. Those directed to Granville Sharp are printed in the work, which has passed entirely through the press, except the *Life*, upon which I am now engaged. The whole will be comprised in ten octavo volumes, being four more than any previous edition. It contains all the writings of Franklin, as far as I have been able to ascertain them. The correspondence with Mr. Benjamin Vaughan is printed more fully than heretofore. I shall take due notice of his valuable edition of Dr. Franklin's writings published in 1779. It has afforded me much assistance.

"Allow me to ask two questions, which I dare say Mr. Petty Vaughan will cheerfully obtain such means of answering as now exist. In the year 1806, Longman published an edition of Franklin's works in three volumes. Mr. B. Vaughan supposed this edition was edited by Dr. Rees, but was not certain of the fact. It can doubtless be ascertained by inquiring at Longman's bookstore. I should be extremely glad to know who was the editor of this edition. It was very well done.

"Again, in the year 1793, a small edition in two duodecimo volumes was published by Robinson in Paternoster Row. In this edition was published for the first time Dr. Franklin's *Life*, written by himself, being the same which has usually been reprinted since. But a curious fact about it is that it was a translation from the French. The original *Life*, as Dr. Franklin wrote it, was first pub-

lished in W. T. Franklin's edition in the year 1817. Now I am very desirous of knowing who translated the Life for Robinson's edition. It is so well executed that no one suspected it was a translation till W. T. Franklin's edition appeared. I can hardly hope that the inquiry will be successful, after a lapse of nearly fifty years; but it is possible some person may be still living who was acquainted with the particulars. It is important that I should have the answer soon, as the whole work, including the Life, will be through the press in a few weeks. I retain a lively remembrance of my visit to London, and the agreeable hours I passed in your house; and it is possible that circumstances will cause me to renew the visit."

Charles Sumner found an autograph letter of Franklin and sent a copy of it to Mr. Sparks from Vienna, November 26, 1839: "On the first page is a copy of a letter of Franklin's, which I found by accident in a collection of autographs to be sold at auction in Vienna during the month of January. I ventured to ask leave of the proprietor to take a copy, which I made in his shop on this coarse paper, and here forward it to you, thinking that the little value it may have will be more appreciated the sooner you receive it. I do not know but your valuable labors on Franklin are already completed; but I send this in hope that it may not be entirely unacceptable."

WORK COMPLETED.

In his journal for February 24, 1840, Mr. Sparks records, with evident satisfaction, the completion of his edition of Franklin: "Sent to press the last sheet of the 'Life of Franklin;' the whole work in ten volumes being now completed. It is nearly six years since I made the contract,¹ and the work has been more than four years in

¹ The contract was made May 12, 1834, with Hilliard, Gray & Co., who agreed to give Mr. Sparks \$2,000 for the copyright of the entire

the press ; a very laborious undertaking, of which I had not formed a proper estimate when I began it. In fact, the materials increased in my hands greatly beyond what I anticipated, making ten volumes, instead of six or seven, as I supposed. I have spared no pains to collect all the known writings of Franklin, and to write notes on such parts as required explanation. In the printing, also, Mr. Folsom has bestowed the greatest care to secure accuracy, having personally read all the proofs. On the whole, few works of such magnitude have been executed with more fidelity, both as to the literary and mechanical supervision."

Mr. Sparks' edition of Franklin was reviewed by Francis Bowen, in the "North American Review," vol. lix. p. 402. The following selections are from Professor Bowen's notice of Mr. Sparks' work: "It was fortunate that the task of preparing this edition, which must supersede all others, fell into the hands of so competent a person as Mr. Sparks. He has executed the work with his usual judgment, diligence, and ability, bringing together all the materials that the most extensive research, both in Europe and America, could supply, and furnishing all the information necessary to explain or illustrate the text, without obtruding himself upon the reader's attention by discursive and useless comments. It is not often that the patient industry requisite for the completion of

series. He was, however, to retain the copyright of the first volume, the "Life of Franklin," but he agreed not to publish it separately within three years of the publication of the last volume in the set. He sold this private copyright to Tappan & Dennet, of Boston, in 1843. The work was originally printed in the same style as Washington's writings, and by the same Cambridge firm.

William Winter informed Mr. Sparks by letter, October 17, 1858, that a translation of Sparks' "Life of Franklin" had been made into one of the dialects of the Hindostanee language, and inquired whether arrangements could be made for the use of the same illustrations as those which appeared in the edition of Tappan & Whittemore in 1848.

such a task is united with the extensive information, the clear judgment, and the fine taste and tact, which are needed in order to make the best use of the materials, and to put them together in the most compact and serviceable form. We find a dozen able writers with more ease than one competent editor of such extensive works as the writings of Washington and Franklin. Mr. Sparks has given the best years of his life to the preparation of the long series of volumes which give the full expression of the life, character, and services of the two persons whose names shed the brightest lustre upon the annals of our young country; and he has reaped his reward by connecting his own reputation indissolubly with theirs. He has been, in some measure, the architect of a monument to their fame, and his own name is justly inscribed with theirs upon the base. . . .

“The researches of Mr. Sparks have been as successful as they were laborious and extensive. Among the miscellaneous works of Franklin, he has inserted twenty-five different articles written by him, most of them quite short, which have never before been printed; and thirty-three others which are not contained in any previous edition of his writings. He has also published two hundred and fifty-three of Franklin's letters which had not before appeared in print, and a hundred and fifty-four others not included in any former edition. Many of these last were first published by Mr. Sparks in a small volume printed in 1833, entitled ‘The Familiar Letters of Benjamin Franklin.’ He had also inserted, in illustration of Franklin's own writings, many letters addressed to him by his various correspondents, most of which are entirely new to the public. Among these are letters from David Hume, Dr. Priestley, Richard Price, Sir Joseph Banks, and many distinguished Americans. Considering that Franklin's death took place more than half a century ago, that ever

since his decease so much curiosity has been felt respecting everything which he wrote, and that several collections of his miscellaneous writings have been made by those who, from their intimate relations with him, seemed most competent to obtain all the requisite materials, it is extraordinary that Mr. Sparks should have found so much new matter for this edition."

Mr. Sparks sent his edition of Franklin, with a pleasant note, to Lord Holland, who replied June 22, 1840: "Your Franklin, not yet arrived, will be very acceptable, and I am very sensible of your kindness in destining a copy for me. Accept my best thanks. - I have great pleasure in hearing that you are engaged in so important a work as the history of your Revolution, and that pleasure is not a little enhanced by hearing that it is likely to bring you to England, and procure me once again the satisfaction of seeing you here. There are not, I suspect, any papers or documents in my possession that will be of material service to you, but it is possible that in conversation opportunities may occur of directing you to good sources of information respecting the rulers, policy, and parties in England during the unfortunate war between our countries, and at any rate I shall have the pleasure and satisfaction of enjoying your society and conversation. In full and confident expectation of that advantage, to which I look forward, I am, dear sir, your sincerely obliged servant and friend."

Most pleasant to Mr. Sparks must have been the following acknowledgment from his former tutor at Exeter, Dr. Nathan Lord, President of Dartmouth College, who wrote, June 29, 1840: "It gives me great pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your very obliging favor of the 25th ult., and, more recently, of a box containing your Washington, Franklin, American Biography, Morris, Ledyard, and the Life of Washington; thirty-seven volumes. These works, so honorable to yourself and to the literature of the

country, which I had learned to appreciate for their intrinsic excellence, I shall ever regard, from the circumstances in which I have received them, as among my most valued possessions. This very generous token of your remembrance is acceptable to me, more in this respect than almost any other, that it gives me so fit an occasion of impressing upon my numerous children, whom I shall leave with an inconsiderable pecuniary inheritance, a remarkable instance of what an individual, without accidental worldly advantages, may accomplish, by virtuous principle and intellectual ability and energy, for himself and for mankind.

“I rejoice that you are placed so favorably for the prosecution of your favorite studies. Your projected work on the American Revolution will, I doubt not, supply the want which the country is beginning to feel of well-classified and corrected documents and sound commentary on that most important of all subjects in the history of civilization. We need such a monument more than that of Bunker Hill. May the Divine Providence which has fitted you so evidently to the task assist you, whether at home or abroad, to the completion of it.”

Lord Lansdowne wrote to Mr. Sparks from London, July 21, 1840: “I delayed answering your obliging letter till I had received the very handsome and complete edition of Franklin's works for which I am indebted to your kindness as well as for the Washington. The former only reached me within these few days, and I cannot allow the Great Western to return across the Atlantic without [telling you] how much value I attach to the collection which you have made, as well as to the attention which you have shown me in this proof of your remembrance. I trust I shall have an opportunity of repeating my thanks in person when you revisit England.

“I trust you are satisfied with M. Guizot's sketch of Washington for the French translation. It is much liked

here, and has been well translated by a friend of mine, Mr. Reeve. We all should be delighted here if you could prevail upon your admirable historian, Mr. Prescott, to visit Europe with you. There is no person in this country whose opinion is worth having that does not consider the 'Life of Ferdinand and Isabella' as the most valuable accession in that department modern literature has received."

George Bancroft, writing to Mr. Sparks, May 13, 1853, said: "You have been fortunate in the men to the illustration of whose career you have particularly devoted your attention. I regard the firmness with which you have upheld the fame of Franklin¹ as one of the most honorable incidents in your literary life. Every day brings to light fresh evidence that you have done him no more than justice."

Mr. Sparks replied, June 7, 1853: "It gave me pleasure, but not surprise, to learn the results to which your researches had brought you in regard to Franklin. There never was a set of prejudices raised against any human

¹ Mr. Sparks had taken his position regarding Franklin as early as January, 1830, when he published an article in the "North American Review" on Pitkin's "History of the United States." Mr. Bancroft wrote about this review, February 18, 1830: "Your defense of Franklin was excellent; to every unprejudiced mind highly satisfactory. I read it with delight."

The editor of this memorial of Mr. Sparks has taken pleasure in noting from time to time his relations with Mr. Bancroft. As no man liveth or dieth unto himself, so the biography of one historian sometimes contributes to that of his contemporaries. In his London journal for August 4, 1840, Mr. Sparks notes: "M. Guizot [then the French ambassador] spoke to me of Bancroft's History, — commended it, but said it was *très démocratique*." George Bancroft died January 17, 1891. Good accounts of him and his work may be found in "The Nation," January 22, 1891, by T. W. Higginson; the "Magazine of American History," March, 1891, by C. K. Tuckerman; and the "Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society," April 25, 1891, by S. S. Green.

being more utterly unfounded than those against the great American philosopher and statesman. These prejudices have afforded grounds for an entirely false estimate of some of the essential traits of his character. It was said, and continues to be repeated, that he was a man of artifice, contrivance, and finesse, and hence insincere. Nothing could be more erroneous as touching the character of Franklin. He was cautious in counsel, reserved when wisdom dictated silence, quick and sagacious in detecting the hidden elements of any subject; but he never made a promise which he did not intend to fulfill, nor uttered insinuations designed to deceive or mislead. He was generous in every sense of the word, — generous to the faults, the foibles, and the weaknesses of others; generous in his kindly feelings and sympathies, large in his charities, constant to his friends, forbearing to his enemies; bland in his deportment, unpretending, unostentatious, proud of nothing, unless of having risen by his own industry and efforts from an humble station to one of dignity, influence, and greatness; faithful to every trust, true to every pledge. No man was more bold in declaring his opinions, or firm in maintaining them, when occasion required. A more ardent and devoted patriot never lived, nor one who loved his country more, or served it with a steadier zeal or more disinterested motives. Examine his voluminous writings from end to end, analyze the incidents of his long and varied career, and the traits here enumerated will show themselves everywhere.

“The hostility to him which has thrown a false coloring upon his character originated in three sources: the old Proprietary controversy in Pennsylvania, in which he took so prominent a part against the aristocracy; his active influence in England after the Stamp Act in support of the claims of his country; the sensitiveness and jealousy of some of his diplomatic associates in Europe who were overshadowed by the fame he had already acquired.

“Go on, and do justice to the deeds and memory of Franklin, one of the most brilliant lights of the age, and, next to Washington, beyond all comparison the first that adorns our American annals.”

Edward Everett Hale, in his work entitled “Franklin in France,”¹ regards Mr. Sparks and Mr. Bancroft as the chief defenders of the fame of Franklin in connection with the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States in 1783. Descendants of John Adams and John Jay have claimed for these two commissioners greater credit in the conduct of negotiations. Mr. Hale (ii. 205) thus divides honors between the three men: “To each one we owe a very great debt, of which no small part is due for the share in this treaty of peace. Indeed, each was indispensable. The treaty itself is due to Franklin; but it is due to Jay that the Mississippi and the boundaries were settled so favorably for us, and to Adams that the fisheries were allowed to America. Had it not been for Adams and Jay, we might have had a treaty much less favorable in its conditions. Had it not been for Franklin, it is hard to see how we should at that time have had any treaty at all.”

There are many letters in the Sparks collection regarding the diplomatic services of Franklin. The following to Dr. John C. Warren, of Boston, February 9, 1850, is characteristic: “I have read in the British and French offices all the correspondence and other papers relating to those negotiations; and the diplomatic correspondence of the French government with the French ministers in this country, Spain, and Holland during our Revolution, amounting to more than sixty large folio volumes. After this research, in which I was employed nearly a year, I do

¹ In the preface, p. vii, to the second volume of Hale's “Franklin in France,” there is a good account of the literature upon the vexed subject of the negotiations of 1782 leading to the peace of 1783.

not think it presumption to believe that I am qualified to form an opinion, not only of the acts and policy of the French court, but of the agency of Franklin in the great affairs of that period.

“ Having turned my attention particularly to this latter point, I do not hesitate to declare in the most unqualified terms that the idea of the delinquency of Franklin as the representative of the great interests of his country, and of his submissiveness to the French court, which was so industriously propagated for a long time in this country, is without a shadow of foundation. Such an idea is not sustained by a single paragraph or fact in all this voluminous mass of papers, although he often appears as a prominent actor in our complicated foreign relations. On the contrary, he is everywhere presented in the character of a true and steady patriot, wise and consistent, sagacious and firm, bold and persevering, and not a whit behind the most ardent of his compatriots in asserting his country's liberties and maintaining her rights.

“ His services abroad can never be properly estimated because they were rendered in a sphere which at the time was necessarily in a great measure concealed from the public eye. No one who will examine the subject, however, can doubt for a moment that he was second only to Washington in establishing his country's freedom and moulding her destinies. His genius and writings had made him renowned in Europe when the controversy began ; and this renown, increased by his public character and extraordinary wisdom, enabled him to do for his country what no other man could have done ; and I will repeat that, in my opinion, no man ever executed a high trust with more fidelity, ability, and devoted patriotism.”¹

¹ Mr. Sparks' views upon Franklin's relation to American diplomacy are fully expressed in the “Life of Franklin,” and also in various critical articles in the “North American Review,” vol. xxx. on

Parton, in his "Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin" (vol. ii. 638, 639), pays an honorable tribute to Mr. Sparks' editorial work: "The elder D'Israeli used to say 'that the best monument to an author is a good edition of his works.' Such a monument has been reared to the memory of Dr. Franklin by the pious fidelity and zeal of a Bostonian, Dr. Jared Sparks. The libraries, the public records, and the private collections of England, France, and the United States were so diligently searched by Dr. Sparks that, though seven previous editions of the works of Franklin had appeared, he was able to add to his publication the astonishing number of six hundred and fifty pieces of Dr. Franklin's composition never before collected, of which four hundred and fifty had never before appeared in print. To unwearied diligence in collecting, Dr. Sparks added an admirable tact in elucidating. His notes are always such as an intelligent reader would naturally desire, and they usually contain all the information needed for a perfect understanding of the matter in hand. Dr. Sparks' edition is a monument¹ at once to the memory of Ben-

Pitkin's "History of the United States," and on Arthur Lee's or "The Early Diplomatic History of the United States." See, also, a series of three articles in the "National Intelligencer," August 28, 31, and September 7, 1847, on "France and the United States during the American Revolution."

¹ Mr. Sparks early interested himself in the idea of a Franklin statue. In 1854, on the 17th of January, the birthday of Franklin, forty or fifty gentlemen assembled in Boston to take measures for this object. Mr. Robert C. Winthrop then read Mr. Sparks' letter, written August 1, 1850, to Dr. Warren. Mr. Sparks served with Mr. Winthrop and others upon the committee of design. Mr. Greenough, the sculptor, was engaged to model the statue, and it was cast in bronze at Springfield. The committee decided to place the work of art on School Street, near the City Hall. "It is a curious coincidence," says Mr. Sparks in his journal, March 28, 1856, "that the school-house in which Franklin attended school stood on this same lot of ground, and probably on the same spot where it is proposed to

jamin Franklin and to his own diligence, tact, and faithfulness.'

Regarding Sparks' Franklin, Mr. Bigelow, in the preface to his new edition, justly says: "It was the most meritorious and thorough specimen of book-editing which up to that time [1840] had been executed in this country." Mr. Bigelow felt it his duty to make a strict comparison of texts, but he frankly admitted, concerning Mr. Sparks' editorial work: "The result of this collation was in the main satisfactory. The changes were by no means inconsiderable in number, but many were merely suppressions or modifications of the formal parts of letters, many were corrections of obvious mistakes in transcribing for the printer, while others were mere changes and generally improvements in punctuation." After some criticism of editorial methods and a passing notice of errors in copying or proof-reading, Mr. Bigelow declares that he himself "is to be congratulated if he shall have no more nor graver [errors] to apologize for than he has detected in the monumental work of Dr. Sparks."¹ Mr. Justin Winsor, in

place the statue." About this time Mr. Sparks obtained for Harvard College a copy, by Leslie, of Chamberlin's portrait of Franklin, painted in 1762. Mr. Sparks applied to the owner, Mr. Joshua Bates, in London, for the privilege of having a copy taken. Mr. Bates not only consented to this request, but generously presented to the college Leslie's work when finished. Thus, Mr. Sparks was instrumental in securing artistic memorials of Franklin for Boston and Cambridge. Mr. Winthrop's letters at this period clearly reveal the influence of Mr. Sparks not only upon the project for the Boston statue, but upon the historical oration which accompanied its unveiling. A good account of the numerous Franklin portraits may be found in "A History of the Centennial Celebration of the Inauguration of George Washington as First President of the United States," by C. W. Bowen. See also, a list of Franklin portraits in the "Bulletin of the Boston Public Library," July, 1892.

¹ Preface, xxviii, vol. i. of the "Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin," compiled and edited by John Bigelow.

his "Narrative and Critical History of America," vol. viii. p. 422, says Mr. Sparks' ten volumes "remained for fifty years the standard edition of Franklin's works." Paul Leicester Ford, in his admirable "Bibliography of Franklin," p. 273, says: "Mr. Sparks added some six hundred and fifty pieces to what had been before printed in editions of Franklin's writings, with many long and scholarly notes, which, in spite of succeeding editions, still makes this among the most valuable."

CHAPTER XXV.

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AT HARVARD COLLEGE.

FROM the time of his student days and mathematical tutorship, Mr. Sparks was never lost sight of by his Alma Mater. He was chosen to deliver the oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, August 30, 1832. In his journal for that date, he notes the subject of his address on that occasion: "Some Characteristics of History as a Subject of Study, and particularly the History of the United States." This address was the basis of Mr. Sparks' article on American History published in the "Boston Year Book" (1837), in the "American Museum" (1839), and also in pamphlet form. Speaking of the scattered materials for the history of the American Revolution, Mr. Sparks said: "No Rymers have yet appeared among us who were willing to spend a life in gathering up and embodying these memorials; and, till public encouragement shall prompt and aid such a design, till the national representatives shall have leisure to pause for a moment from their weighty cares in adjusting the wheels of state, and emulate the magnificent patriotism of other governments by adopting measures to collect and preserve the perishing records of the wisdom and valor of their fathers,—till this shall be done, the historian of the Revolution must labor under disadvantages which his zeal will hardly stimulate him to encounter, nor his genius enable him to surmount." Mr. Sparks thought the subject of the American Revolution one of the noblest that could employ the pen of the historian. He said the Revolutionary period, from the

close of the French war to the treaty of Versailles, was "rounded with epic exactness, having a beginning, a middle, and an end; a time for causes to operate, for the stir of action, and for the final results."

Thus the American Rymer,¹ before his professorial career had begun, expressed an earnest desire to see a government collection of materials for the history of the American Revolution, and thus he indicated his own large ambition to enter that special field. It is difficult to distinguish the growth of Mr. Sparks' interest in the academic study and teaching of history apart from this larger, all-controlling purpose of promoting the history of American independence in original and scientific ways. In his journal, however, for June 6, 1835, we find the following entry:—

"Dr. Matthews,² chancellor of New York University, had a long conversation with me respecting that institution, and particularly in regard to a professorship of history. He desires me to draw out a plan of such a professorship, to be submitted to the Council of the University. I have promised to do it. I am persuaded that this subject merits much more attention in our American colleges than it has ever received. It is singular that, in a country where so large a number of educated men become legis-

¹ Jared Sparks was once addressed as "the American Plutarch," in a letter, June 5, 1838, from Mr. N. C. Brooks, proprietor of the "North American Quarterly Magazine," published in Baltimore.

² Mr. Sparks wrote to Dr. Matthews, June 15, 1835, asking him to wait a little before adopting any permanent plan for the historical department in the University of New York. "All our colleges hitherto have been little else than facsimiles of each other. . . . This has been in some cases the result of necessity; in others, of a wedded attachment to old forms; and others, of the fear of failure by striking into a new track." Mr. Sparks thought the University of New York, "in the midst of a great and increasing city," favorably situated for an improved system of collegiate education.

lators, no professorships of history have hitherto been established on such a scale and upon such principles as in any degree to answer the public demand. In a free government like that of the United States, where so much depends on a knowledge of the progress of society under different forms of government, or, in other words, on the events of political history, the means of instruction on these topics should be accessible to every individual; and particularly in our higher seminaries there should be able professors who should not only teach the general elements of history, but should give a system of instruction on the history of our own country, and adapted to the wants of American students."

It was reflection upon this patriotic subject that led Mr. Sparks, June 22, 1835, to make the following inquiry of George Ticknor, then in Europe: "I have an idea of a project for teaching history by direct instructions and lectures, and I am desirous of procuring from abroad whatever may aid me in such a design. As you will naturally look into some of the principal universities, you may perhaps pick up now and then a syllabus of lectures or a plan for instructing in that department, or a printed course of lectures, or pamphlets and books illustrating the subject, which I shall be glad if you will send to me. It is quite uncertain whether any results will grow out of my scheme, which is yet in its first rudiments; but in any event I should like to have all the light I can get as to the modes of historical instruction, which I think may be engrafted, to more advantage than heretofore, into the systems of our American colleges."

To this letter Mr. Ticknor replied from Llanberris, North Wales, August 7, 1835: "Just as we were leaving London for a tour to Ireland and the North of England, the very morning we were setting off, I received your favor of June 22d, and until now have had no opportunity

of answering it, so constantly have we been in motion and occupied. I have not, however, been unmindful of your wishes, and as I may find opportunity, will endeavor to do all you may desire. As to the syllabus or plan for teaching history, I suppose little can be found in England that would be of any use to you. I talked with Professor Smyth, of Cambridge, about direct instructions in this branch, just before I came away from London, and, from what he said, I should be much discouraged as far as the two universities are concerned. I will inquire in Dublin, where we are now going, and in Edinburgh when we get there, which, however, will not be till we return from the Continent. In Germany, such documents as you need are abundant. The two books of Heeren translated by Bancroft are probably the chief and largest; but smaller and more comprehensive works of the same kind will easily be found there, and I shall have much pleasure in sending them to you. In Switzerland, too, I may find something; in France not much, except Guizot; in Italy, probably little or nothing. But whatever there is anywhere I shall be glad to send you; and I trust you will make use of them. Nothing would be more effective in promoting the usefulness of any college among us than to have history, statistics, and geography in its philosophical as well as practical extent, thoroughly taught by lectures, accompanied with maps, etc., as is done at every university in Germany and most of the gymnasiums. But this cannot be done with us, as long as every student is obliged to go through every study,—a point I have struggled against so long that I am, as you know, tired out, and the result of which plainly is that no new branches, however useful, can now be introduced, nor any of the old ones carried out to practical thoroughness.”

Here, then, in this correspondence between George Ticknor, the American champion of modern studies and of the

elective system, with Jared Sparks, the American advocate of historical studies as a means of training for American citizenship, we are at the very source of new and vital currents in American education.

Among the Sparks manuscripts may be found one dated September, 1835, and entitled "Remarks on the Study of History in American Colleges." The note is appended in Mr. Sparks' handwriting, that the remarks were written with reference to a new institution about to be established in a Southern city, and at the request of the managers. This manuscript is remarkably suggestive of good pedagogical ideas, and almost prophetic of the good time coming for students of history. He declared boldly against the prevailing system of parrot-like recitations, in which the pupil merely repeated what he had read and learned by rote. He advocated instruction by lectures, and the study of special topics by references to various authorities, instead of dependence upon single text-books. Examinations on particular subjects, he said, "should take the place of general recitations, and should combine the results of private reading with instruction by lectures. He suggested that the professor should put into the hands of his students "a printed syllabus" of his lectures, with references to various writers. He also proposed the writing of essays on historical themes in connection with the course. These are all surprisingly modern ideas of historical study. Contrast them with the old-fashioned methods that long reigned supreme in our American colleges, and we shall appreciate the enlightened views of Jared Sparks.

Most remarkable is his patriotic view of the study of history. Mr. Sparks thought, as does the Emperor of Germany, that the country to which a youth belongs should have some influence upon the historical course designed for him in college. For American students he regarded European history as introductory to their own

national life. He proposed "a general outline of the history of England and of other countries of modern Europe whose governments have most nearly resembled our own." In a so-called "scheme of lectures" introductory to American history, he includes such topics as these: (1) Republican governments at different periods and in different countries; (2) Representative governments; (3) Confederacies, ancient and modern; (4) Features of the English constitution, as containing the elements of American political forms.

While laying too much stress upon American history in his original plan and taking perhaps too narrow a view of ancient and of general history as means of academic culture, Mr. Sparks corrects himself in subsequent notes, and even proposes a philosophical and critical presentation of the whole subject of historiography. He suggests supplementary lectures upon such large topics as these: (1) The nature of historical testimony; (2) The sources of history; (3) The origin and progress of historical literature; (4) Modes of writing history in different times and countries; (5) Critical remarks on the works of the most approved historians; (6) Judgment to be formed of histories in regard to the character and qualifications of the writers, the periods in which they wrote, and the events they narrate; (7) Best methods of studying history, and the previous knowledge requisite for pursuing the study to advantage.

The first proposition to Mr. Sparks to take a professorship in Harvard College related to a chair of philosophy, economics, and politics, rather than to a department of history. The following statement is from his journal, June 16, 1836: "President Quincy, of Harvard College, called on me, and inquired whether I would accept the Alford Professorship, now vacant. This professorship includes moral philosophy, metaphysics, and natural the-



ology. Political economy and civil polity are also brought into the same department. Mr. Quincy said, it was not proposed that I should have anything to do in the way of teaching by recitations from the books; that I should only be desired to take a general direction of the department, examining the classes at such times as I should think proper, and lecturing on any of the above subjects that I might choose. I told Mr. Quincy that, if he required me to answer at once, I must decline, but that I was willing to think of it, and would soon give him an answer.

“On some accounts this professorship seems desirable, particularly as it includes some of the branches to which I am devoted. The latitude proposed, both in regard to the nature of the duties and the mode of discharging them, puts the office on a very agreeable footing. But on the other hand, after some experience, I have no partiality for the routine of a college life as practiced in our universities. There is a great expenditure of time and patience without any adequate returns, either in the fruits of one’s labor, or the compensation of pay. At present, moreover, I am engaged, for at least two years to come, in undertakings which I am bound to complete, and which cannot be suspended. These considerations induced me to decline the offer of the professorship.”

June 18, 1836: “President Quincy called again, and brought a book containing the articles of the professorship. He used various arguments in favor of my accepting the post, but they were not such as to effect any essential change in the opinion I had formed. I spoke of a professorship of history as more nearly allied to my pursuits. He desired me to keep it in mind, and said that, as soon as my engagements should be fulfilled, he hoped I should be willing to join the college in one department or another.”

From 1838 to 1841 Mr. Sparks was a member of the Massachusetts Board of Education, with Mr. Robert

Rantoul, the Rev. George Putnam, and Horace Mann, who was the efficient secretary. It was a period when systematic inquiries were begun concerning our common schools, and when the first attempts were made to graft upon some of our old academies normal schools for the training of teachers. A fund of twenty thousand dollars was raised, one half by an individual subscription, and the other half from the legislature, for initial experiments in this direction. Among the institutions then considered were Dummer Academy, of which Mr. Sparks afterwards became a trustee, and Topsfield Academy. Normal schools were established at Lexington, Barre, and Bridgewater. Mr. Sparks took an active interest in these new foundations,¹ and also in the establishment of school district libraries. He prepared the report upon this latter subject, and devised practical ways for the dissemination of good literature among the sons and daughters of Massachusetts. Mr. Sparks was always a warm friend of New England common schools, and of our institutions for local government. He supplied information to English inquirers concerning American education, and prepared, at the request of De Tocqueville, an elaborate memoir on "Town Governments of Massachusetts," the basis of De Tocqueville's account of New England democracy.

Mr. Sparks' recognized position as an educationist and historian made his appointment at Harvard College more and more desirable. His journal for July 10, 1838, shows the beginning of fresh negotiations: "Some days ago, President Quincy called on me, and said the corporation of Harvard University were about to establish a professorship of history, and asked me, in the name of the corporation, whether I would become the professor in that department. He represented the matter in a very favorable

¹ Among the Sparks papers is a manuscript report on the Normal School at Lexington, which he visited.

light, saying that I should have the organization of the department, and that there was a disposition to make it in all respects agreeable to me. I agreed to consider the proposition and give him my answer. Since that time I have conversed with three members of the corporation, with a view of ascertaining their objects and expectations, and they have all expressed a strong desire for me to accept the appointment, believing such an arrangement, as they were pleased to say, highly important to the college and the public, proposing to put the professorship on the most liberal footing, and allow me to manage the details according to my own discretion, and on such principles as I should think best suited to the object. As the subjects to be taught in this department accord entirely with my tastes and pursuits, and as I have certain projects of a historical nature which I hope to execute, particularly relating to American history, and which the duties of the office would rather facilitate than obstruct, I have been led to think favorably of the proposal. President Quincy has called to-day for further conversation on the subject, and desired a final decision, which I declined, on the ground that I wished more time for consideration, before I could decide definitely in a case affecting so essentially my prospects and future condition in life. The department will not be organized for three or four months, and in the mean time I am to make up my mind."

At a meeting of the president and fellows of Harvard College, held in Boston July 21, 1838, Jared Sparks was elected professor of history. This action was communicated to the Board of Overseers and was duly approved February 7, 1839. The McLean professorship of ancient and modern history, to which Mr. Sparks was appointed, was founded by John McLean, a Boston merchant. The founder prescribed in his will that the incumbent should deliver annually a course of public lectures in his depart-

ment, for the benefit of the students of Harvard College, to such classes and at such times as the president and fellows might appoint.

The election in 1839 of Jared Sparks to the McLean professorship of ancient and modern history in Harvard College marks the dawn of a new era in American scholarship. It was not only the first recognition of historical science by an American college as worthy of a distinct professorial chair, but, in view of the well-known pursuits of the appointee, it was also the first academic encouragement of American history, and of original historical research in the American field. Just as the establishment of the "North American Review" in 1815 represented the American idea in the field of literature and criticism, so the Harvard professorship of Jared Sparks, from 1839 to 1849, was virtually a declaration of historical independence, a vindication of the American idea in academic instruction.

Mr. Sparks did not immediately accept the appointment. At the time his consent was asked to a proposed election to the Harvard faculty, Edward Everett, then governor of Massachusetts, was endeavoring to persuade him to run for Congress. This public career had been open to Mr. Sparks four years before, as a possible successor of Mr. Everett when he was chosen governor of Massachusetts, but Sparks preferred to continue historical and literary pursuits. He was still of the same mind, although not insensible to public duty.

The following is the text of Edward Everett's letter to Jared Sparks, October 1, 1838: "I hear that the nomination as M. C. for Middlesex District is within your control. I believe I am also informed of the grounds of your hesitation as to accepting it. I have not time to come and see you to-day, but I take the liberty to say I hope you will accept the nomination. It is not certain you can be

chosen, but more likely that you can be than any other candidate, and very probable that you will be. If you are not chosen you are *in statu quo* ; if you are, I consider your situation (on any ground) as one of great capacity for usefulness. The very access you will have to the public archives will greatly fall in with your tastes and habits of historical research ; and I think some participation in political life of very great importance in enabling one to study history understandingly. It would not be impossible for you to unite the professorship and the membership. This would leave nothing to be desired. If this cannot be, the membership, while it lasts, is as good in a pecuniary point of view ; and when it ceases, for whatever cause, it will always be in your power to choose your position in society."

Mr. Sparks' reply, written at Cambridge, October 3, 1838, indicates his attitude towards both political and professorial service. He was not especially desirous of either congressional or academic honors, and clearly had not sought for any public recognition : " I duly received yours of the 1st instant, recommending me to consent to a nomination as member of Congress for Middlesex District. As an evidence of your good opinion, I feel gratified by this advice ; but you know what was the state of my mind four years ago on the subject, and there has been no change. I cannot convince myself that it would be wise in any case for me to go out of my old track and enter upon a political career ; especially at this time of day, when the sun is past the meridian.

" I was importuned very strongly by gentlemen in whose judgment I have confidence, but I resisted till the last day. It was then represented to me in a solemn manner that there was a duty to be considered, and that, amidst the present divisions, the election might be defeated unless a candidate could be found who was not committed on

any of the agitating questions. I then consented that my name might be called up, if it was discovered to be impossible to bring all the strength to bear upon any other candidate, and this only as a last resort. I am very glad to find that the convention had less difficulty than was anticipated, and that they have relieved me from what I have deemed a disagreeable alternative. I do not undervalue the consideration and usefulness of a public station; but I have never for a moment thought it advisable for me to diverge from a course into which I have been led by circumstances, and to which I have become attached by taste and habit.

“The corporation of the college, as you know, made me a proposal upon which I have not yet decided. In some respects it promises well, but there are various bearings to it which are not altogether satisfactory. You are acquainted with the state of public feeling in regard to the college. There is a general conviction that it is on the decline, and that there are radical faults somewhere. No one seems to know what these faults are; and no one that I have heard of has suggested a remedy. Can a man join an institution in such a condition, with much hope of usefulness or efficiency? The terms on which the corporation are disposed to put the department of history, as far as I understand them, are liberal, and I am inclined to think the public generally approve the choice they have made of the person to fill it. The duties of the place also fall in with my pursuits, and perhaps will not interfere essentially with any plans I have formed. Pray turn your thoughts to the subject, particularly in regard to the state and prospects of the college. Before long I shall be glad to go over the whole ground with you in conversation, and shall be influenced by your impressions and judgment.”

Mr. Sparks plainly considered his own historical work as of greater importance to the country and for himself

than was either a political or an academic career. Indeed, his final consent to undertake professorial and presidential duties at Harvard was really at the expense of his chosen life-work as the historian of the American Revolution and of American diplomacy. The following letter, October 15, 1838, to President Quincy, will serve to indicate the independent position then occupied by Mr. Sparks and the conditions he was disposed to make in accepting the offered professorship. These conditions were afterwards somewhat modified, but Mr. Sparks always maintained at Harvard his own freedom and independence.

“Before we proceed to arrange the details of the historical professorship, there are some preliminary points to be considered, which I will now state. I understand the salary is to be two thousand dollars a year, and that I am not at any time to be called on to instruct in any other branch than that of history, according to the plan that shall be mutually agreed upon. I know not how much time it is thought expedient for a class to be occupied in the study of history, but I am willing to devote four entire months each year to teaching and lecturing; and I wish these to be four consecutive months. I fix upon this portion of time because I imagine it is as much as will be allowed for history, and I put it in this compact form because it will be more convenient to the professor, and more profitable to the students, to have this branch pursued with as little interruption as possible from other studies. During this period I will employ my whole time in the work, giving as many lectures each week as may be deemed advisable. The remainder of the year, I shall not expect to perform any other duties than such as are naturally connected with the discipline and internal affairs of the college, although a large portion of this period, for some time to come at least, will of course be taken up in preparing lectures.

“It is proper also for me to state that I have in hand certain historical compositions for the press which I cannot relinquish, and which I design to continue and complete. I do not suppose that this task will interfere with my duties to the college. On the contrary, I think it will facilitate them, and add to the value of my instructions. Yet I am desirous that the thing should be clearly understood beforehand, so that there may be no grounds hereafter of a suspicion of delinquency in this respect on my part.

“Moreover, I have some historical researches to make in different parts of the country, which will require my occasional absence; and during the months in which I am not engaged in teaching, I shall consider myself at liberty to make journeys for this purpose. The time thus expended, however, will not be long, as my interests, inclination, and studies will centre at home. It is also necessary for me, within two or three years, to spend four or five months in the public offices of London and Paris, for completing the researches which I partly accomplished there ten years ago. Such an absence might take place between the periods allotted for the regular course of teaching, and I should regard it as not without profit to the college, since I should take pains to become acquainted with the professors of history in some of the principal universities of Europe, and to improve myself by what I could learn of their mode of instruction.

“These preliminary points I have stated thus explicitly, that we may at the outset have a mutual understanding of the grounds upon which we are to proceed. If the corporation should think my views unreasonable, or such as they cannot assent to, consistently with usage in other cases, the matter can rest as it is without embarrassment or trouble. In justice to myself, however, I ought not to forbear to say that it has never been my habit to engage

with indifference or remissness in any undertaking; I should hope a connection with the college would not have a tendency to generate such a habit. If a sense of duty is not enough, there is the additional motive of reputation, as affected by the success of my labors, and by the prosperity of the institution, which I believe I should feel as strongly as any man. On these heads, however, I have no pretensions higher than those of any other person who may be thought of as suited to the office; and the corporation will judge and decide as their knowledge of my character and their estimate of the value of my services shall dictate."

The following letter to President Quincy is dated Cambridge, December 27, 1838, and affords further evidence of Mr. Sparks' personal independence: "I have read the articles of the professorship, and I observe but one point which seems objectionable. As it is worded, it would appear, or may be inferred, that the corporation reserve to themselves the right of prescribing new duties and conditions not expressed in the articles, without the consent of the professor. As no professor would enlist in the service on such terms, it is probable that the sense is not clearly expressed. I am not sure but it will be proper to have something more explicit than these general articles, either by a vote of the corporation or in some other form, in regard to me, as appointed with the privilege of non-residence, and to perform certain specified duties. But I have no doubt that this can be arranged without difficulty."

Negotiations were satisfactorily concluded, and on the 8th of February, 1839, Mr. Sparks sent the following letter of acceptance to President Quincy: "I have received your letter informing me that I have been elected professor of history in Harvard College. I accept the appointment under the conditions which have heretofore been mentioned, and which I believe are mutually understood by

the parties. Perhaps the conditions should be expressed in some form of writing more explicitly than they are set forth in the general articles of the professorship. I am to be absent for a week, and after my return I will call on you to consult about the proper arrangements."

After the adjustment of all necessary preliminaries, Mr. Sparks promptly began work in his department. Extract from journal, March 12, 1839: "Began my lectures in the university as professor of history to the Senior class. The department has been so recently organized that there has been no time to mature arrangements for a complete course upon any period of history. Moreover, the time allotted to the class for the study of history is so brief that any such course could not be undertaken to advantage without some changes in other departments. For this season, therefore, it has been thought best to confine the instructions to the history of the American Revolution from 1763 to 1783. I have adopted Botta's history as a text-book, because I can procure no other; all the other histories of the same period being out of print. Once a week I shall read to the class written lectures; that is, one of the three weekly exercises will be of this sort. My object is to communicate instruction in all the exercises, and not merely to discipline the students in the habits of study, which has been done sufficiently in the early part of their college life."

At first Mr. Sparks arranged for only one term's work in the year, without the necessity of attending faculty meetings or of residing in Cambridge. He desired leisure for the prosecution of historical investigations elsewhere. The following letter, written at Cambridge, May 23, 1840, to his old tutor at Phillips Exeter Academy, the Rev. Dr. Nathan Lord, president of Dartmouth College, describes the academic situation: "I hold the post of professor of history in the university here, and my duties consist in

giving two courses of lectures annually within one term.¹ The remainder of the time is at my own disposal. I am preparing an extensive history of the American Revolution, having studied the subject for the last twelve years, and collected a large mass of original materials both in America and Europe. In the month of July I expect to sail for England, with the view of finishing my researches in London and Paris. I shall probably be absent seven or eight months. If I can render you any service while I am abroad, I shall be very happy to do so. Letters will always reach me directed under cover to the American minister in London.”²

In June, 1840, Mr. Sparks sailed for London, and spent seven months in further investigations in the English and French archives. While abroad Mr. Sparks did not neglect the interests of Harvard College, nor of the historical department. The corporation had authorized him to spend \$1,500 in the purchase of books for the library. This commission he faithfully discharged. In both London and Paris he spent much time in bookshops, and in

¹ Mr. Sparks' duties were afterwards increased, at his own request, by vote of the corporation, February 26, 1842. Political economy and constitutional law were assigned to his department. He became a regular member of the faculty, and resided in Cambridge through the college year. But this arrangement did not prove entirely satisfactory, as will appear in Mr. Sparks' letters to President Quincy, and a readjustment of duties was made.

² Mr. Sparks' gratitude to the friends of his youth was one of his most characteristic traits. We have already seen (vol. i. pp. 42, 43) how, in 1830, Sparks paid Mr. Lord's early loan of \$16, with the principal and interest, then amounting to \$50. Now, in 1840, Sparks sends a full collection of all his writings up to that date, showing how he had employed his time during the past few years, and that "kindnesses at Exeter were not all bestowed in vain." The list comprised the "Writings of Washington" (11 vols.); "American Biography" (10 vols.); "Life of Gouverneur Morris" (3 vols.); "Life of Ledyard" (1 vol.); "Life of Washington" (1 vol.).

the examination of catalogues, for the purpose of finding such books and tracts regarding America as were not already owned by the college. Mr. Sparks visited Cambridge and Oxford, "endeavoring to learn what they possess by which we can improve," and he also took pains to attend representative lectures at the Sorbonne and the Collège de France.

CHAPTER XXVI.

SECOND VISIT TO EUROPE.

MR. SPARKS had now reached a new point of departure in his literary career. He was preparing for what he regarded as the great work of his life. He wrote from London, October 19, 1840, to his friend, Mrs. G. W. Burnap, in Baltimore: "You are probably acquainted with the object that brought me to Europe. Having finished the literary undertakings which have been so long on my hands, what could I do better than to engage in another? I am preparing to write a formidable history of the American Revolution. Many of the most important materials exist only in the British and French offices. From the government here I have met with every degree of courtesy which I could desire, and all the papers have been freely submitted to my inspection and use. I have been more than two months employed in the examination, assisted by copyists. In November I shall go over to Paris for the same purpose, and remain there through the winter. M. Guizot, the French ambassador in London, is my friend, and assures me of equal success with his government, so that my object will be attained in its fullest extent; and then I shall return and go to work again by my own quiet fireside. That I should prevail on myself to leave my wife and daughter ten months for such an enterprise is a proof to you with what zeal I pursue it."

EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL, 1840-41.

The following extracts from his journal, 1840-41, relate to matters of personal or historical interest: —

August 6th. — Breakfasted by appointment at Holland House at half past ten o'clock. I was cordially received by Lord Holland in the magnificent library. We met Lady Holland in the breakfast-room. They have grown a little older in eleven years, but otherwise I saw no change. Mr. Allen and another gentleman were present. Some general conversation about America and the boundary question, which Lord Holland said he hoped would soon be settled. Lady Holland inquired about Mr. Webster, who seems to have left a strong impression on her mind.

After breakfast we went again to the library. Lord Holland read some curious extracts from a manuscript book containing a copy of George the Third's letters to Lord North. There were very strong and remarkable expressions against the Earl of Chatham and other persons, particularly those that were opposed to Lord North's administration. Soon after the peace of 1783, there seems to have been a question about sending a minister to the United States; and in alluding to that subject, the king said that he would not entertain so low an opinion of any Englishman as to believe he would go on an embassy to the revolted colonies. These are not the exact words, but accurately the substance.

I introduced the subject of the State Paper Office, and told Lord Holland that I wished to procure access to the papers there, as I had done formerly. As these papers are in the home department, it was agreed that the application ought to be made to Lord Normanby, who is the minister of that department; and Lord Holland said, if I would state briefly what I wanted, he would forward

the application to Lord Normanby, and also speak to him on the subject.

He then asked me if I wished to be introduced at court. I told him that I had no such wish; that my objects in coming to London were of a specific kind, which if I could accomplish, I should be satisfied, but that going to court would not contribute to advance them; and that my curiosity did not lead that way. I expressed a desire, however, to be present at the prorogation of Parliament by the queen, and asked if there would be a possibility of procuring a ticket of admission. Lady Holland immediately replied, "If you wish to be there, I will take care to manage it for you." Lord Holland added that he was sorry he had no ticket, but he was entitled to two only, and he had given them away to two ladies. But I am to depend on Lady Holland, as she assured me.

Lord Holland thought I should be interested, for, said he, "the queen is an exceedingly good reader." I spoke of attending the House of Lords some evening. "As to that," said he, "I advise you not to go near them, for they are debating questions about canonries and other church affairs, which nobody understands but the bishops, and which they explain in a most unintelligible manner. The Bishops of London and Exeter are the only good speakers among them." After this I said no more about the House of Lords. He added, however, "As to seeing the lords, if you have any such desire, you will see them all at the prorogation, and a company of ladies into the bargain." . . .

August 7th. — Great excitement to-day respecting the mad and foolish project of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, who has made a descent upon Boulogne with about fifty armed men. Bonaparte was taken, after having run a narrow risk of being drowned. Several of his followers were killed.

August 8th. — Called at Lansdowne House by appointment, to converse with Lord Lansdowne on the subject of my application for papers in the Council Office. Lord Lansdowne is president of the council, and therefore has entire control over these papers. He expressed the greatest readiness to facilitate my objects, complimented me on what I had done to illustrate American history, and said he would render me every aid in his power to promote my researches; that he would give special directions in regard to the Council Office, and speak to Lord Normanby concerning my application to the State Paper Office. We talked a little about the Boundary Question and other American matters. Lord Lansdowne spoke in high praise of Prescott's work, "Ferdinand and Isabella," and commended the state of American literature. His reception was in all respects kind and cordial. He regretted that he could not show me the civilities of his house, as his family had already gone to Bowood to pass the season, and he was himself to depart for Ireland the moment Parliament should be prorogued; but he hoped I should be in London after their return, when they should be glad to see me.

August 10th. — Went with Mr. Stevenson by appointment to see Lord Normanby at home department. He is the minister of that department, and the State Paper Office is under his charge. Through Lord Holland I had applied to him for access to the State Paper Office. Lord Lansdowne had also spoken to him on the subject. He received us very politely, and I explained to him my objects, namely, to examine the papers relating to the American colonies from the year 1763 to 1774, for the purpose of making selections and taking copies. Mr. Stevenson spoke of the object as interesting to both countries, and as one which he believed his lordship might very properly promote. Lord Normanby said that he

should be happy to afford the facilities that I desired, and that he would give the requisite orders to Mr. Lechmere, the principal keeper of the archives. I have thus been very fortunate in this application, for the papers in the State Paper Office are much the most important for the history of the period in question of any in existence. They consist mainly of the correspondence between the British ministry and the governors; and this correspondence was never left in America. The governors retained the papers as private, and carried them to England. The originals are in the State Paper Office, well arranged, and in a good state of preservation.

August 11th. — Attended the prorogation of Parliament by the queen, having obtained admittance through the influence of Lady Holland with the black rod. The ceremony was in the House of Lords. The queen wore a crown and sat upon a throne. All the foreign ambassadors, many peers and peeresses, and other persons of distinction were present. The room was crowded. The king and queen of Belgium were also there. Victoria read her speech extremely well. Her voice is harmonious, and her enunciation clear and distinct. I have never heard better reading. The pageant of the procession, the state coaches, the horse-guards, foot-guards, and other accompaniments, were likewise imposing. An immense throng of people thronged the streets and avenues from the Parliament House to Buckingham Palace.

August 12th. — . . . I received a note from Lord Lansdowne, stating that he had given an order to admit me to examine all the papers in the Council Office relating to American history. He said he was immediately to set off for Ireland, and that, if I should meet with any obstacles, I could write to him on the subject, and leave the letter at Lansdowne House, and it would soon reach him.

August 26th.— . . . Called on Mr. Chalmers, nephew of Chalmers, the historian. He possesses the library and manuscripts left by his uncle. My particular object was to ascertain whether Chalmers left for publication a continuation of his history, as he intimates in the preface to the published volume. Mr. Chalmers has never seen such a manuscript, and thinks his uncle left none of this sort. He showed me a volume, however, entitled "An Introduction to the History of the Revolt in the North American Colonies." This volume was printed by the author, but was never published, and Mr. Chalmers says he knows of but two copies in existence. The whole edition was sold for waste paper. The author's political views were not suited to the times, and on this ground he determined not to publish the work.

Mr. Chalmers says his uncle's "History of the Colonies" was unsatisfactory to all parties, on account of its political character, and that was the reason he did not continue it; that he was opposed to the course pursued by the government, although he believed their claims were right in law. This view dissatisfied the party that was friendly to the colonies because they argued against the right of government to tax the colonies; and it displeased the government party because he did not approve their pressing the right, but approved conciliatory measures on the ground of expediency. He had lived in America, and knew the temper of the people; and although he thought the American pretensions decidedly wrong in principle and law, yet he considered it politic to concede to the prejudices of the people, and make an arrangement with them on such terms as were required by existing circumstances.

Mr. Chalmers says that he has often heard his uncle talk on the subject, and that his opinions resembled those of Dean Tucker, who proposed at the beginning of the troubles to allow independence to America, and to make

an arrangement on that basis. He was bold in expressing this opinion, and thought it the best policy for the government to yield to expediency, and not insist on legal right. This was so unpopular a view that he never received any favor from Lord North, although his history is strong in favor of the right of the case. He was not employed in the Board of Trade till some time after his book was published, but was allowed access to the papers. The above facts are interesting, and are worthy of consideration in reading Chalmers' history.

August 31st. — All day in the offices. I may say once for all, that six hours of every day are spent in the State Paper Office and Privy Council Office, examining the papers relating to the history of the American Colonies between the years 1763 and 1774. In the State Paper Office are the correspondence of the governors of the colonies, and other papers connected with it, and also the letters of the ministers. They are all original, and none of those papers are in America, as the governors brought home their papers as belonging to themselves.

September 8th. — Reading catalogues in the morning, for the purpose of selecting books for the college. Began my researches in the Board of Trade. I find the old colonial papers there very voluminous. The State Paper Office is open only four hours in a day. During those hours I work there, and then two hours in the Board of Trade. I am somewhat embarrassed in the business, because all my copies are to be approved by Lord Palmerston, the foreign minister, before I can take them away.

September 17th. — Called on Lord Holland, at Holland House. He says that George the Third made a personal matter of the American war, considering it an insult upon his dignity.

October 3d. — Examining the papers, which have been copied, in the Privy Council Office and the Board of

Trade. Took away the papers in the Council Office. All the papers selected by me in these two offices have been copied; but those in the Board of Trade are to be examined in the foreign department. There is a suspicion that I shall find something on the Boundary Question. Dine with Mr. Mackintosh.

October 5th. — Gave my manuscripts in the Board of Trade to Mr. Noyes, one of the principal clerks, who will forward them to Lord Palmerston, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who will examine them, and then they will be returned to me. I called on Mr. Backhouse, under-secretary in the Foreign Office, who will attend to the papers, and take care that they are seasonably examined. Mr. Backhouse assisted me on my former visit to London, when I examined in the Foreign Office the correspondence relating to the peace of 1783.

Lord Normanby has sent an additional order to the State Paper Office, authorizing me to examine the military correspondence of General Gage and General Haldimand in America from the year 1763 to 1774. There are eleven volumes. I have commenced the examination to-day.

October 8th. — Finished examining papers in the State Paper Office, having looked over and marked for the copyist all the papers relating to the period of my inquiry, and also made abstracts of some parts myself. They are ample and important beyond my expectation. Employed all the evening in writing. . . .

October 13th. — . . . Mr. Fellowes has recently returned from his second tour to Asia Minor, and brought back a remarkable collection of drawings and inscriptions. He has published an account of his first tour, and his second is in press. He dined with me to-day at Mr. Field's, in Hampstead, showed me his drawings, and gave me an account of his travels. Evening at Mr. Vaughan's, where

I met Dr. Robinson, who has lately returned from Palestine, and is now preparing to publish a work on the geography of that country. . . .

October 24th. — . . . Heard of Lord Holland's sudden death, after a short illness. I saw him a few days ago, apparently in good health. He has rendered me many kindnesses, and much important service in forwarding my objects in England, both on my former visit and recently. I have many reasons to cherish his memory with gratitude and respect. . . .

November 6th. — Some time ago, Mr. Catlin informed me that Sir Thomas Phillipps, of Middle Hill, Worcestershire, possessed the original manuscript of Homer's "Bibliotheca Americana." I had reason to suppose such a work existed, because among General Washington's papers I had seen a printed prospectus of it, which was sent to him by Mr. Homer; but I could never learn what became of the work, nor any particulars respecting Mr. Homer. I sent a copy of the prospectus to Mr. Rich, who lately informed me that he had not been able to ascertain anything in regard to the work or its author. I was extremely desirous, therefore, to see it. Mr. Catlin communicated this wish to Sir Thomas Phillipps, who replied that he should be happy to see me at Middle Hill, that he had other manuscripts relating to America which might perhaps be interesting to me. With a letter from Mr. Catlin, I took the mail stage in London last evening at eight o'clock, and arrived this morning at Broadway, two and a quarter miles from Sir Thomas Phillipps' house, and one hundred miles from London, at six o'clock. I found Sir Thomas' man, with a horse, waiting for me.

I was received with much civility and kindness by Sir Thomas, whose family consists of himself and three daughters. He possesses large landed estates, more than six thousand acres in one tract, upon which stands his

mansion, a stately edifice of stone. For twenty years he has expended nearly all his income in purchasing manuscripts and rare books. His collection of manuscripts amounts to eleven thousand volumes, and a larger number of printed books. He put a catalogue of his manuscripts into my hands, and said that his object was to diffuse knowledge, and that I might have copies of any of his manuscripts. For many years he has had a private printing-press in his house, at which he has printed several volumes from his manuscripts, chiefly relating to the antiquities of England, to the study of which he is mainly devoted. Nearly all the rooms of his house, and the passages, are filled with cases of manuscripts and books.

I spent the larger part of the day in examining Mr. Homer's work. There are five volumes, one of which, however, appears to have been his first sketch, and the other four the work as he completed it. In all, they extend to about 1,600 pages, closely written in his own hand, being a list of books relating to America, in all languages, as far as he was able to find them, or their titles, alphabetically arranged according to the authors' names, and the principal heads of the subjects of anonymous works, with references to the libraries where they are to be found, and to the reviews in which they have been noticed. Altogether it is a work of extraordinary labor, and of great intrinsic value, and appears to be complete to the extent of the author's knowledge. Sir Thomas permits me to take it to London and have it copied. . . .

November 9th. — Examining Spanish manuscripts respecting the conquest of Mexico, particularly a letter from Cortes to the king of Spain, consisting of more than two hundred pages, written in Mexico; and also a curious manuscript, of great antiquity, probably before any of the printed histories of Mexico, concerning the manners and customs of the Mexicans, with nearly fifty

beautiful drawings, evidently copied from Mexican originals, among which is a full-length portrait of Montezuma; also a paper purporting to be a grant of land and privileges to the daughter of Montezuma by Cortes, written in Mexico. I have taken the titles of these papers, and some account of their contents, for the purpose of sending them to Mr. Prescott, as they will undoubtedly be useful to him in preparing his work on the conquest of Mexico. Sir Thomas Phillipps' eldest daughter, Henrietta, has copied the portrait of Montezuma, which I shall likewise send to him. . . .

November 12th. — I left Middle Hill at seven o'clock in the evening, and took the mail coach at Broadway for Oxford at eight o'clock. I have rarely passed so agreeable or so profitable a week. Sir Thomas Phillipps is renowned for his hospitality, and on this occasion it was bestowed in the most liberal and generous manner. He devoted nearly the whole time to me, assisting me in finding manuscripts, and himself searching for such as would be to my purpose. His daughters are accomplished young ladies. The dinner hour was six o'clock, and the evenings were passed most agreeably in examining curious books among his collection, and conversing on the subjects of them. I am to procure for him such books as I can find on the antiquities of America and the aboriginal tribes. . . .

November 14th. — While at Middle Hill, I learned by mere accident, from one of Sir Thomas Phillipps' catalogues, that there are in the Library of the Royal Institution in Albemarle Street fifty-six volumes of original manuscripts relating to the American war between the years 1775 and 1783. This intelligence seemed incredible, and I was resolved to seize the first moment to ascertain the fact. Accordingly I have been to the library to-day, and there I have found the volumes themselves, being a volumi-

nous collection of original papers, chronologically arranged and bound. They formerly belonged to Sir Guy Carleton, having been preserved by his secretary, and presented to the Royal Institution by a Mr. Symmons, into whose hands they fell. I shall obtain permission to examine these papers and procure copies. . . .

November 17th. — Engaged all day in the Royal Institution examining the Carleton papers, and marking selections for the copyist. The collection consists of duplicates and copies of nearly the whole of the military correspondence between the British government and their officers in America during the War of the Revolution. As Sir Guy Carleton was the last of the commanders-in-chief in America, these papers seem to have come into his hands from his predecessors, and are probably the same that had been preserved by the several generals during their command, and transmitted from one to the other. They are exceedingly important; and though I have seen many of them in the State Paper Office, yet there are many others of great interest which are not in that office.

December 6th. — Left London at nine o'clock in the morning in the steamboat for Calais. The city was enveloped in a dense fog, and we made our way with difficulty down the Thames till we had passed below Greenwich. It cleared up in the middle of the day, and we had fine weather across the Downs. Fog came on again as we approached the French coast in the evening, but we arrived safely in the harbor of Calais in twelve hours from London. Stopped at the Hôtel de Dessin. On the door of my chamber was written "Sterne's Room." In that chamber he wrote a part of the "Sentimental Journey." A pretty garden is seen from the window.

December 10th. — Wrote to M. Guizot, Minister of Foreign Affairs, respecting my researches in the archives, which are now under his control. . . .

December 15th.—At seven in the morning the beating of drums was heard in all directions. From my window, which overlooks the Boulevard, I saw troops marching down that broad avenue in solid column as far as the eye could reach. At nine I went to the Champs Elysées, and thence beyond the Barrier de Neuilly and the Triumphal Arch. All the streets and avenues were thronged with people in the parts of the city bordering on the passages through which the procession was to pass. I took my stand on an eminence near the Triumphal Arch. My object was to see the multitude as well as the procession. The spacious area around the Triumphal Arch appeared to be a dense mass of human heads. Two hundred thousand troops formed the procession. About half of them were National Guards. I remained in this position till the funeral car containing the remains of Napoleon had passed through the arch. I then went with a multitude down the Boulevard, on the outside of the walls, to the Barrier de Franklin, and crossed the bridge to the Champs de Mars, and thence to the Hôtel des Invalides, and arrived there just as the procession closed and the coffin was carried into the church. The throng between the Hôtel des Invalides and the river was immense. I made my way through it, across the river, through the Champs Elysées, the Place de la Concorde, and to my lodgings in Rue de la Paix before sunset. It is impossible to describe such a scene. The pageant was as magnificent as it could be made with a procession of two hundred thousand troops in the midst of more than a million of people. Perfect order prevailed everywhere, and the people dispersed quietly. At dark it would not have been known, from anything that was seen or heard, that any extraordinary occurrence had taken place in Paris.

December 16th.—Had an interview with M. Mignet in the archives. M. Guizot has conversed with him on

the subject of my researches. They both manifest the best disposition to render me every facility. I am to see M. Mignet again and make arrangements. Call on M. Ternaux and examine his collection of rare books. Dine with Mr. Thorndike.

December 17th.—Mr. George Lafayette and De Tocqueville called. Dine at Mr. Welles'. President Wayland, Mrs. Sigourney, and Mr. and Mrs. Wormley were the party.

December 18th.—As M. Mignet does not speak nor understand English, and I have little confidence in my French, I requested M. De Tocqueville to call with me on M. Mignet, that he might be perfectly informed of my objects and wishes. We accordingly called together, and had a long conversation, in which I explained in detail what I wanted. Having been before employed in the archives and acquainted with the papers, I could do this the more easily. M. Mignet assented to my requests, and took a liberal view of my objects, and said the papers should be ready for me whenever I chose to begin. I told him "to-morrow." . . .

December 19th.—Began in the archives. Took up the correspondence of the French government with Count Montmorin, the French ambassador in Spain, at the point where M. Bulos left off. M. Bulos was employed several years ago to make these researches for me, but did not make much progress. . . . Dine with M. Guizot, now Minister of Foreign Affairs. I went with General Cass, the American minister. M. Guizot received me cordially, and said that he should be happy to aid my researches in every manner that I desired, and that whenever I was ready he should procure admittance to the War Department. The dinner was somewhat an affair of state; something like one of the President's dinners in Washington. Several members of the House of Deputies were present. . . .

December 23d. — In the archives. Evening at Madame de Tocqueville's soirée. M. and Madame Beaumont were there, and the party was mostly French. Madame Beaumont is a granddaughter of Lafayette, whom I had known at Lagrange; also Madame Rémusat, who was likewise present. Madame de Tocqueville is an English lady. Mr. Milnes, a member of Parliament, and Mr. Calvert, of Baltimore, were there. Milnes is a poet as well as politician. . . .

January 26th. — Completed my researches in the archives, having examined all the papers I want, and prepared them for the copyist. I have found there a letter from Dr. Franklin to Count de Vergennes, dated December 5, 1782, in which he tells him that he returns to him a map in which he had marked with *a strong red line* the boundary of the United States as fixed by the treaty. They will search for this map in the archives, but it is hardly probable that it will be found.¹ It would be an extremely important document at this time, as it would show in the most positive manner the meaning of the commissioners, and put to rest the dispute between England and the United States respecting the northeastern boundary. . . .

¹ It was found. — J. S.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE BOUNDARY QUESTION AND THE RED-LINE MAP.

AFTER Mr. Sparks' return to Cambridge the discovery of the red-line map in the French archives became a matter of international interest in connection with the Webster-Ashburton Treaty and the settlement of the northeastern boundary. This question had long vexed the diplomatists of England and the United States. The treaties of Versailles in 1783 and of Ghent in 1814 had not settled the boundary line between Maine and New Brunswick in a way that was satisfactory to the interested parties. There was a vagueness with regard to the whole matter which the two governments were anxious to clear up.

Jared Sparks' name had been connected with the boundary dispute as early as 1838. It was suspected by certain government officials in England that he had obtained state papers in the English archives bearing upon the boundary question, and had communicated them to the government of the United States. In a letter to the Marquis of Lansdowne, January 1, 1838, Mr. Sparks declared that the report was wholly erroneous, and that he had never looked for or seen any paper in the British offices bearing upon the matter then in dispute. The Marquis of Lansdowne had, however, allowed Mr. Sparks to copy a manuscript volume of Oswald's letters in the Lansdowne private library, and Mr. Sparks was very much concerned lest it should be thought that he betrayed a

trust by exhibiting these important papers to his own government. They, indeed, bore somewhat upon the boundary question, but Mr. Sparks never allowed any use to be made of them in settling the dispute while it was pending; the only person to whom he ever showed the Oswald letters was Edward Everett, and him Mr. Sparks, in a letter dated April 22, 1839, enjoined to absolute silence: —

“Since our conversation to-day concerning the manuscript volume, I am convinced that no use whatever should be made of it in the affair of the boundary question. Such a use would place the Marquis of Lansdowne in a delicate situation, as it would in the end be known from what source the information was derived. Although I understood from him that this correspondence was submitted wholly to my judgment and discretion, yet he could never have supposed it possible that it would be resorted to in this controversy, or any other involving national interests. I feel bound in honor, therefore, to protect it from such an accident. For this reason I must request that you will not take a copy of any part of it, nor mention its contents with reference to this subject. You will readily perceive and value the motives which induce me to make this request. I wish, also, that you would return the volume.”

The discovery of Franklin's letter to Vergennes and of the red-line map in the French archives was quite a different matter. Mr. Sparks felt it his duty, as an American citizen and as a student of history, to communicate this discovery to Mr. Webster, then Secretary of State, even though the map was apparently adverse to our territorial claims. The following letter is dated at Cambridge, February 15, 1842: —

“I have deliberated for some time on the propriety of communicating to you the substance of this letter, but at

length, believing it important that you should possess a knowledge of all the facts respecting the subject to which it alludes, I have concluded to waive the scruples that have hitherto operated on my mind. While pursuing my researches among the voluminous papers relating to the American Revolution in the Archives des Affaires Étrangères in Paris, I found in one of the bound volumes an original letter from Dr. Franklin to Count de Vergennes, of which the following is an exact transcript:—

“‘PASSY, 6 December, 1782.

“‘SIR: I have the honor of returning herewith the map your Excellency sent me yesterday. I have marked with a strong red line, according to your desire, the limits of the United States as settled in the preliminaries between the British and American plenipotentiaries. With great respect, I am, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.’

“This letter was written six days after the preliminaries were signed; and if we could procure the identical map mentioned by Franklin, it would seem to afford conclusive evidence as to the meaning affixed by the commissioners to the language of the treaty on the subject of the boundaries. You may well suppose that I lost no time in making inquiry for the map, not doubting that it would confirm all my previous opinions respecting the validity of our claim. In the geographical department of the archives are sixty thousand maps and charts, but so well arranged, with catalogues and indexes, that any one of them may easily be found. After a little research in the American division, with the aid of the keeper, I came upon a map of North America by D’Auvville, dated 1746, in size about eighteen inches square, on which was drawn a *strong red line* throughout the entire boundary of the United States, answering precisely to Franklin’s description. The line is bold and distinct in every part, made

with red ink, and apparently drawn with a hair pencil, or a pen with a blunt point. There is no other coloring on any part of the map.

“Imagine my surprise on discovering that this line runs wholly south of the St. John, and between the headwaters of that river and those of the Penobscot and Kennebec. In short, it is exactly the line now contended for by Great Britain, except that it concedes more than is claimed. The north line, after departing from the source of the St. Croix, instead of proceeding to Mars Hill, stops far short of that point and turns off to the west, so as to leave on the British side all the streams which flow into the St. John between the source of the St. Croix and Mars Hill. It is evident that the line from the St. Croix to the Canadian highlands is intended to exclude *all the waters* running into the St. John.¹

“There is no positive proof that this map is actually the one marked by Franklin, yet upon any other supposition it would be difficult to explain the circumstances of its agreeing so perfectly with his description, and of its being preserved in the place where it would naturally be deposited by Count de Vergennes. I also found another

¹ By the terms of the treaty of 1783 the boundary line was to proceed “from the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, namely, that angle which is formed by the line drawn due north from the source of the St. Croix River to the highlands, along the said highlands, which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the northwestern head of Connecticut River.” It was supposed that the northern and western boundaries of Nova Scotia met at some angle upon certain highlands. The practical question was what highlands? Were they north or south of the river St. John. England claimed for a boundary the southern highlands, ranging across what is now northern Maine, from a point or angle called Mars Hill. The United States claimed for a boundary the northern highlands, which formed an angle with a line running due north from the source of the St. Croix River.

map in the archives, on which the same boundary was traced in a dotted red line with a pen, apparently copied from the other. I inclose herewith a map of Maine, on which I have drawn a strong black line corresponding with the red one above mentioned. I also inclose the copy of a paper which is curious as showing the views of some of the members of Congress, towards the close of the war, respecting the boundaries. It is a transcript of the original¹ in the handwriting of Gouverneur Morris. The paper seems to have been designed as an additional instruction to the commissioners, and was probably written in the year 1781. There is no notice of it in the journals, and from its contents no one can wonder that it was not adopted. In the minds of some at that time, it may be presumed, the necessity of a peace was so great that it was thought the question of boundaries ought not to be made an obstacle. Morris drafted the first instructions on the subject of boundaries, as contained in the secret journals for August 14, 1779.

“In the British offices I have read with special care all the correspondence of the British commissioners with the ministry during the negotiation of the French and American treaties, which contains minute details of the conversations on every point that came under discussion. Much is of course said about the northeastern boundary. The commissioner for the American treaty first took his stand at the Kennebec, but soon retired to the Penobscot, where he maintained an obstinate defense for some time, till he retreated very reluctantly to the St. Croix. In all these discussions, however, not much light is thrown upon the difficulty now at issue. The inferences from the whole are clearly in our favor, but there is little positive or direct testimony, for the obvious reason, perhaps, that

¹ This original is preserved in Mr. Sparks' scrap-book on the Boundary Question.

the commissioners were talking of a line which had never been surveyed, and of angles and highlands which had neither been fixed, nor ascertained by observation.

“In April, 1790, Dr. Franklin sent to Mr. Jefferson, then Secretary of State, that part of Mitchell’s map containing the eastern boundary as marked by himself. He died a few days afterwards. Is that map now in the Department of State? If so, it cannot fail to contain important matter.¹

“The whole weight of the controversy raised at the Treaty of Ghent, and since continued, rests on the single question of the north line crossing or not crossing the St. John. Upon this point there could not possibly be any doubt in the minds of the commissioners, whatever obscurity there may have been in regard to the actual position of the line in other parts; and it certainly is strange that neither Mr. Jay nor Mr. John Adams, who lived several years after the controversy began to be agitated, should not have expressed and left on record some decided opinion. This forbearance on their part, to say the least, is suspicious.

“One thing, however, is clear. The British arguments, as far as they have been carried, are equally defective in consistency and proof. Their appeals to history and ancient records leave us, at last, in a wilderness of conjecture. Confirmations drawn from these sources are much more favorable to the American claim than to the English; and yet, whoever reads all that has been written on the subject by both parties will find himself a good deal more perplexed and unsettled, as to the real intentions of the commissioners, than he would be by endeavoring to under-

¹ Mr. Webster found a copy of Mitchell’s map which had once belonged to Baron Steuben, and upon it appeared a broad and bold red mark, drawn by hand, and corresponding in general to the red line on the map discovered by Mr. Sparks in the French archives.

stand without comment the simple words of the treaty. The British construction, proved by maps issued under authority, and acquiesced in by Parliament while the treaty was under discussion, and while Mr. Oswald was living, is our strongest argument, and one which has neither been answered nor weakened by the labored statements on the other side. But I did not intend to proffer opinions when I began this letter. I only meant to communicate a scrap of information which is curious, if not valuable. I trust you will excuse the liberty I have taken, and accept the assurances of the sincere respect and regard of your most obedient servant, JARED SPARKS."

Various other letters were addressed to Mr. Webster upon the above subject, but the above is the most important. Mr. Sparks had no thought of giving publicity to his discovery, nor did he attach very great importance to the red-line map in the face of the terms of the original treaty. There was of course no proof that the map discovered in the French archives was the one actually sent to Vergennes by Franklin. Various other maps, like Faden's,¹ had already been produced as bearing on the boundary dispute, but none of them were of any practical value as compared with treaty terms. To bring the red-line map to public notice would have been bad diplomatic policy in 1842, and might have embarrassed the claims then made by our government. The actual use to which Mr. Webster put Mr. Sparks' doubtful discovery was a master-stroke. His great difficulty in

¹ Faden's map was the first published in England at the time of the treaty of 1783, and gave the boundary line as then understood. Mr. Sparks found a copy of this map in London, and sent it to Mr. Webster, June 7, 1841, before he sent a copy of the red-line map. Sparks said that, according to Faden's first map, "the northeastern boundary is precisely as claimed by the United States." Faden's map of 1785 favored the British claim to a boundary line running south of the St. John.

conducting negotiations with England upon the boundary question lay with the State of Maine, which was naturally disposed to obtain as good a frontier as possible. Mr. Webster determined to use the red-line map to moderate the ambitious demands of the Maine legislature, and to obtain full powers for the appointed commissioners. Professor Sparks was the diplomatic agent employed by Mr. Webster to accomplish this purpose.

Extract from Sparks' journal, May 14, 1842: "Received a letter from Mr. Webster, requesting me to meet him this evening in Boston. I found with him Mr. Jeremiah Mason and Judge Sprague. Mr. Webster mentioned that Lord Ashburton had made known to the government that he was authorized to negotiate a treaty for settling the difficulties respecting the northeastern boundary. As a preliminary the government consider it desirable that commissioners should be appointed by the State of Maine to coöperate with Mr. Webster in making the treaty, so far as to acquiesce in the measures that may be adopted. Mr. Webster has written accordingly to the governor of Maine, who has called the legislature together for the purpose of appointing commissioners. It is feared that these commissioners will be furnished with such instructions as may defeat the negotiation. He desires me to go to Augusta, in Maine, and communicate to the governor such information as I am possessed of respecting the boundary, with the view of procuring the appointment of commissioners with full powers and without restrictions. Judge Sprague is to go for a similar purpose, in regard to some of the principal men in the legislature, with whom he is personally acquainted. Mr. Webster read to us the letter he had written to the governor, and some other papers, and the subject was discussed."

"*May 15th.* — Mr. Webster called at my house, and

left certain papers, and a letter to the governor of Maine.”¹

Mr. Webster's letter, introducing Professor Sparks to Governor Fairfield, was dated at Boston, May 16, 1842, and reads as follows: “My dear Sir,— This will be handed to you by Mr. Sparks, who is charged by me with a communication to your Excellency of a most confidential character, and of very considerable importance. It is my duty not to seek to withhold from you what he has to communicate, but on the contrary to cause your Excellency to be informed fully of a matter which it is possible may hereafter much affect interests which you are desirous of protecting. Mr. Sparks is known to you by reputation, and I desire to commend him to your personal kindness and regard. Yours with respect,

“ DANIEL WEBSTER.”

To Mr. Webster, Mr. Sparks reported from Augusta, May 19, 1842, the probable success of his mission. Governor Fairchild saw at once the bearing of the information brought to him, and expressed his earnest desire that the Maine commissioners should go without instructions and with full powers. Mr. Sparks conversed with several of the leading members in both branches of the legislature, and evidently accomplished favorable results. “A committee of one member from each county and nine senators has been sitting yesterday and to-day. They voted unanimously to send commissioners, and, with three dissenting voices, to send them without instructions. But I find there are some apprehensions as to the turn which things may take in the debates. There is a small party

¹ “For other particulars relating to this subject, see my letters to Mr. Webster, dated February 15th, May 16th, May 19th, May 25th; his letter to me dated March 4th and May 14th; and to Governor Fairfield, dated May 16th; also to me, June 1st.”—J. S., journal, May 21, 1842.

for instructions; another small party who profess to distrust the powers of the legislature, and who would have a convention expressly chosen by the people; and I have heard of some members who are opposed to any kind of action. These remnants combined may become formidable. Yet the votes of the committee would seem to indicate a better result. Mr. Sprague will doubtless inform you more largely on these points.

“I have heard much said incidentally about equivalents. They will accept no money from the British government, — not a farthing. It would be derogatory to the dignity of the State. Upon this there is but one opinion. Some kind of privilege in the navigation of the St. John will be insisted on. They talk of islands at the mouth of the St. Croix, particularly Campobello and the Grand Manan, which they say ought to have belonged to the United States by the treaty of peace, and in this they are probably right. In short, I have heard nothing extravagant, or apparently unreasonable, concerning equivalents. They expect the United States to pay all the charges they have incurred in defending the territory.¹ It has been proposed to send four commissioners, two of each political party. Of course nothing has been decided on this subject, but I think they will certainly send an equal number of each party.”

Mr. Sparks took with him to Augusta a copy of the red-line map and Mitchell's map, which corresponded to it. He showed them to Governor Fairfield, but not to members of the legislature. By good management, Webster's object was gained. The Maine commissioners were appointed with full powers. Webster afterwards laid the

¹ Maine had raised militia in 1839 for the defense of her frontiers against British forces. This popular uprising was known as the Aroostook War, which involved an expense of more than a million dollars.

map before this Maine commission, and was able to obtain from them full assent to the proposed treaty. Without such previous concession from Maine he never could have carried through his negotiations with Lord Ashburton. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty, or the Treaty of Washington, was signed August 9, 1842.

In a friendly letter to Mr. Sparks, March 11, 1843, Webster expressed his entire satisfaction with the course of procedure. He said: "As to the *conduct* of the negotiation, there is one point on which I wish to speak to you very freely, even at the hazard of a well-founded imputation of some vanity. The grand stroke was to get the *previous* consent of Maine and Massachusetts. Nobody else had attempted this; it had occurred to nobody else; it was a movement of great delicacy, and of very doubtful result. But it was made, with how much skill and judgment in the manner, you must judge; and it succeeded, and to this success the fortunate result of the whole negotiation is to be attributed. . . .

"You notice the great majorities with which, after all the high-sounding notes of opposition, the appropriations for the treaty passed both houses. There is probably no instance of a similar approach to unanimity. In the Senate four votes were found against it, in the House, about forty."¹

It was not intended by Mr. Webster or Mr. Sparks that the red-line map should ever become a subject for public discussion in this country, much less in England; but the facts leaked out through a speech made in a secret session of the Senate, August 17, 1842, in Congress by Mr. William C. Rives, chairman of the committee on

¹ In a letter to Webster, March 30, 1843, Mr. Sparks said significantly: "You will have seen that the party in the Maine legislature hostile to the treaty was voted down by a majority of more than two to one."

foreign relations, who read an extract from Mr. Sparks' letter to Mr. Webster. The disclosure made at once a great sensation. The American and English papers¹ were quickly filled with comments upon the red-line map, and with reviews of Mr. Webster's astute diplomacy. Both he and Mr. Sparks were much blamed by English and Canadian critics for not having revealed all this evidence before the treaty became an accomplished fact.²

Daniel Webster wrote to Jared Sparks, March 18, 1843: "In the 'London Morning Chronicle' of February 6th you will find some observations about the map. I am blamed, not for not showing the map, but for expressing confidence in the claim. Now, in my letter to Lord Ashburton I argued the question on the terms of the treaty, and you know that Lord Brougham has said the terms of the treaty sus-

¹ Extract from Sparks' journal, March 10, 1843: "Finished an article for the April number of the 'North American Review' on the late Treaty of Washington. The affair of the map which I discovered in the French archives, respecting the boundary question, has been very much discussed in the public papers, and in the Senate of the United States. Many particulars may be seen on this subject in a volume which I have preserved, containing extracts from articles in the newspapers, and from the debates in the Senate; also, extracts from British papers, and debates in Parliament, on the same subject." The volume referred to is entitled "Boundary Question, Red-Line Map," and contains, among other papers, an autograph letter from Daniel Webster to Jared Sparks, February 15, 1843. Webster said: "There is an irreconcilable hostility between the Franklin map and the plain terms of the treaty."

² In some remarks on the Northeastern Boundary, made at a meeting of the New York Historical Society, April 15, 1843, Mr. Webster said: "I must confess that I did not think it a very urgent duty on my part to go to Lord Ashburton, and tell him that I had found a bit of doubtful evidence in Paris, out of which he might perhaps make something to the prejudice of our claims, and from which he could set up higher claims for himself, or throw further uncertainty over the whole matter."—"The Works of Daniel Webster," vol. ii. p. 153.

tained our rights ; *and I know that Lord Aberdeen has said the same thing*, though I am not at liberty to say so publicly. Now, what is the value of the evidence of the map, such as it is, against the admitted plain sense of the treaty? Any lawyer would say 'Nothing.' "

Mr. Webster's view was certainly correct, both from a legal and from a public point of view. George Gibbs, of New York, with whom Mr. Sparks had an interesting correspondence upon the whole subject, said in a letter, April 6, 1843: "Let it be remembered, too, in the arguments on this subject, that in law a map, although attached to a deed and specially referred to in it, cannot control or vary boundaries set forth in the deed ; and if the latter is inconsistent with the map, the words must stand. It is a new doctrine, moreover, that a negotiator, any more than an advocate, is bound to furnish testimony to his adversary. Mr. Webster's conviction on the question of our claim was founded on the terms of the treaty ; if a map was ever so well authenticated, it could not control the agreements of the treaty."

Edward Everett was American minister in England at this time, and was greatly interested in sustaining the diplomatic honor of his country. He appealed to Mr. Sparks for full information upon the whole matter. The following extracts from Mr. Sparks' letters to Everett are interesting in themselves, and vindicate Mr. Webster's policy as well as Mr. Sparks' honor and good faith.

Sparks to Everett, January 30, 1843: "The inclosed letter is so written that, if you think proper, you can show it to Lord Aberdeen. The fact that such a suspicion exists in the offices as Mr. Savage mentions gives me some uneasiness ; not because there is the least foundation for it, but because a suspicion of this kind cannot easily be removed. It is literally true, however, that I never saw anything whatever in the offices relating to the boundary

question, nor did it for a moment enter my head to search for materials of that nature. The volume containing Mr. Oswald's correspondence was furnished to me by the Marquis of Lansdowne from his private library. You know with what delicacy and caution I have preserved that volume. No individual except yourself has ever read a page of it, to my knowledge, since it was in my possession.

“The discovery of the Franklin letter and map, of which you have probably seen a brief notice in Mr. Rives' speech, was perfectly accidental. I hesitated a long time before I communicated to any person a knowledge of the discovery. I finally concluded that all the information on the subject ought to be in the possession of Mr. Webster, and he could make such use of it as his judgment should dictate. In the mean time he had found a copy of Mitchell's map in New York, which once belonged to the Baron Steuben, and on which the boundary was drawn in exact accordance with the line on the map which I had seen in the Archives des Affaires Étrangères. With these maps, at Mr. Webster's request, I went on a mission to Governor Fairfield, just at the time the legislature of Maine was assembling at Augusta for the purpose of appointing commissioners for the treaty. It was feared that these commissioners would be clogged with instructions, and thus defeat the treaty. The maps, which were shown only to Governor Fairfield, probably had some influence in procuring a favorable action on this point; and it is generally conceded that the treaty would not have gained the assent of the Maine commissioners if these maps had not been laid before them.

“The reason for sending them to the Senate is obvious, though it seems doubtful whether this step was necessary. A good deal of discussion has grown up since the disclosure of the facts in Mr. Rives' speech; and a curious

question of ethics has been set on foot as to the propriety of Mr. Webster's withholding this knowledge from Lord Ashburton. Mr. Webster's course, however, is justified by all diplomatic usage; and it moreover seems certain that Lord Ashburton, with these maps in his hands, would not have ventured to negotiate without further instructions. And I suppose it is equally certain that the ministry would not, in the face of the country and of the opposition, have authorized a treaty upon their original basis. Yet a treaty more favorable to Great Britain would not for a moment have been listened to by Maine; and if Mr. Webster had opened his budget to Lord Ashburton, the whole world would have charged him with weakness and folly, the treaty would have failed, and in all likelihood a war would have been the consequence."

Sparks to Everett, March 29, 1843: "Your two letters, of February 9th and 21st, came to hand by the last packet. I can give you no other light on the affair of the Paris map than what is contained in the extract from my letter published in Mr. Rives' speech. The unfairness of the British journalists consists in their assuming this map to be *authentic*. Take away this assumption, and leave the map to stand on its only foundation, that of conjectural authenticity, and their clamors are without point. As to the map itself, it contains no memorandum, writing, or mark of any sort, from which it can be inferred that it was ever in the hands of Franklin. The red line is there, corresponding very exactly with the description of the red line contained in his note to the Count de Vergennes; and this is the whole of the matter. The presumption that he drew it is strengthened by Latr e's map, a copy of which was produced so unwittingly by Mr. Benton in the Senate. I can furnish no materials to aid you in any researches. This map and Franklin's

note are the only things which I saw, in any foreign office, touching the boundary question.

“ I beg you will accept my thanks for your kindness in communicating to Lord Aberdeen the substance of my letter. The rumor as to what I said about the boundary is totally false. I believe I did allude to what I had seen in the British offices as presenting the conduct of the government of that country during the war in a more favorable light than that in which it appears in our history. I have always said this when occasion offered, because I think it due to historical truth and justice. Some ignorant reporter may have perverted my meaning. I lectured last winter in New York, and a crude and garbled report of the lectures appeared in several of the newspapers. But I assure you I have never said a word, publicly or privately, in relation to anything seen by me in the British offices concerning the boundary controversy.

“ I have written an article on the treaty for the April number of the ‘North American Review,’ which you will probably receive with this letter. I have placed the maps in contrast, and you will see in what an extraordinary manner they conflict with each other. We rely on the words of the treaty of 1783, and it has always seemed to me that the plain sense of these words confirms our claim, yet we do not agree among ourselves in their interpretation. Mr. Hale, as you know, has written ably in defense of the American claim, and he places the northwest angle of Nova Scotia at the source of the Ristagouche, near the St. John, while others carry it much farther north to the Canadian highlands. It is singular enough that some of the French maps accord with Mr. Hale’s views. But I confess that the perfect silence of Mr. Adams and Mr. Jay, both of whom lived many years after the Treaty of Ghent, is stronger evidence in my mind against us than all the maps and arguments that have been produced. I

refer you to the 'Review' for all that I can say on this branch of the subject. It is full of perplexities, and for one I am glad the question is settled. It would be in vain to reply to the coarse invectives of the British press, because they are uttered without knowledge, and are shamefully destitute of fairness and candor. These writers praise the treaty as advantageous to England, and then abuse the American negotiator for pursuing the only course by which it could have been attained."

It should be distinctly remembered that Mr. Sparks was never an historical advocate of the red-line map in settling American territorial claims by the treaty of 1842. He himself gave no publicity to his curious discovery. In point of fact, however, Mr. Webster's successful diplomacy turned upon the clever use he made of private information given him by Mr. Sparks, and upon the latter's mission to Governor Fairfield in Maine. What Mr. Sparks really thought about the red-line map appears in the following extract from a letter to his New York correspondent, Mr. George Gibbs, April 8, 1843: "The map seen by me in the French archives bears no marks of authenticity. Its exact correspondence with the description in Franklin's note raises a probability that the line was drawn by him. There is no proof in the case. It was wholly without my knowledge that the affair was made public. I had no such expectation when I communicated it to Mr. Webster. But you may see all I can say on the subject in the last number of the 'North American Review.' There are four or five other maps of early date, on which the boundary is drawn in the same manner, and which cannot possibly be traced to Franklin.¹ This is

¹ In the seventh volume of his "Narrative and Critical History of America," pp. 171-182, there is an elaborate discussion of the boundary question, with full bibliographical references. Mr. Winsor explains the red-line map as representing an old French claim, made

a very remarkable circumstance. I hope Mr. Gallatin will be able to throw some light upon it."

The following letter from Mr. Sparks to George Folsom, June 2, 1843, is of historical interest in this connection: "Allow me to thank you for the copy of Mr. Gallatin's pamphlet which has come to hand. It is curious and interesting. On one point it is important. The old Congress had mentioned the northwest angle of Nova Scotia as being near the source of the St. John. This has been a puzzle which no one could solve, because in all the maps the name is attached to the southern branch. But Mr. Jay's map shows that the Madawasca branch was intended. This is the only fact brought out by it that was not known before. The map does not prove anything in regard to the final decision of the negotiators. The line called 'Mr. Oswald's Line' is precisely conformable to the instructions of the old Congress to our commissioners. It was assented to by Mr. Oswald because he had no power to conclude any point in the treaty which should not first be approved by the ministry. This line was rejected, and what was done afterwards must be learned from other sources.

after the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, for the boundary of Acadia. Maps have been found in the Harvard College Library, explicitly defining the character of the famous red line. An English map of the British and French Dominions in North America by J. Palairet, improved by J. Rocque (London, 1759), has a red line intersecting the territory of Maine in the same way as did the famous red line upon the map discovered by Mr. Sparks. Upon this English map is printed the following legend: "The red line drawn from Lake Ontario to Baye Verte shows another claim of the French north of the English settlement to the river St. Lawrence." A French map, *Carte des Possessions Angloises et Françaises*, dated 1755, also contains the identical line which appears on the D'Anville map found by Mr. Sparks in Paris. In the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for October, 1887, there is a paper by Justin Winson on "The Cartographical History of the Northeastern Boundary."

“The same may be said of the map lately found in the king’s library. There is no proof, as far as we can judge from the manner in which it has been described, or indication, that it contains the line ultimately agreed upon; and the fact that it was marked as the boundary described by Mr. Oswald (not as defined in the treaty) would seem to imply that it was not the one finally sanctioned by the ministry. These two maps, therefore, leave the matter just where it was before they were discovered.

“I have no predilection for the red-line map; yet the Maine commissioners certainly would not have assented to the treaty if this testimony, such as it is, had not been before them; and, viewing it in any light, it could not have failed to produce a strong influence on the mind of an arbitrator. It is stated in the appendix to Mr. Gallatin’s pamphlet that his map ‘had already become known to the British government.’ It is certain, however, that they had no knowledge or suspicion of it till after the publication of Mr. Rives’ speech. It was then searched for and found. Mr. Gallatin passes over too lightly the five other maps of early date, originating in separate sources and of high authority, which conflict with the American claim. I have a copy of the entire correspondence of Mr. Oswald with the ministers during the negotiation, and I find that several other maps were used besides Mitchell’s.

“On the whole, taking the words of the treaty and all the proofs and circumstances together, it does seem to me that the weight of argument is greatly on our side; but I confess that it derives very little strength in my mind from the maps which have hitherto been brought forward. Mr. Gallatin’s pamphlet supplies a valuable link in the chain of history, and in this view only the subject now possesses an interest.”

Mr. Sparks’ views upon this important chapter of

American diplomatic history, in which he played no insignificant part, may be found at length in his article on "The Treaty of Washington,"¹ his last contribution

¹ Mr. Sparks' article excited great interest and much comment. He published upon the subject supplementary letters, dated April 6th and 11th, in the "Boston Daily Advertiser." Mr. Everett wrote Mr. Sparks from London, May 1, 1843: "Your article on the treaty is very able; one of the best things that have been written on the subject." In the same letter Everett said: "All speculations on the subject of Franklin's map have been effectually extinguished by the production of Oswald's. Mr. Webster will probably show you a long private letter which I wrote him on that subject. I could have made it stronger and closer, had I felt at liberty to make use of Oswald's correspondence, which I have now in my hands, lent me by Lord Lausdowne, but under a promise that I would not use it without consulting him. You have a copy of it; and if you will compare my description of the map with Oswald's letter of 8th November, 1782, you will see the demonstration to be perfect that the boundary line on Oswald's map is the line of the treaty. Lord Brougham in his speech affirms that the words, which occur four times in different parts of the line ('boundary described by Mr. Oswald'), are in the handwriting of George III. The same thought occurred to me, from the resemblance of the hand to the signature of George III. Lord Aberdeen thought not; that they are a clerk's hand. Lord Brougham errs in saying the words are 'boundary described by Oswald's treaty.' Neither Lord Aberdeen, Lord Ashburton, nor Sir R. Peel (I am assured), knew of the existence of this map till after the treaty, and the talk about Franklin's map. Lord Palmerston knew of it, and so did that arch s—p Featherstonhaugh." There is an interesting dispatch upon Oswald's line from Mr. Everett, in Benton's "Thirty Years' View, vol. ii. p. 671. In the "Boston Advertiser" for April 2, 1843, there is a report of Sir Robert Peel's speech, defending Mr. Webster and the Webster-Ashburton Treaty against British clamor. Peel reviewed the map controversy, and referred to Oswald's line as identical with the American claim.

The American view of the northeastern boundary question has borne the test of time and further investigation. George Bancroft wrote Sparks, August 30, 1859: "On the northeastern boundary Lord Aberdeen told me that when he was negotiating the treaty he thought

to the "North American Review," April, 1843. In this article Mr. Sparks avoided a repetition of old arguments, and confined himself to a statement of the question as it stood when negotiations were begun. His chief object, as he said to Webster, March 30, 1843, was to show that "a compromise afforded the only remaining hope of a conciliatory adjustment. I got more entangled with maps than I liked, yet the subject is curious."

In the preparation of this article Mr. Sparks had the approval of Mr. Webster, who said, March 11, 1843:—

"As to the boundary subject, you understand it well. What is likely to be overlooked by superficial thinkers is the value of Rouse's Point. England will never visit us with an army from Canada for the purpose of conquest; but if she had retained Rouse's Point, she would at all times have access to Lake Champlain, and might in two days place a force within two days' march of the city of Albany. The defense of the country, therefore, would require a large military force in that neighborhood."

Webster suggested in the above letter that Mr. Sparks should divide his review of the treaty into two parts, the first relating to the agreements of boundary with the various equivalents; and the second, the correspondence on questions of public law, especially impressment of seamen. He desired an interview with Mr. Sparks, if this subject was to be treated in a special article. Sparks had already made the same suggestion to the editor, and

himself in the right, but that he had since become satisfied that we had the right on our side. I have myself seen convincing, certain proof of it, viz., a map of 1763, in which the division of the provinces was founded; and a private letter of Oswald's, in which he says that, as to the boundary in the direction referred to, there was no doubt about it, but on the east a question had been raised. The line between us and Canada was not in question at all."

soon began to correspond respectively with Edward Everett¹ and Henry Wheaton, American ministers to England and Prussia, upon the right of search and impressment.

THE RIGHT OF SEARCH.

The following is from Sparks' letter to Wheaton, March 29, 1843: "You will not think it strange that I should ask a little aid from you in regard to a subject which you understand better than any one on this side of the Atlantic. I have written for the April number of the 'North American Review' an article on the Treaty of Washington, and I propose to add another hereafter on the right of search as brought before the world in the new and extraordinary claim of Great Britain. Your book is now on my table, and gives all the information I can wish as to general principles and facts. The topic upon which I want more knowledge relates to the Quintuple Treaty; not the substance of that celebrated compact, but the *motives* and *reasons* of the three continental powers for entering into it. Why should Russia, Prussia, and Austria be willing to throw themselves by this act into the arms of the gigantic navy of Great Britain? Are they really moved by the disinterested and philanthropic desire of abolishing the slave trade? I ask this question because, looking only upon the surface of things, one cannot imagine what advantage either

¹ Everett to Sparks, May 1, 1843: "There has been nothing laid before Parliament, relative to the subject of search and visitation, which has not been published on your side of the water, with the exception of Lord Aberdeen's dispatch to Mr. Fox, which Mr. Fox was directed to read to Mr. Webster. As Mr. Webster has given the substance of this paper in his report to the President, the paper itself is not necessary to give you the views of this government. I will, however, get you a copy of the document, if I can. I have begged one already for Mr. Webster." Mr. Everett was American minister to England from 1841 to 1845.

of these governments can expect from such a union. Moreover, since the days of the Crusades, no nation has been known to measure its policy by a refined philanthropy at the expense of its interests. If a new era has come, in which nations are to study only justice and the good of mankind in their relations to each other, so much the better for the world. The example of Great Britain affords us but slender encouragement to hope for so happy a change, and I cannot explain the conduct of the three powers. Pray unravel the web, and let me know the motives by which they were influenced in this affair of the Quintuple Treaty, in as much detail as your leisure will permit."

The following from Wheaton to Sparks, May 8, 1843, is certainly a valuable contribution to diplomatic history from one of America's greatest writers on international law:—

"I think the question of the right of search in time of peace is substantially *settled* between the United States and Great Britain for all practical purposes, though both parties preserve their respective claims of right. Rely upon it, the British government will take very good care to give such instruction to their cruisers as will avoid any actual collision. This we have gained by our firmness in resisting their pretensions *in limine*.

"You ask why the three northern powers should have acceded to the treaty of December, 1841. I answer that, having already detached Great Britain from her close connection with France by the treaty of 15th July, 1840, they still wished to preserve the general harmony of the great European alliance, and therefore were very willing to do whatever might be agreeable to the British government, and was not at that time supposed to be disagreeable to the French nation, in a matter in which the northern powers take no interest, but which might gain

them some credit with purblind philanthropists, whilst it could be of no possible injury to their navigation and commerce; they having little or none in the African, West Indian, and South American seas, and having besides taken very good care in the treaty itself to except from its operation the Mediterranean, and all those parts of the ocean frequented by their merchant vessels. As to the danger of creating a precedent for the right of search as claimed by Great Britain in time of war, they excuse themselves on the ground that an exceptional right of search, expressly created by treaty, and confined to a specific object, rather confirms the general freedom of navigation than otherwise; *exceptio probat regulam*. Add to this that Russia had already given up this point, in the convention with Great Britain of 1800, in exchange for concessions by the latter on other disputed matters of maritime law. You will see by my 'Histoire du Droit des Gens' that she has been very inconsistent on this matter. My friend Mr. Senior has reviewed that work in the April number of the 'Edinburgh,' and in the latter part of his paper has touched on this particular subject. I think he has failed in proving that a right of *visitation* has grown up, distinct from the right of *search*, since the celebrated decision of Sir W. Scott in the *St. Louis*.

"In my pamphlet on the right of search I have stated how the conduct of the great continental powers on this matter has varied with the varying circumstances of their political relations with Great Britain (see pp. 60-62, 63). But I have fallen into an erroneous statement in respect to Portugal, at p. 133. The fact is, that the bill, instead of being dropped, was passed into a law, with some modifications, and actually carried into effect against that *little* state, so that instead of being, as I have stated, an *attempt* to enforce 'the abolition of the slave trade against other independent states by a British act of

Parliament,' this transition was in fact an instance of the actual carrying into effect of such a purpose which strengthens my argument. Portugal complained in vain to all the courts of Europe of this oppressive conduct on the part of her ancient ally, and the matter was finally adjusted by a treaty, recently concluded, but which I have not yet seen, in which Portugal concedes the right of search on certain conditions. . . .

"I assure you that the statements in my dispatch of the 16th of November proceeded on no light grounds. But I ought to have added that M. Guizot did not abandon, until the last moment, the hope, derived from I know not what source, that we would enter into some stipulation conceding the right of search, on some terms or conditions, as a means of excepting the prohibition of the slave trade. It was only when he was informed of the provisions contained in the Ashburton-Webster Treaty that he felt himself compelled to close the protocol without ratifying the Quintuple Treaty.

"You will observe in Mr. Senior's article, p. 372, 'Edinburgh Review,' April, that he talks of a right of search for the purpose of *inquiry* as being created, not by treaty, but by usage growing out of necessity. This right, according to him, is to be exercised, not for the purpose of *detention*, but merely for the purpose of ascertaining the national character of the vessel, which is to be let go if she turns out to be American, even if filled with a cargo of slaves. But neither he, nor any of the writers on the other side, have answered my dilemma as to what is to be done in case the boarding officer is not satisfied that the vessel is really and *bona fide* American. (See pp. 154, 155 of my pamphlet.) . . .

"The British claim, in theory, is now reduced to the mere right of stopping to inquire, and, in very suspicious cases, of seizing, at the peril of paying full damages if

they carry into port any American vessel by mistake. But in *practice*, the exercise of the remnant of their original claim, as set forth by Lord Palmerston, is so restrained by old instructions to their cruisers that the *casus belli* can hardly arise in the present pacific disposition of both countries. Give us a strong, clear, and conciliating article on this mighty theme."

In the "National Intelligencer," April 15, 1843, Mr. Sparks read that an American vessel, the Vincennes, had boarded, visited, and examined a Spanish vessel on the coast of Africa, under suspicion of being engaged in the slave trade. He wrote to Mr. Webster, April 20th, that if this was the practice of our vessels, it would be useless to cite authorities and argue against the right of search assumed by Great Britain. To Mr. Wheaton, Sparks wrote upon the same point, September 13, 1843, saying that he had abandoned the idea of writing upon this topic, for he had found that American cruisers were imitating English example, without public censure from our government, after all that had been said in presidential messages and Mr. Webster's correspondence.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

LYCEUM AND COLLEGE LECTURES.

MR. SPARKS began his career as an historical lecturer in Boston, some time before he accepted the call to a professorship in Harvard College. In his journal for November 2, 1838, is the following record: "Began a course of lectures in Boston on the American Revolution. The course is to consist of twelve lectures. The subject of the one delivered this evening was 'The Causes of the American Revolution,' delivered in the Masonic Temple before the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. The room was entirely full, all the tickets having been sold." The lectures were given weekly until January 25, 1839. The subjects were as follows: (1) Causes of the American Revolution; (2) First Continental Congress; (3) The Declaration of Independence; (4) Confederation of the States; (5) Continental Money and Finances of the Revolution; (6) Continental Army; (7) Military Operations of the Revolution; (8) The Treaty of Alliance between France and the United States; (9) Naval Operations of the Revolution; (10) Coöperation of the French and American Armies during the Revolution; (11) Attempts to negotiate Peace during the War of the Revolution; (12) Treaty of Peace at the Close of the American Revolution."

Three lectures in this course were given the same season before the Charlestown Lyceum, and single lectures were delivered in Brookline and Salem. In the fall of 1841 Mr. Sparks gave ten lectures on the American Revolu-

tion, in New York city, under the auspices of the New York Historical Society. The course opened November 5th in the chapel of the University. Mr. Sparks notes in his journal that the room was "well filled, but not crowded." The second night his audience was larger. The "New York Herald" for November 13th reported this lecture and the previous one with remarkable fullness, although not from the original manuscript. Indeed, the "Herald" continued to publish detailed reports throughout the course, and so did the "New York Express." "The University was crowded Monday night," said the enthusiastic "Herald" reporter, "with the beauty and fashion of the city, to hear the third lecture of Jared Sparks on the Declaration of Independence." The fourth and fifth nights were wet and inclement, but the audiences continued "crowded, brilliant, fashionable," if we may believe newspaper observations.

In his journal for November 18th Mr. Sparks records: "The chapel of the University, in which I have lectured, being crowded, and many persons expressing a desire to have the lectures repeated at another place, the committee of the Historical Society made arrangements for this purpose in the Tabernacle, a very large building in Broadway. I gave the first lecture this evening to a full audience, larger than can be accommodated at the University. I am now to lecture four times a week, Monday and Friday at the University, and Thursday and Saturday at the Tabernacle. At this latter place I have agreed to give only eight lectures; but I shall vary them and add to them, so that they will differ from those that I deliver at the University."

Public interest in Mr. Sparks' lectures seemed to widen to other cities. He was requested to repeat his course in Newark, Philadelphia, and also in Baltimore and Washington, after finishing his work in New York, but he felt

obliged to decline these invitations, and others from lyceums in the vicinity of New York. He did, however, extend his field to Brooklyn, as will appear from a letter to Mrs. Sparks, November 19, 1841. After speaking of his extra course in the Tabernacle, he said: "I have been prevailed [upon] also to lecture in Brooklyn one evening in a week, and after I have done in New York, three a week till eight lectures shall be given there. This will keep me two weeks longer than I intended, but I have thought it my duty to stay, especially as it will enable me to carry home about \$1,000 as the result of my labors. . . . If you were with me, and in health to enjoy yourself, I think I should go to Philadelphia and Baltimore; but as things are, I shall hasten back to my own dear home the moment of my release from my engagement here."

Mr. Sparks' journal and his letters to his wife indicate that the two months he spent in New York in 1841 were the busiest in his life. "My time," he wrote Mrs. Sparks, November 24th, "is filled up to the very brim. The lectures themselves are enough to occupy my whole time. I find it necessary to make additions and changes. So much attention has been drawn to them, and so high are the expectations from every lecture, that, for my own sake, I am obliged to study and write some parts anew, and to add new matter suited to the place and the occasion. This is no easy task, with people perpetually calling, and returning calls on my part, and making visits which civility requires, and going to parties, some of which are made expressly for me. It is a state of excitement and action which, with all my experience in such matters, I have never before been thrown into; and glad enough shall I be when I get through with it, and can go home and sit down with you in the study, and be at peace."

Mr. Sparks' most successful and popular lecture in

New York was one which he gave by special invitation, on "The Treason of Benedict Arnold and the Fate of Major André." In his journal, December 4th, Mr. Sparks made this note: "Studied the lecture on the 'Treason of Arnold,' which was given at the Tabernacle extempore, without manuscript or notes, to a very full audience. The lecture lasted an hour and a half." There was a great concourse of people the first night, and Mr. Sparks was urged to repeat the lecture. This note is from his journal, December 9, 1841: "Although I declined repeating the lecture on the 'Treason of Arnold' this evening, yet I was afterwards prevailed on by the committee of the Historical Society to do it. The room was more crowded than the last evening, when the newspapers said there were 2,000 people. I should think there were between 1,500 and 2,000. The lecture this evening was not in the regular course, but a separate lecture, for which the hearers purchased tickets for the evening; and the audience was of course composed of a different set of people from those who attended before. I spoke an hour and three quarters, and there was profound attention to the last. The proceeds of the lecture are for the benefit of the Historical Society. After the lecture I went to a small party at Dr. Delafield's." The "New York Herald" reported the above lecture at considerable length in its weekly edition, December 14, 1841, and reproduced the diagram which Mr. Sparks had employed for the graphic illustration of the localities connected with the treason of Arnold and the capture of André.

As regards the success of his New York courses in general, the following extract from a letter to Mrs. Sparks, December 7, 1841, affords a good basis for final judgment: "I have only one lecture more at the University. The ninth was given last evening, and the audience as full as ever; and hitherto there is no diminution that I

can perceive of the success of the lectures, and I hope now to get through the whole affair without discredit. I have four more lectures this week, one at the University, two at the Tabernacle, one at Brooklyn. There has been rain or snow almost every lecture night, but it has made little difference with the audience. One or two papers have undertaken to play the part of critics and to find fault. They want more oratorical display, picture-drawing, and deep philosophy. But you know the lectures are not founded on this basis. They aim only at instruction, and a clear elucidation of principles and facts. It is probable that more flourish in the style and declamation would be better suited to the New York taste. But I should doubtless fail in such an attempt, and I shall take care not to make it. I am abundantly gratified with the manner in which the lectures have been received, and the attention they have drawn."

Mr. Sparks' remarkable success as a public lecturer in New York reminds one of the earlier triumphs, in 1835 and 1838, of his friend Professor Silliman, in Boston, so well described in his biography with the aid of letters and journals, by Professor George P. Fisher. Silliman's lectures on geology and chemistry gave scientific prestige to Lowell Institute,¹ founded in the year 1830 by John Lowell. In 1842, Mr. Sparks was invited to lecture before this endowed lyceum, the best known in New England. The following note is from his journal, November 28, 1842: "For the last two months I have been employed in preparing a course of lectures for the Lowell Institute, on American history. I commenced

¹ For brief mention of the Lowell Institute and of Silliman's relation to it, see H. B. Adams' "Pioneers of University Extension," "Educational Review," October, 1891. See, also, Lilian Whiting's article on "The Lowell Institute" in a Philadelphia journal, called "University Extension," November, 1891.

delivering them at the Odéon this evening. The subject of the first lecture was The Principles of American Colonization. The remaining subjects were: The Colonial Governments; Colonial Legislation; Colonial Trade; Political Relations between England and the Colonies; Education and Religion in the Colonies; Colonial Wars; Elements of Union in the North American Colonies; Causes of the American Revolution; Military Affairs of the Revolution; Civil Affairs of the Revolution; Consequences of the American Revolution. The course embraced twelve lectures, and continued until January 6, 1843. The audience was large and miscellaneous, and constant in their attendance. The lectures were chiefly designed for instruction upon some of the prominent points of American History."

COLLEGE LECTURES.

It is time to say something concerning Professor Sparks' historical instruction at Harvard College. His lectures there were an adaptation of his lyceum course upon American history. Marginal notes upon the manuscript of these lectures, first read in Boston in 1838, show that they were used at "college" in the spring terms of 1839 and 1840. The text upon each of the great subjects above enumerated is quite extensive, and affords material for more than a single class lecture. Many paragraphs are crossed out in a way that would indicate the possibility of rapid and popular delivery upon public occasions. The lectures cover the entire ground of the American Revolution, and show both original investigation and thoughtful analysis. They are plain and straightforward in style, without any attempt at pictorial effects or rhetorical embellishment. Mr. Sparks' object seems to have been to tell in a direct and lucid style just how the American uprising occurred; how the colonies declared

themselves free and united; by what means, financial, military, naval, and diplomatic, they achieved their independence and secured peace.

The manuscript pages of these lectures are not accompanied by footnotes or any references to standard authorities, but there are incorporated into the text many citations, first-hand from original sources; here and there are pasted scraps of printed matter from the proof-sheets of Sparks' "Franklin," then going through the press. The whole appearance of these lectures on the American Revolution is that of an original and independent exposition of a great historic theme of which the writer's mind and heart were full. He wrote upon all topics which he attempted to treat, as freely as if he were writing a letter. Without any foreign training in the art of historical composition, he had learned the German rule that a historian must master his materials. He had prepared himself thoroughly for his present task by long preliminary studies in American and English archives, in connection with his editions of Washington and Franklin, and of the Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution. It was at one time the great ambition of his life to write an elaborate history of that important period. He had the materials for it, and his friends¹ urged him forward; but

¹ William H. Prescott wrote Mr. Sparks, January, 1, 1841, as follows: "Your last discovery in the British Museum is a mine indeed, and I entirely agree with you in the all-importance of manuscript materials. I have not communicated to Bancroft, now or before, what you have written, though I suppose you make no secret of it. But that is your affair. He knows your general success. He does not place, however, the same stress on original documents that you and I do. His third volume closes (perhaps you will think clips) the colonial history with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748. He intends to compress the Revolution into two volumes. His whole design and manner of execution are on so totally different a plan from your own, as I have ventured to say in my article in the 'North,' that it is not possible you should jostle each other any

Mr. Sparks finally concluded to leave the field to Mr. Bancroft, and to confine his own labors to the Diplomatic History of the Revolution.

Among the Sparks papers are "Historical Notes and Memoranda, 1839-1843," some of which were evidently used as briefs or materials for lectures and class instruction at Harvard College. These notes are upon such topics as colonization (ancient and modern), discoveries and first settlements of North America, colonial charters and forms of government, governors, councils, assemblies, legislation, judiciary, colonial literature, religion, colonial currency, manufactures, trade and commerce, parliamentary acts, colonial wars, causes of the Revolution, elements of union, consequences of the Revolution, the representative system, first constitutions of the States, etc. There are also notes for lectures upon the study of history in general, historical sources and the value of testimony, historical composition, the Greek and Roman historians, Niebuhr, Arnold, mode of studying history, etc. Mr. Sparks gave some lectures upon ancient history, with particular reference to the political institutions and confederacies of Greece. He evidently discovered certain

more than if one of you were to write his history in French." Again Prescott wrote, February 28, 1841: "Bancroft's plan is to do up his history of the Revolution in two volumes of 450 pages each. The first is to *end* with the battle of Bunker Hill. He has announced this. So you see the difference of plan and scale of dimensions will prevent much interference. He then proposes to continue the history down to perhaps the end of the last war, — the terminus is uncertain, — in two volumes more; then to bring his three colonial volumes into two, making the whole shipshape." Mr. Bancroft, when American minister to England, was at work in the English archives in 1847. See manuscript letter of Henry Stevens to Jared Sparks, February 3d of that year. Stevens wrote, June 18, 1849: "Mr. Bancroft has been very busy at the State Paper Office for the last six months, and has had a great many valuable papers copied."

parallels and contrasts between ancient and modern politics. He was particularly interested in such great movements as colonization, the Persian wars and their consequences to Greece. To mediæval history he himself paid little attention, but gave some valuable suggestions with regard to private reading on modern history, by topics, countries, and periods.

Mr. Sparks gave his special lectures on American history to the Senior class and to law students. Preliminary instruction in classical and general history was given by tutors to the Freshman and Sophomore classes. Some idea of the nature of Mr. Sparks' instruction to the Junior class may be derived from this extract from a letter to President Quincy, May 7, 1843: "The instructions of the professor to the Junior class have consisted in part of lectures on the objects, sources, and utility of history, the nature of historical evidence, and the rules of historical composition, with criticism on some of the principal authors, ancient and modern, and also with suggestions as to the best methods of studying history. Lectures on these topics, if properly constructed and adapted, must necessarily possess much practical utility."

HISTORICAL TEXT-BOOKS.

During his professorship at Harvard Mr. Sparks discovered the need of better historical texts. The following letter, July 23, 1839, to Dr. Francis Lieber, then professor of history and political science in South Carolina College, reveals Mr. Sparks' views upon the subject: "In reference to your inquiry as to my opinion concerning text-books of history, I can only say that I know of no such books suited to the systems of education usually pursued in our colleges and academies, and that I think books of this description, including both ancient and modern history, properly adapted to the purpose, would

be extremely useful, and supply a deficiency that is now felt in all our seminaries of learning. The study of history, as making a part of an elementary course of instruction, has hitherto been much neglected in this country, but it is every day becoming more and more an object of attention, and is beginning to be deemed essential. The want of suitable books has been an obstacle which it was not easy to overcome, and we cannot hope for much progress till this obstacle is removed. The experiment you propose, of preparing a text-book of ancient history within a reasonable compass and adapted to American institutions, I cannot but think would meet with all the success that could be desired for such an enterprise, either by the author or publishers; and if formed on a plan that might be continued in modern history, its value would be enhanced by rendering it part of a system, which, when carried out, would furnish a connected and complete course of historical study."

Francis Lieber did not carry out his original project of writing a history of ancient¹ political society for the historical instruction of American youth; but he finally brought the lessons of all European and particularly English history to bear upon their civic and moral training, in his classic works on "Civil Liberty and Self-Government" and "Political Ethics." It is interesting to reflect that the present strong currents of historical and political education first began to flow from two academic sources, one at the North and the other at the South. The fountains of American history were first opened for students at Harvard College by Jared Sparks; and the springs of historical politics and English eco-

¹ Mr. Sparks afterwards, December 30, 1842, wrote to Charles S. Wheeler, then at Heidelberg, with reference to an American edition of Schlosser's or Kortüm's Roman History, for use at Harvard. Ancient History was studied by the Freshmen, usually, under a tutor.

nomics were discovered anew for young Americans at Columbia, South Carolina, by Francis Lieber, the German pupil of Niebuhr, and by Thomas Cooper, the English friend and companion of Priestley.

In connection with his course to the Junior class at Harvard, Mr. Sparks employed Professor William Smyth's "Lectures on Modern History,"¹ which he introduced to his students in an American edition, for which he prepared the preface. The work was adopted in 1840 as a text-book by the corporation of Harvard College, upon recommendation by Professor Sparks. In a letter, October 13, 1841, to Professor Smyth, of Cambridge, England, Mr. Sparks said: "Hitherto the 'Lectures on Modern History' only have been printed. I recommended this work as a text-book for one of the classes in Harvard University. It is printed in the same style as the English edition. At the request of the publisher, I have contributed a preface to this American edition, which I hope you will not think misplaced, although I have used the freedom to express opinions as well as to state facts. Mr. Ticknor proposes to send you a copy. The work is not yet published, although copies have been furnished for the college during the last term.

"The publisher informs me that the lectures on the French Revolution will not be put to press till after the other volumes are fairly in the market. Before the

¹ A second edition of Smyth's "Lectures" was published in 1849. It was carefully revised by Mr. George Nichols, of Cambridge, who rearranged the crude and ill-digested materials of the English edition, corrected the numerous errors in the spelling of proper names, and many infelicities and inaccuracies of expression. See letters of George Nichols to Jared Sparks, June 16 and July 6, 1849. The chronological table in the first American edition was prepared by Samuel Longfellow. Many mistakes occurred. In the second edition the tables were drawn up anew by Mr. Nichols, from Sir Harris Nicolas' "Chronology of History," corrected by "L'Art de Vérifier les Dates."

printers begin, I will take care that all your corrections shall be inserted. I will request Mr. Ticknor also to revise the corrections. Be assured, sir, I shall be most happy to do anything in my power to aid in bringing before the American public a work so valuable in itself, and so useful in its influences. The two lectures on America do not accord so well with my own sentiments as some of the others. . . .

“I recollect with great pleasure the evening we passed together at Miss Aikin’s. About a year ago I spent two or three days at Cambridge, and was disappointed at not seeing you there. I hope you received the card which I left for you with the porter of Peter House. I met with many civilities which made the time pass agreeably.”

HISTORY AND POLITICS.

Mr. Sparks, although he himself was specially devoted to American history, always advocated for Harvard students preliminary courses in general European and ancient history. At one time during his professorship there was a disposition on the part of the authorities to curtail historical work for the sake of making room for political economy and civil polity, which subjects were very properly thought to belong to the historical department. Professor Sparks addressed, May 7, 1843, the following remonstrance to President Quincy, and offered half his salary to provide for the above subjects, if history could be kept upon the existing basis: “By the present arrangement, it seems that the instruction in history hitherto given to the Freshman and Junior classes is to be relinquished, in consequence of the full salary paid to the professor of history for teaching political economy and civil polity in addition to his former instruction to the Senior and Junior classes. I cannot but think that the true interests of the college will be essen-

tially injured by this change. I doubt if any study during the Freshman year is of more real importance to the students than that of ancient history. It not only fixes impressions and facts which ought to be possessed by every educated man, but it becomes the basis of better success in their collateral and subsequent studies by affording direct and useful illustrations of the classics. Nor is any period in life so well suited to this kind of study as the first year in college, intimately connected as it is with other studies which occupy a large portion of the time.

“It is understood that the draft upon the college funds in paying so large a salary to the professor is the reason for thus curtailing the department of history. I confess that I am unwilling to stand in a position which is made to operate so unfavorably to the best interests of the college, and which diminishes instead of increasing a branch of study expressly intended by the foundation of the professorship to be fostered and enlarged; and this the more especially as history is one of the great departments in all the European universities of modern growth, and is becoming daily more and more extended in the American colleges.

“As a remedy, therefore, I propose that I should be put on the same footing as formerly; that is, to instruct the Junior and Senior classes, with a salary of one thousand dollars a year. For a less sum than the other thousand dollars now paid to the professor, a competent officer may undoubtedly be employed to teach political economy, Judge Story’s work on the Constitution, and history to Sophomore and Freshman classes. He might also teach a voluntary class in history, which ought by all means to be provided for in carrying out the present system of voluntary studies as applied in the other departments.”

Mr. Sparks felt so deeply upon this question that he addressed another letter to President Quincy the very next day, May 8, 1843: "The more I reflect on the subject, the more I am impressed with the conviction that history ought to be restored to its former footing as a course of study in the college. On looking over the tables for the coming year, one is struck with the small space it occupies, compared with other studies which cannot be deemed more useful or important. Not only two classes are deprived of all the benefit of the instruction in this branch which they have before received, but every student is likewise deprived of the privilege of selecting this study while selection is allowed in every other department. If the voluntary system is considered an advantage, it should undoubtedly be open to the choice of the students in history as fully as in the other branches. I have made an estimate of the number of hours of instruction that would be required for teaching history¹ if restored to its former place, including political economy and constitutional law, as follows: —

"Political economy, 5 hours in a week, 20 weeks,	100 hours.
History, Freshman class, 3 hours in a week,	
one term	60 hours.
History, Sophomore class, 2 hours in a week,	
one term	40 hours.
Voluntary course, 3 hours in a week, the same	
as mathematics and the languages	120 hours.
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/> 320 hours.

"This is on the supposition that the volunteers in the three classes will recite together. If they are divided, as perhaps they should be in some manner, it would, of course, take more hours. You will see that there is

¹ Mr. Sparks was in the habit of giving two lectures a week to the Junior class, and two to the Senior.

employment enough for another officer. As my proposal for giving up half the salary now paid to me, and retreating back to my former post, has for its only object the restoration of historical studies in the college to their proper rank, and as a competent instructor can be procured for a less amount than that relinquished by me, I cannot but hope that such an arrangement, when maturely considered, will be looked upon as the most advisable." These remonstrances led to special provision for political economy and civil polity¹ in connection with the historical department.

A general statement concerning the position established for history at Harvard College appears in the following extract from Mr. Sparks' letter to G. A. Ward, of New York, May 30, 1845: "You ask me in what way we teach history in our university. You are aware that in all colleges it is necessary to assign the time for each department of study somewhat in proportion to its relative importance. In our college, history is studied as follows: A part of twenty weeks is given to it by each class, that is, three exercises a week during that time by the Freshman class; two exercises a week by the Sophomores, two by the Juniors, and two by the Seniors. The Freshmen are occupied with ancient history, the Sophomores and Juniors with modern, and the Seniors with American history. The two upper classes are taught chiefly by lectures, the others by text-books."

It is not necessary to follow in this connection the routine of department work during the remaining years of Mr. Sparks' historical professorship at Harvard College. The educational significance of this pioneer work

¹ These subjects continued for some years to be taught by tutors. By vote of the corporation, June 10, 1848, the instruction in political economy and constitutional law was again committed to Professor Sparks, at an increased salary.

from 1839 to 1849 has been elsewhere¹ pointed out by the writer. It will here suffice to say that Jared Sparks was not only the first professor of history in the oldest of American colleges, but he was also the first academic representative of historical science and original research in New England. His lectures on American history were drawn directly from the sources, and mark, together with the literary lectures of George Ticknor, Henry W. Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, Francis J. Child, and other Harvard professors, the beginning of a new era in American scholarship. History, political science, and the modern languages have risen, with the natural sciences, to great prominence in our modern college courses, but it is well to remember the beginnings of this remarkable development process in the days of George Ticknor, Jared Sparks, Francis Lieber, Francis Bowen, Theodore Woolsey, Benjamin Silliman, Asa Gray, Josiah Cook, Louis Agassiz, and of many other well-known men in the fields of science and literature.

In closing this account of Jared Sparks' professorial career, 1839-49, it should be remarked that they were busy years in point of literary and editorial work. He completed his edition of Franklin in 1840. The following years were occupied with study, travel, the preparation of lectures, the collection of historical materials, and the editing of fifteen volumes of American Biography. For this second series, published in 1844-48, Mr. Sparks wrote eight distinct Lives.²

¹ Chapter on "History at Harvard," in a report by H. B. Adams on "The Study of History in American Colleges and Universities," published by the Bureau of Education, 1887.

² See chapter on "The Library of American Biography," *ante*, 207.

CHAPTER XXIX.

PRESIDENT OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY.¹

1849-1853.

TWENTY years before Mr. Sparks was chosen to be the president of Harvard, his name was proposed for this honorable office. When the venerable Dr. Kirkland resigned the presidency in 1828, there was, for a short time, an interregnum. Two parties took the field, one favoring George Ticknor, the other Edward Everett. Two thirds of the electors were said to be in favor of Ticknor, but Everett was the more popular candidate. Party spirit ran so high that it seemed unwise, if not impossible, to elect either of these gentlemen. Mr. Sparks began to be talked of as the candidate who could harmonize conflicting interests and best serve the needs of the college. Samuel A. Eliot, William H. Eliot, and J. G. Palfrey were particularly desirous of seeing their friend Sparks at the head of Harvard College. At this time Mr. Sparks

¹ In the archives of Harvard University are two bound volumes of reports and other papers relating to Harvard College during the administration of President Sparks. Among the Sparks papers is a bound volume of manuscript drafts of annual and special reports, with other documents and papers concerning Harvard College from the year 1849 to 1853. Most important is the "Memorial of the President and Fellows of Harvard College" to the legislature in 1850, in defense of the autonomy of the institution. There is a bound volume of "Notices of Harvard College" from 1849 to 1853, taken from contemporary newspapers. There are also two volumes of manuscript memoranda concerning the president's office during the years of Mr. Sparks' administration.

was absent in Europe, prosecuting historical researches in foreign archives. He was urged to allow his name to be used in the presidential campaign. It is quite clear, from letters¹ written at this period, that his nomination was seriously considered by a much wider constituency than that of his own personal friends.

The following letter from William H. Eliot, January 26, 1829, shows something of the feeling entertained towards Mr. Sparks at this time, and explains how the election finally turned: "You have great reason to be pleased with the disposition expressed by persons in and out of office to procure for you this appointment. The only objection I have heard stated to your election by any reasonable man was, that you were engaged in such important literary occupations that you could not be expected to abandon these and devote yourself exclusively to the college. . . . I have heard many persons say, and I do not speak of your particular friends, that if you had been in the country you would have been chosen. This, and the unquestionable fact that if Quincy had not lost his election as mayor he would never have been thought of for the office, shows upon what trifles great events sometimes hinge in this world. . . . The overseers meet on Thursday to consider the nomination, and I shall keep this letter open till the result is known. I will not say I regret your absence, though it may have lost you this place; for the objects of your absence, and I doubt not your success in effecting them, will always satisfy

¹ Letters of Samuel A. Eliot to Jared Sparks, September 10 and December 24, 1828, and January 16, 1829, and letter of J. G. Palfrey, December 30, 1828. S. A. Eliot said, December 24, 1828: "I have the satisfaction of knowing that your name meets with general if not universal approbation. I have thought it would be well to sound a few of the leading men among us, and I have not yet encountered a dissenting voice."

you and your friends that you have done right in going abroad. Come home as soon as you have accomplished these, and do not forget, if you still entertain any of your eager desires to travel for the gratification of your curiosity, how important it is for the present to suppress them. Since I began this letter (it is now the 29th of January) the overseers have confirmed the nomination of Quincy to the presidency by a vote of forty to twenty-six."

President Quincy continued in office from 1829 to 1846, when he resigned. Edward Everett was chosen to be his successor, but he held the presidency only three years. Failing health compelled him also to withdraw. "The eminent position of Mr. Sparks in the literature of the country, and his connection with the college in an important department of instruction, distinctly pointed him out as the successor."¹

The first overture is recorded in Mr. Sparks' journal, November 28, 1848: "Professor Parsons and Professor Felton called on me this evening. Professor Parsons had received a letter from a member of the corporation of Harvard College, stating that President Everett had signified his intention to resign his office at the end of the present term, and requesting him to ascertain from me whether I would accept the presidency if I should be elected. This is the usual course in all the principal appointments by the corporation.

"We had a free conversation upon the subject. In fact, the rumor of President Everett's resignation and of my being thought of as a candidate had already gone abroad, and the principal bearings of the question had, of course, passed through my mind. Mr. Everett² has found

¹ "Addresses at the Inauguration of Jared Sparks, LL. D., as President of Harvard College," p. 4. Preliminary notice, p. 4, by Professor C. C. Felton, chairman of the committee of the faculty.

² Ex-President Everett, writing to President Sparks, September 8,

the office very burdensome from the number of details that have accumulated in the interior operations of the college, and been thrown into the hands of the president. I told Professor Parsons at once that I could never accept the office on its present footing; that I could not incur my time and exhaust my spirits with such a mass of small details, which properly belonged to the subordinate officers; and that some radical changes were requisite in the present plan of instruction, particularly in what is called the 'Elective System.' Professor Parsons said that he believed all these matters would be made satisfactory to me; and Professor Felton thought the faculty would readily accede to such propositions as I should make. Other topics were discussed, and I told the gentlemen that I would consider the subject.

"*December 5th.* — Mr. Eliot, a member of the corporation, and treasurer of the college, conversed with me on the same subject. He used various arguments to induce me to accept the office, and expressed a decided opinion that the corporation would be disposed to make such arrangements as would be satisfactory to me. I told him that I had also literary labors in hand, which I could not consent to relinquish, and that this should be fully understood by the corporation if they should think of electing me."

On the 6th of January, 1849, the corporation of Harvard College, Lemuel Shaw, Charles G. Loring, James Walker, J. A. Lowell, B. R. Curtis, and Samuel A. Eliot, requested Mr. Sparks to give his assent to a proposed election to the presidency. Mr. Sparks replied, January 15th, as follows: "Gentlemen, — I have received your letter of the 6th instant, inviting me by a unanimous

1851, to return a few papers belonging to his office, said, "Among them is a valuable letter from Fisher Ames declining the offer of the presidency. A wise man was Fisher Ames."

resolution of your board to accept the office of President of Harvard College, and requesting some expression of my consent to accept the office when elected. Understanding this resolution to be final as to the intention of the corporation, I have bestowed upon it all the consideration which the limited time could allow; but not so much, I fear, as the importance of the subject requires. I have concluded, however, in case the election should fall on me, to accept the appointment.

“In giving this assent, I deem it proper to repeat, as constituting in part the ground upon which it is founded, what I have more fully explained in my interviews with the several members of the corporation. It is known that I have been for some time engaged in literary work, which is now in progress, and which it is my purpose to complete. I believe that such an undertaking can be in no respect inconsistent with the interests of the college, and, while the appropriate duties of the president are faithfully executed, I shall consider myself at liberty, without incurring a suspicion of neglect, to devote to it such portions of time as I may find at my disposal.

“Again, the details of the president’s office have by usage gradually become so numerous and burdensome that I confess I should not hesitate to decline the honorable station you have proffered to me, if it involved the necessity of executing or even superintending these details as they now exist. I do not think that the mind and energies of the president should be exhausted by the perpetual recurrence and accumulation of labors of this kind, which may be as promptly and more properly performed by others. Knowing as I do the disposition and practice of all the members of the faculty scrupulously to perform every duty incumbent on them, and in such a manner as in their judgment will best contribute to the internal prosperity of the college, I cannot doubt that they will

cheerfully unite in devising some method either of diminishing the number of these details,¹ or assigning the execution of them to various hands. I will add only that from the views which I believe the corporation generally to entertain on this subject, I rely on their countenance and sanction of any arrangement which may be thought practicable and reasonable for attaining the object desired, with due reference to the judgment and experience of the faculty.

“I assure you, gentlemen, that I look forward with unfeigned diffidence to the discharge of so weighty and responsible a trust; and my only hope of being able to fulfill your expectations, and to justify the confidence you have placed in me, rests on the conviction that I shall be aided and sustained by your counsels, encouragement, and cordial support.”

Upon his formal nomination by the corporation to the Board of Overseers for confirmation, Mr. Sparks received from the Hon. Josiah Quincy, ex-president of Harvard College, a cordial personal letter. To this Mr. Sparks

¹ Mr. Sparks devised a plan for committing routine work to a so-called “Regent,” appointed by the president and acting under his direction. This was the first step towards a good system of administration at Harvard College by deans and other responsible officers. The regent’s office and duties were defined in a circular drawn up by Mr. Sparks and issued April 10, 1849. All weekly lists and absences, monitor’s bills, petitions for excuse of absences, petitions for elective studies and changes in those studies, and all reports of marks and delinquencies were to be given to the regent, who was to give them all the attention required. He was to report students to the president and faculty only when a caution or censure was needed. He was to take charge of and distribute all necessary blanks required in college administration. He was to issue necessary notifications and invitations, and to perform other duties of a clerical nature. He was also to preserve and classify all the papers belonging to his office. He was to act as a medium of communication between the faculty and the students.

replied, January 23, 1849: "Allow me to thank you for your kind note, which affords me both pleasure and encouragement. That you should cordially approve the choice of the corporation, and express a confidence in the result, I assure you gives me great satisfaction, and diminishes in some degree the doubt which I have sincerely felt of the wisdom of my friends in selecting me for this very responsible office.

"My pursuits and my experience have but imperfectly qualified me for such a trust; and if the nomination should be confirmed, I know not how the deficiencies can so well be supplied as by the good counsels which your long acquaintance with the duties of the office may enable you to bestow. In an undertaking so arduous, my ambition need not rise higher than to emulate the example and attain the success of one who has trodden the path before me with so much honor to himself and benefit to the college."

Mr. Sparks' nomination was duly confirmed by the Board of Overseers, and Wednesday, the 20th of June, 1849, was fixed upon for the day of inauguration. Mr. Sparks wrote, February 19, 1849, to Messrs. Samuel A. Eliot and John A. Lowell, committee of the corporation, urging greater simplicity than was customary at Harvard presidential inaugurations. He said the expenses of the last ceremony of that kind had amounted to nearly thirteen hundred dollars. He suggested that the inauguration take place on Commencement Day. "At the beginning of the exercises, let the governor and president interchange their addresses according to the usual form, and then let the order of the day go forward as if nothing had happened. In this way the whole business may be dispatched in a quarter of an hour, in the presence of as large an audience as could be collected on a separate occasion, without any cost to the college or any of the

inconveniences that would attend the ceremony on a day set apart expressly for the purpose."

This proposition for a Harvard inauguration seems, from the official record of proceedings, to have been overruled for the glory of the college. There was, of course, the usual stately procession of undergraduates, resident graduates, members of scientific and professional schools, followed by a band of music. Then came the librarian bearing the college seal and charter, and the steward with the college keys. Members of the corporation, professors and instructors, ex-Presidents Quincy and Everett, the sheriffs of Suffolk and Middlesex, his excellency the governor and the president-elect, the governor's staff and state officials, the "Honorable and Reverend Overseers," trustees of the charity of Edward Hopkins and various committees, members of Congress, presidents of other colleges in New England, judges, mayor and city officers of Cambridge, and the alumni of the college. It was a splendid academic pageant as it moved, under the direction of numerous marshals, from Gore Hall to the church.

After certain musical and religious exercises, the first address was by his Excellency Governor Briggs, who inducted the new president into his office. The historic connection between Harvard College and the State of Massachusetts was represented by the governor upon such great academic occasions as Commencement and Inauguration.¹ His excellency addressed "Jared Sparks" by name and said: "You having been duly elected presi-

¹ "The presence of the chief magistrate, . . . and the formality with which he invests the new officer with his responsible charge, are tokens of the abiding interest which the Commonwealth has taken in the welfare of this ancient university; and they tacitly impose on its government an obligation to manage its affairs with such a measure of fidelity, vigilance, and wisdom as shall fulfill the hopes of its friends, and at least deserve the approbation of a discerning and enlightened public." — President Sparks' Inaugural Address.

dent of Harvard College, in compliance with ancient custom, and in the name of the overseers, I do now and here invest you with the government of that institution, to be exercised in the same manner and to the same extent as has heretofore been done by your predecessors in office. These keys, with this seal and charter, I deliver to you as badges of authority, confiding that you will exercise and administer the same according to the usages of the institution, and in obedience to the constitution and laws of this Commonwealth.

“Under bright and favorable auspices, sir, you are this day invested with an authority, and enter upon a trust, in an important department in life, and of great interest to yourself, to the young men of the country, and to ‘the republic of letters.’ In the severe labor of delineating the character of the Father of his country, of writing a record of his thoughts and actions, and in other kindred works, you have enriched the literature of your country, and earned for yourself a name that will live as long as letters shall last.

“Having performed this service for history and for the literary world, and done justice to the memories of distinguished men, who have served their generation well and passed away, it is appropriate that you should now come up to this seat of learning and enter upon the more important work of instructing the youth of the republic.”

In the course of his address, Governor Briggs made an allusion to free schools, and to the importance of a close connection between them and the college. In replying, Mr. Sparks in his turn paid a tribute to popular education: “Many of my earliest and dearest associations are centred within the narrow walls of the school-room. Nurtured during my childhood and youth in the common schools of New England, and for six winters a teacher of a common school, I have reason to be grateful for the

benefits derived from them in forming both my mind and character. Nor is it too much to say that, for such of the qualifications as I may possess for understanding and discharging some of the most important duties of the station in which I am now placed, I have been more indebted to the seeds planted in the common schools, and to the experience which strengthened their growth, than to the later instruction and discipline of a college."

President Sparks' inaugural address¹ related to the means, methods, and objects of a collegiate education, particularly such as were then adapted to the state and prospects of the country. He held to the essential truth of what is now called the New Education, that all schools and colleges are for discipline, training, and the development of power. The educational process never ends. "Life is a school, in which every man learns till his waning glass runs out. Experience teaches more than the college; the daily wonders of nature and the stirring world, more than books. In colleges we lay the foundation, we begin the work, and our main concern is that it will be well begun." He reviewed the history and vindicated the character of American collegiate education, with its traditional four years' course and democratic class system. He opposed the idea of sacrificing the many to the few.² "Unquestionably, we should endeavor,

¹ Professor J. L. Kingsley, of Yale College, to Jared Sparks, New Haven, August 1, 1849: "I have received the copy of your inaugural address which you have obligingly sent me, for which I return you my thanks. I approve of every word of it; and especially of what you say of the subdivision of classes, and of the elective system. Your views on these subjects are precisely my own."

² The plan of dividing a class into sections according to proficiency prevailed during the administrations of Presidents Quincy and Everett, but was abandoned at the beginning of President Sparks' régime. See Professor Goodwin's address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, June 25, 1891, on "The Present and Future of Harvard College," p. 11.

by every exertion and every motive, to raise high the standard of scholarship, and offer encouragement to those who would come up to it; yet our duty demands of us to apply the means, as well as the encouragement, alike to all. We are educating men for the public, for the open conflicts of life, rather than for the thoughtful seclusion of the closet. . . . It is our business, as far as we can, to qualify young men to sustain with dignity, intelligence, and success the station of the American citizen, in all its relations and duties."

The new president improved his opportunity to make a vigorous attack upon the elective or voluntary system, "by which the student is allowed to choose certain branches of study and neglect others." Mr. Sparks thought the doctrine of election ought to apply to the choice of a profession or object in life rather than to preliminary college discipline. He said it was a fallacy to infer that a student is a better scholar because he makes himself highly accomplished in one study. The power prematurely gained in one direction must necessarily be lost in another. If Mr. Sparks had lived in the days of modern athletics, he might have strengthened his argument by a passing reference to the symmetrical training which the friends of physical culture now demand. He made, however, a few pertinent inquiries which advocates of any one-sided or *laissez faire* system of electives will always find it difficult to answer:—

"It is an interesting inquiry, also, upon what principle the choice is to be made. Is it certain that in each case the study most important to the individual will be selected? Is a young man in the midst of his college life the best judge? In most cases, what will be the ground of preference? Will he not be apt to look upon that study as the most useful to him which appears the most attractive, and which demands the least labor? Does he stop

to consider whether the study of his choice is really the one which will be the most profitable to him in the end? Moreover, has he any clear proof, or even a conviction upon probable evidence, that the study he neglects will not be necessary to his future success? Suppose he were to become an engineer, how far will his double portion of Greek and Latin compensate for the mathematics which he thought too hard to be mastered in college, and which he easily persuaded himself could be of little use anywhere? . . .

“There are those who think the experiment worthy of a trial, at all events in a few of the studies. It may be so; but, in my opinion, the fewer the better. Mathematics may be an exception. There is so general an opinion among students, particularly in their early college life, that the mysteries of the mathematics are above their comprehension, — the mathematical faculty being, as they suppose, a gift of nature conferred on a few favored mortals only, — that it might be hazardous to deny a position maintained by such numbers, although it may be doubted whether it is the result of resolute and laborious experiment on their part. To accommodate such misgiving minds, however, it may not be amiss to leave mathematics, at the proper stage of the college course, in the category of elective studies.”

The administration of President Sparks, 1849–53, witnessed a vigorous attack upon the whole elective system, which had been in slow process of evolution since the time of George Ticknor’s professorship¹ (1819–35). Mr. Ticknor had taken electives at Göttingen, and was well acquainted with Jefferson’s project for university

¹ The question of the origin of the elective system at Harvard College is discussed in a monograph on “Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia,” chapter ix., by Herbert B. Adams, Bureau of Education, 1888.

studies arranged in schools or departments. The modern languages at Harvard were early offered as substitutes for certain courses. Mathematics was made an elective in 1839 after Freshman year. Students could then stop at spherical trigonometry, or could elect more advanced mathematical courses.¹ President Sparks, in his inaugural address, favored the retention of mathematics as an elective. He was personally a strong believer in this study as a means of mental discipline. In his own college days he had won distinction in this field of required study, as we have already seen in an earlier chapter.² His theory of college education was in harmony with the earlier traditions of classical and mathematical culture. Upon the basis of a broad and liberal study of the arts and sciences he would have built special and professional work. He wanted a definite arrangement, or proper sequence, of required studies in order to insure a well-balanced and symmetrical training for every student whom the college should send out into the world. He himself had done a vast amount of private reading³ in connection with his regular college studies. This kind of elective or voluntary work President Sparks was always glad to encourage.

In his first annual report, President Sparks thus reviews the history⁴ and results of the elective system at

¹ See catalogues of Harvard College for 1839-40, p. 25 note, and for 1840-41, p. 27 note. Speaking of this early mathematical elective, Colonel T. W. Higginson once said to the writer: "I have reason to remember it well, for I was one of those who kept on and got the freshness and interest of the improved system." Colonel Higginson was in the class of 1841.

² See vol. i. p. 84.

³ See vol. i. pp. 79, 80.

⁴ Another account of the elective or voluntary system may be found in "A Memorial concerning the Recent History and Constitutional Rights and Privileges of Harvard College, presented by the

Harvard College, down to the close of the year 1850: "It is known that, about ten years ago,¹ the elective system, so called, was introduced, by which the students of all the classes, except the Freshmen, were allowed to choose certain studies and omit others, among those which had before been required as constituting a full college course. Sanguine hopes were entertained of the benefits to be derived from this change, as well by a large portion of the officers of instruction, as by many members of the two superintending boards. It was believed that this privilege of choice would lead to higher attainments in some of the branches, and enable the students to devote their time to such special studies as would best qualify them for their future pursuits in life.

"This system was attractive in theory, but in framing it the consideration was not sufficiently weighed: that what was gained in one study must be lost in another; that an education consists not in a knowledge of any particular class of facts; that a thorough discipline of all the powers of the mind is necessary; that this discipline can be attained only by training the intellectual faculties in due proportions and in a variety of exercises, and especially that young men in college are seldom competent judges of President and Fellows to the Legislature, January 17, 1851," pp. 12-14. The historical part of this report, signed by President Sparks and the members of the corporation, was written by him, and contains views of the elective system that are quite in harmony with those quoted above. The legal argument against proposed interference by the legislature was written by Mr. Charles S. Loring. This memorial is full of valuable historical and legal materials regarding Harvard College. It records, pp. 11, 12, the failure of a system, adopted in 1826 and tried for twenty years, of educating special students not candidates for a degree. Only forty-eight students applied for special courses in twenty years. This early system was supplanted by the Lawrence Scientific School, and by the elective system.

¹ Mr. Sparks dates the elective or voluntary system from 1838.

the kind of studies best suited to prepare them for the active pursuits of manhood. The system was subjected, however, to a fair and patient trial. In practice it never fulfilled all the expectations of its framers, and it soon began to fall into partial disfavor. At first the liberty of choice was extended to a large portion of the studies, that is, to the ancient and modern languages, mathematics, intellectual philosophy, natural philosophy, and history. The result was not satisfactory, and the number of elective studies was gradually diminished. The next step was to withdraw the Sophomore class wholly from the operation of the system, and to confine it, in the two upper classes, to the languages and mathematics.

“Such was the state of the experiment at the close of the last academical year, when it underwent a further modification. The objection to it was not that the studies last mentioned were optional, but that too large a portion of time was assigned to the study of languages at an advanced stage of the college course. All the members of the Junior and Senior classes were required to take two of those studies, such as they might prefer, and to have three exercises a week in each of them. Moreover, so large a number of studies, pursued at the choice of individuals, created confusion and inconvenience in the hours of recitation by multiplying the sections, and by bringing the exercises of many of the students wholly before dinner, thus leaving no claims upon their time in the afternoon; and, in some cases, provision could be made for only two exercises in a day.

“These objections have been removed by confining the liberty of choice to one of the optional studies instead of two. Each member of the Junior class may select either Greek, Latin, mathematics, Spanish, or German, but he is obliged to take one of them; and each member of the Senior class must take either Greek, Latin, mathematics,

Spanish, German, Italian, or Hebrew. Both classes have three exercises a week in these studies, and each student must continue in the studies selected by him throughout the year. If any student desires to pursue the study of two languages at the same time, he is at liberty to take one as an extra exercise, and join two sections, but he is not allowed any credit on the scale of rank for such extra study.

“The effect of this modification is to diminish by one half the amount of time which had been bestowed on the languages by the two upper classes under the elective system. The space thus left vacant has been filled up, in the Junior class, by two additional recitations a week for the whole class in intellectual philosophy during the first term, and of lectures on Roman literature, Greek literature, and history; and in the Senior class, by one additional recitation a week on the Constitution of the United States during one term, and by lectures on history and political economy, intellectual philosophy and modern literature.”

Mr. Sparks states that attendance on two lectures was considered equivalent to one recitation. Among other advantages of this limited or regulated system of electives, he notes that every student, while required to have three exercises a week in French in the Sophomore year, subsequently had opportunity of devoting the same amount of study to each of two other modern languages as electives, in place of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, or mathematics. In the second year of Mr. Sparks' administration, certain changes were made in the number of elective studies in the Junior and Senior years, with a view to allowing a student the opportunity of taking as many courses as practicable in languages, ancient or modern.

On the question of dividing a class into sections according to scholarship, Mr. Sparks had decided views: “The

practice of dividing the Freshman and Sophomore classes according to the progress or scholarship of individuals, which was introduced several years ago, has been discontinued, and all the divisions are now alphabetical. Advantages were supposed to arise from the former mode of classification, especially as connected with the elective system, but its expediency under any circumstances is at least questionable."¹

In his third and last annual report (1852), President Sparks recurs to the subject of the Harvard elective system: "The voluntary system, as it has been called, is still retained to a certain extent, rather from necessity than preference. The number and variety of the studies for which the university has provided instruction are so large that it is impossible for any student, within the period of four years, to give such a degree of attention to them all as will enable him to acquire more than limited and superficial knowledge, from which little profit can be derived. Arrangements are made, therefore, by which students of the Junior and Senior classes may elect certain branches, and bestow upon them an adequate portion of time. These elective studies are confined to the ancient and modern languages and the mathematics. In all the other branches the college course is the same throughout for every student."

Professor William Watson Goodwin, in his Phi Beta Kappa address, June 25, 1891, on "The Present and Future of Harvard College," has given a most interesting account of the development of the modern elective system and of its revolutionary influence in college education. He admits that, under the old or required system of instruction, "many men left these halls inspired with a genuine love of classical learning, which has been a powerful influence for good to themselves and to others." He

¹ President Sparks' Annual Report, 1850, p. 14.

speaks not unkindly of that early time when the demands of the college were small but personal enthusiasm was great, when the academic repose of Cambridge made it easy to cultivate learning for learning's sake. There was even then in operation a truly voluntary or elective system, from which individual minds derived great benefit. This golden age of student leisure at Harvard was destroyed by the multiplication of required studies, and by the introduction of written examinations. "Thus," says Professor Goodwin, "the moderate special scholarship which the older system secured was undermined on two sides, and every year was making this worse."

Undoubtedly the development of the elective system at Harvard College was an educational and historic necessity. The resultant advantages to professors and some of their students, in point of advanced teaching and higher scholarship, far transcend the accompanying evils. But the friends of liberal culture can hardly cease to deplore, with Professor Goodwin, that "young men go out from college stamped with the highest marks of honor, who have never read a line of the Iliad, who do not know what a syllogism is, or the difference between a planet and a fixed star." Professor Goodwin, while justifying the elective system on account of the good it has done in opening up to students the highest instruction in every department, believes that a corrective will be found in the near future for much if not all of the present acknowledged evil. If the college is really to remain the seat of liberal culture, and not become a collection of professional schools, as Professor Goodwin regards all the graduate departments of Harvard University, there must be some harmony established between the modern system of electives and the old-fashioned required course, so consistently advocated by President Sparks. A possible relief from present difficulties seems to lie in a combina-

tion of old and new, in the so-called "group system," which offers different and well-regulated combinations of studies for the Bachelor's degree, while at the same time insuring to every student a fairly liberal education, whatever curriculum he may elect. It is surely desirable to have such a thing as symmetry in the intellectual as well as in the physical development of college students. For a mere undergraduate a special education is far from liberal, while for a graduate it may be both liberal and professional.

In passing, it is interesting to note the "Present Ideals of American University Life" as defined by Josiah Royce, of Harvard University, in "Scribner's Magazine" for September, 1891. He says: "The traditional college had as its chosen office the training of individual minds. The modern university has as its highest business, to which all else is subordinate, the organization and advance of learning. Not that the individual minds are now neglected. They are wisely regarded as the servants of the one great cause. But the real mind which the university has to train is the mind of the nation, that concrete social mind whereof we are all ministers and instruments. The daily business of the university is, therefore, first of all, the creation and the advance of learning, as the means whereby the national mind can be trained. . . . In the true university the undergraduate ought to feel himself a novice in an order of learned servants of the ideal, — a novice who, if in turn he be found willing and worthy, may be admitted, after his first degree, to the toils and privileges of this order as a graduate, or, still later, as a teacher; but who, on the other hand, if, as will most frequently happen, he is not for this calling, will be sent back to the world enriched by his undergraduate years of intercourse with his fellows, and with elder men and progressive scholars. The ideal academic life, then, is not organized expressly for him.

. . . It is a mistake to think first of 'disciplining' the undergraduate mind, and then of higher academic purposes. First, let us seek the highest, which is organized scholarship."

In his time, President Sparks was not insensible of the need of reform in college education. We find him, May 27, 1850, sending to Henry Stevens for all the pamphlets and documents regarding London University and its affiliated colleges, together with all the printed lectures that had been delivered by London professors and published by Taylor in Gower Street. Still earlier he had made careful study of the modes of academic work at Oxford and Cambridge, at the Sorbonne and the Collège de France, with a view to discovering possible improvements for Harvard. While president, he made diligent inquiries of President Woolsey and Professor Kingsley concerning Yale methods, and of Francis Lieber concerning his work at Columbia, South Carolina. It was during the administration of President Sparks that Columbia College, in New York city, began to make inquiries regarding "Changes in the Collegiate Course" and "The Establishment of a University System." Professor Royce takes reports on these subjects as points of departure in the historic development of present academic ideals. Mr. Sparks received from President King, of Columbia College, one of those circular letters of inquiry, and said, December 28, 1852, that the questions embraced so many important topics that he did not feel competent to answer them in a manner that would contribute any essential aid towards maturing so large and comprehensive a scheme. "I have doubts about a 'free university.' How can it be organized so as to secure study and rigid examinations? Without these, the system would be little else than a provision for courses of popular lectures, and the university would be nominal. Perhaps you may establish a university for

thorough teaching, and connect with it a system of free popular lectures." Possibly Mr. Sparks would have favored modern "University Extension" upon academic premises, after the present manner of Columbia College and the Johns Hopkins University.

Very early in his administration, President Sparks was called upon to consider the question of admitting women to Harvard College. The application came from a lady in Oberlin, Ohio, the first home of coeducation in the United States. Mr. Sparks' reply, dated April 25, 1849, is of educational and historic interest: "I am not aware that any law exists touching this point, and, as it is a novel case, it would be decided by a vote of the corporation. As the institution was founded, however, for the education of young men, all its departments arranged for that purpose only, and its rules, regulations, internal organization, discipline, and system of teaching designed for that end, I should doubt whether a solitary female, mingling as she must do promiscuously with so large a number of the other sex, would find her situation either agreeable or advantageous. Indeed, I should be unwilling to advise any one to make such an experiment, and upon reflection I believe you will be convinced of its inexpediency. It may be a misfortune that an enlightened public opinion has not led to the establishment of colleges of the higher order for the education of females, and the time may come when their claims will be more justly valued, and when a wider intelligence and a more liberal spirit will provide for the deficiency." In view of the modern foundation of such colleges for women as Vassar, Wellesley, Smith, and Bryn Mawr, and of the concessions of Harvard, Columbia, Brown, and Yale universities, President Sparks' closing sentence seems almost prophetic.

The condition and progress of Harvard College during the administration of President Sparks are best shown in

his annual reports. It was a period of increased interest in natural science, especially in zoölogy, under Professor Agassiz, and in botany, under Asa Gray. In chemistry Professor Cooke was "employed in a series of original researches, tending to enlarge the bounds of the science by new discoveries or more thorough analyses."¹ The Lawrence Scientific School was placed upon a new and independent footing. In 1850, the degree of Bachelor in Science was for the first time conferred on students who had finished a course in the scientific school. An engineering department was organized in 1850 under the direction of Professor Eustis, a graduate of West Point, an institution of which Mr. Sparks had once been an appointed examiner.

Remembering his early interest in astronomy, we are not surprised at the very special attention given to this subject by President Sparks in his annual reports of the work done at the observatory. In 1850, he said, "Regarding this observatory as acting in coöperation with others in various parts of the globe for the promotion of astronomical science, the director has wisely adopted a method of proceeding by which his observations have been directed to new and unexplored objects rather than to the task of repeating or verifying what has been already done." From Mr. Sparks' particular description of the discoveries made from year to year at the observatory, it is clear that the scientific era of original research had already dawned upon Harvard College. For the sake of extending the usefulness of the observatory and of increasing the astronomical library by a system of foreign exchanges, the corporation provided, during Mr. Sparks' régime, for publishing original astronomical observations

¹ President Sparks' Report to the Overseers, 1849-50, p. 5. Josiah P. Cooke was appointed professor of chemistry and mineralogy in 1850.

and the director's¹ reports. Thus began scientific publication under the immediate auspices of Harvard College. From the income of the bequest of Edward B. Phillips, one thousand dollars a year was allowed for this liberal purpose. Then, for the first time, by its own publications, was Harvard brought into scientific relations with the observatories and learned societies of the world.

There appears to have been at this period a certain national and international Harvard extension, which corresponded well to the wide experience and generous sympathies of its president. Nothing narrow, local, or provincial characterized his administration. His extensive travels at home and abroad, his long residence at the South as well as in the North, fitted him to be a national, if not an international, type of college president. It is doubtful whether any American college executive before or since his time ever had so many connections with learned societies, with academies of art and science, in the old world and the new. A list of the honors conferred upon him, some of them during his presidency, is appended to this volume. He did not owe his scientific distinctions to his presidential office; he distinguished it by his own published works of history and biography, which were the occasion of all his honors.

The system of instruction by lectures was strongly encouraged by President Sparks. He himself, while professor of history, had set the example of giving advanced instruction based upon original investigation. It would be difficult to find many American examples of this kind of independent teaching by lectures before the days of Jared Sparks. He led the way in history, as did George Ticknor in the modern languages, and Louis Agassiz in natural science. It is interesting to note such points as these in President Sparks' first annual report: "Two

¹ William C. Bond was then director of the observatory.

courses of lectures have been given to the scientific school by Professor Agassiz, one on geology, the other on zoölogy. The Senior class of undergraduates have attended these lectures. The professor has also taught special students in the subjects of his department." Thus the needs of specialization and of general scientific culture under an acknowledged master were recognized at the same time in Harvard College.

President Sparks' administration seems to have marked the beginning of other courses of college instruction by lectures. His report for 1852 records these facts: "The new courses of lectures on intellectual philosophy,¹ Greek literature, and Roman literature, which were introduced two years ago, have proved highly satisfactory in their operation, as well to the professors as the students. An additional course on the English languages and literature has likewise been given during the last term by the professor of rhetoric." This latter statement refers to the lectures of Professor Francis J. Child, who, after a period of special study in Germany, had now succeeded Professor Edward T. Channing, who faithfully discharged the duties of the Boylston Professorship of Rhetoric and Oratory for thirty-two years. The germ of a new school of English may be observed in those "small voluntary classes in the Gothic and Anglo-Saxon languages," first taught by Professor Child in 1851-52.

In 1850, George N. Lane returned from several years of philological study in Europe to succeed Dr. Charles Beck as "University Professor of Latin." At this time Felton and Sophocles were conducting the Greek department, and Longfellow directed the instruction of all the modern languages, devoting himself especially, however, to Italian. Benjamin Peirce taught mathematics and astronomy in original ways, and Josiah Lovering lectured on

¹ By Professor James Walker and Professor Francis Bowen.

physics. With Josiah P. Cooke in chemistry, Asa Gray in botany and zoölogy, Dr. Jeffries Wyman lecturing to the Senior class, and with such other professors as have already been named, the students of Harvard College certainly enjoyed a liberal education.

President Sparks did not retain the professorship of history during his administration. Instruction in this department was for a time given by Francis J. Child, then "Tutor in History," and afterwards by John M. Marsters. In 1850, Francis Bowen was appointed McLean Professor of Ancient and Modern History, but he held the office only one term, and afterwards took charge of the department of civil polity.¹ Historical instruction was continued by tutors J. M. Marsters, Thomas Chase, James Jennison, and Henry W. Torrey. The latter succeeded to the professorship of history in 1857.

The course of historical instruction, as appears from President Sparks' annual reports,² continued to be Grecian and Roman history for Freshmen two hours a week, with such text-books as Malkin's "History of Greece" and Schmitz's "Roman History," or Taylor's "Manual of Ancient History." The Sophomores had modern history twice a week, and used such books as Robertson's "Charles the Fifth," Arnold's "Lectures on Modern History," and Schlegel's "Lectures," Lord's "Modern History," or Tytler's "Universal History." Under Professor Bowen the Juniors enjoyed two hours a week of Hallam's "Con-

¹ The excellent service rendered by Professor Bowen to Harvard College and this country in the field of scientific politics and economics has been described by the author in "The Study of History in American Colleges and Universities," pp. 23-25.

² In studying the history of the historical department at Harvard College, the author once struggled through a mass of annual catalogues. Great assistance might be obtained, in any similar research, from the president's annual reports, with their appendixes concerning the condition of various departments of instruction.

stitutional History of England" and "a course of eighteen lectures on the Origin and Development of the English Constitution, designed as introductory to their study of the history and character of the Constitution of the United States." The Seniors had four hours a week in Hallam, and in Smyth's "Lectures on Modern History."

The following correspondence of President Sparks with Henry C. Carey, the Philadelphia economist, concerning a professorship of history and political economy at Harvard is of interest to students of those branches. Henry C. Carey's letter is dated February 17, 1851: "Mr. Appleton having written me that he had sent you a letter addressed to him a few days since, I am induced to trespass upon your leisure with a few more lines on the same subject. For excuse for so doing I have only to offer the strong conviction under which I am, that much good or evil may result from the choice the trustees now make, and my great anxiety that they should appreciate the importance of a correct decision.

"As at present taught, history is a mere mass of facts communicated in the most unphilosophical manner, for the reason that its teachers, as a rule, know nothing of the philosophy of history. Arnold's 'Rome' and Thirlwall's 'Greece' furnish facts, but whenever and wherever their authors have attempted anything like philosophy they have failed totally, because unable to study for themselves the causes of the facts they were called upon to record. With all its reputation, I know of few books less philosophical than that of Dr. Arnold. The histories of Rome and Greece have yet to be written, and they are to be written here, and whenever that shall come to be done it will be found unnecessary to exhibit a constant increase of licentiousness and turbulence as the necessary accompaniment of increasing 'democracy.'

"We live under the 'tyranny of words' described by

Sydney Smith, and it is time that the Americans should make an effort at emancipation. To accomplish this it is needed that we should have teachers who would take the trouble to ascertain the true meaning of the terms they use, instead of blindly following in the track of others, and, as a necessary consequence, teaching in our schools and colleges a vast deal that must be unlearned in after life. Their pupils are told that democracy in Rome and Athens produced effects directly the reverse of those which it is seen to produce in our day, when a more careful study of the facts would show that like causes have in all cases produced like effects, and that the licentiousness of Rome and of Paris had a similar origin, although the one was called a republic and the other was an absolute monarchy. Guizot's 'History of Civilization' is used in half the colleges of the country, yet his first chapter exposes his entire inability to define the thing of which he wrote, proving that it was with him a mere word, and not a distinct idea. The consequence of this is that the student wastes his time on a book that conveys to him no instruction.

"Political economy furnishes the laws which govern the actions of man, and the man who is master of those laws will be enabled to show from the occurrence of certain facts what must have preceded and what must follow them. It is as indispensable to the historian as are the laws of Kepler to the astronomer, and it is to their general innocence of all knowledge of that kind that the worthlessness of our histories is due. With it a teacher can impart a knowledge of history speedily and profitably. Without it he may make a pleasant course of lectures, or write a book as amusing or uninteresting as Macaulay's, but he can never teach the philosophy of history, even though he devote to it quadruple the time that would otherwise be required. He is in the condition of a disciple of Ptolemy,

with an abundance of facts that he can reduce to no order. Nevertheless, political economy is everywhere, in our colleges, considered an unimportant matter, and professors are elected to teach who have to begin to learn; and as they begin by cramming what they find in books of whose value they are totally incompetent to judge, the consequence is that all the absurdities of the English politico-economical school are still taught, as I believe, in every college north of Mason and Dixon's line, while the common sense of almost all those outside of the colleges leads them to repudiate the whole system.

"Should this state of things continue? Is it not time that we had a change; time that we should learn to think a little for ourselves; time that our teaching of the past should harmonize in some degree with our knowledge of the present; and time that our young men should cease to be compelled to unlearn in the world so large a portion of what they have learned in the college? That your answer will be an affirmative one I feel persuaded. If, then, you can fill your now vacant and most important chair with a man who can and will make such a change, you will, as I believe, do more for Harvard than any man who has preceded you in her government. Such a man would, in a few years, furnish books that would be the histories for both Europe and America, — books that their readers could understand, and that would enable them to understand and to reason upon the events passing before their eyes; and certainly there is no single history now in use that tends to enable them to so do, or if there is, I have not seen it. It is time that such books were written, and it is there that they should be written.

"To find such a man will be no easy task, but it may be done, and if done, it will give dignity to the chair, and add more to the reputation of the institution than any other measures that can be adopted. You have now an opportu-

nity to do this, and it needs but time. Let this pass and it may not offer again for twenty years, and for that reason it was that I wrote Mr. Appleton urging that time should be taken for securing the right man. . . . You need a man who can think for himself, and not a mere retailer of other men's thoughts. Having now made a much longer trespass on your time and attention than I had intended, I must again ask you to excuse it for the sake of the cause."

To this letter President Sparks replied April 24, 1851: "I duly received your letter of the 17th of February, in which you touch upon the importance of a professorship of history and political economy in the American colleges, and in which you speak of the qualifications requisite for such an office. I am fully aware of the importance of this subject, and am much obliged to you for your remarks and suggestions. It is certainly difficult to find an individual who is competent, from his knowledge and ability, to give a full course of instructions in these comprehensive branches. It may perhaps be better to have them taught by two professors, one for history and the other for political economy. This must depend, however, upon such arrangements and provisions as are made in particular colleges.

"It is uncertain when we shall proceed to a new election of a professor in these departments in this university. There will probably be a considerable delay, however, as the appointment cannot be confirmed by the overseers before next January. In the mean time, I shall present your letter to the corporation, and I have no doubt that the views you have expressed, founded as they are on much study and experience, will receive the consideration and respect which they justly deserve.

"Excuse me for writing to you by the hand of another,

as an accident,¹ which has confined me to the house for the last four weeks, has temporarily deprived me of the free use of my own."

The following letter, April 22, 1851, to Rev. Edward E. Hale, then of Worcester, has a certain historical and educational value, as showing the position occupied by modern

¹ Extracts from Sparks' journal, March 23, 1851: "The bone of my right shoulder was broken by an accident on the bridge between Cambridge and Boston. It was a clear, starlit evening, and I was walking from Boston. I had passed over the bridge on the north side, and was crossing to the other side just in front of the Cambridge toll-house, when a chaise, with two men in it, which I had neither heard nor seen, came upon me, driven furiously. The men called out, but almost at the same instant the wheel struck the shoulder and broke the bone, and the hub made a severe contusion upon the side. I was thrown violently upon the bridge and stunned, but soon recovering myself, I staggered to the side of the bridge. Two students, who happened to be walking over the bridge, came up at that moment, led me to a house near at hand, procured a carriage, and accompanied me home. Dr. Wyman was immediately called, and the bone was set. The pain in the side was so acute that it was supposed the ribs were fractured, but it proved otherwise, although the pain continued several days. This accident confined me to my room nearly five weeks, but the recovery was more favorable and rapid than could have been expected. The arm was restored to its former strength." This accident proved much more serious than Mr. Sparks imagined at the time. His right arm began to be more and more troubled by a neuralgic affection, which had made writing a laborious and often painful task even before the accident. Extract from journal, December, 1849: "During this month I have been severely afflicted with the rheumatism in my right arm; so much so at times as to be disabled from writing, and I have been obliged to dictate my letters." He went to Sharon Springs in August, 1850, because the sulphur and magnesia baths were approved for "driving away rheumatism and other affections of that kind." In September of that year he took a violent cold, which produced a severe cough, and caused a total suspension of his college duties. By the advice of his physician he went to Berkeley Springs in October, and was much benefited, but in the following spring came the accident above described.

languages at Harvard College before the year 1816: "Until the professorship of modern languages was established in 1816, the teachers of those languages seem not to have been considered as college officers. Hence the reason, as I suppose, why their names have not been inserted in the Triennial Catalogue. They were permitted to teach such students as desired their instructions, but were required to make their own arrangements with them, without reference to the college studies or regulations. I should be much gratified to have Mr. Gallatin's name inserted as a teacher of French, if it were consistent with the rules that have been adopted. I will look further into the subject, but I fear it will not be thought advisable to insert the names of the teachers of modern languages before that department was established as a branch of the regular college system."

The following letter, May 10, 1851, to the Rev. Jeremiah Chamberlain, D. D., President of Oakland College, Mississippi, contains valuable information regarding the early failure at Harvard of scientific and English elective courses: "The plan of admitting students into the scientific and English departments, without requiring them to go through a full college course, was pursued here for several years, but with so little success that it was finally abandoned. It was the usage to allow a student to take any branch of study which he might choose, but he was required to attend all the exercises in such branch, and in other respects to conform to the discipline of the college. There was no special inconvenience in this system, as far as the details of instruction were concerned, yet the students themselves soon became uneasy and dissatisfied. They felt that they stood in a rank inferior to that of their associates, who were pursuing the full course. In fact, the larger portion of those who took these partial studies were such as had

failed to gain admission into the classical departments at the examinations for entering college. If separate scientific instruction is deemed advisable, I think your plan of forming a class for the purpose is much better than that of connecting it with the regular college course. We now attain the end, to some extent, by the Scientific School connected with the university. I take the liberty to forward to you three pamphlets, from which you will learn the particulars of our system."

MARKING SYSTEM AT HARVARD.

The following letter to President Hitchcock, Amherst College, June 13, 1852, contains a good account of the Harvard marking system as it was in the days of President Sparks: "All our instructors mark the value of each recitation on a scale of 8. This is done on printed forms, and a return is made once a month to the president's office, stating the whole number of marks thus given to each student during the month, and also his average in each department. That is, if his marks range 4, 5, 6, his average is 5. We thus have his standing in the class. At the end of the term a general scale is made out by adding together the results of the monthly returns, and by adding to this sum the amount standing against each student's name on the last scale preceding. Thus our scale exhibits the whole number of marks which each student has received from the time he entered college; and our exhibition and Commencement performances are assigned rigidly by this scale.

"This scheme is entirely satisfactory to the students, but it is artificial and laborious to the officers. I have often thought more simplicity desirable. As an element of discipline it has some advantages. Deductions are made for certain misdemeanors and delinquencies of the minor

class, but these deductions have little terror for those who have no hope of rank, and who generally require the strongest checks to waywardness and negligence. An arbitrary scale, however, saves all the old discussions among the officers, sometimes conducted with warmth (as I remember in my tutorial days), concerning the relative rank of students, in assigning college honors.

“As to your particular question, it was the custom of my predecessor to have stated times when all the students could come to the office and ascertain their relative rank. I believe this custom to be fraught with more evil than good, and I have never adopted it, nor have I encouraged inquiries of this kind. The scale was not designed for this object, but to enable the instructors to render strict justice to each individual by some rule of action more definite than general impressions. If a student makes a special application, however, we let him know his rank, but as it seems to be understood that the practice is not approved especially as a general habit, the cases are few. We always communicate to parents any particulars relative to the scale, when they make the request.”

GUIZOT.

President Sparks addressed the following complimentary letter to the French historian, Guizot, from Harvard University, September 8, 1852: “Allow me to recall myself to your recollection, and to inform you that the government of this university have conferred on you the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. The diploma is forwarded with this letter. Please to accept it as a token of their high respect for your character and eminent services in the cause of letters, and as an expression of gratitude for the generous interest you have shown in the historical affairs of the United States by your admirable

essay on the 'Life of Washington.' With a lively remembrance of your kind courtesies to me in London and Paris, I have the honor to be, dear sir, your most obedient servant,
JARED SPARKS."

RECORDS OF HARVARD COLLEGE.¹

A valuable historic service was rendered by President Sparks in the classification and arrangement of all records and manuscripts relating to the history of Harvard College. At the time he entered upon his presidential office the archives were in a very scattered condition. Mr. Sparks' long experience in handling manuscripts, and his acquaintance with the best methods of preserving state papers in American, English, and French archives, had given him peculiar qualifications for the responsible task which he voluntarily assumed in the interest of Harvard. In classifying the original sources of her history, he employed the same scientific principles as in the case of the writings of Washington, Franklin, and Morris, and of the Diplomatic Correspondence.

The conclusion of the whole matter President Sparks gave in the following official report to the corporation of Harvard College, December 23, 1852: "By a vote of the corporation on the 27th of December, 1851, the president was requested to cause all the college records and other manuscripts relating to the history of the university to be classified, arranged, and placed in separate cases in the library, or in the president's office, where they are to be held in the special charge of the president. This work has been accomplished. Hitherto the papers, except the journals of the boards, have been kept in loose bundles, from the date of the foundation of the college, and many

¹ Some interesting notes concerning the Records of Harvard College, by Andrew McFarland Davis, were published in 1888. See "Bibliographical Contributions," edited by Justin Winsor, No. 27.

of them have been lost. All that remain have been classified, chronologically arranged, and substantially bound. A new case has been constructed in the library expressly for papers of this description, and a safe, of ample dimensions, has been erected in the president's office for such of them as are wanted for immediate use.

“The following is a catalogue of the volumes which have thus been arranged and bound:—

Historical College Papers	1650 to 1825	11 vols. fol.
“ “ “	1826 to 1850	17 “ 4to.
Reports to the Overseers	1761 to 1825	1 vol. “
“ “ “ “	1826 to 1850	7 vols. “
Legislature and Overseers	1637 to 1700	1 vol. [fol.
Wills, Gifts, and Grants	1643 to 1837	1 “ “
Lands, Miscellaneous	1647 to 1829	2 vols. “
Papers relating to the College	1698 to 1700	1 vol. “
Charlestown Ferry	1707 to 1806	1 “ “
Narragansett Farm	1731 to 1829	1 “ “
Philosophical Apparatus and Pro- fessorship of Natural History	1767 to 1826	1 “ “
College Commons	1772 to 1820	1 “ “
Drafts of Diplomas	1779 to 1810	1 “ “
Hollis Letters and Papers	1718 to 1774	1 “ “
Eastern Lands	1780 to 1835	2 vols. “
Astronomical Observatory	1805 to 1825	1 vol. 4to.
Inaugurations, etc.	1806 to 1819	1 “ “
College Buildings	1811 to 1840	1 “ fol.
Marshpee Indians	1811 to 1841	1 “ 4to.
Rumford Legacy	1815 to 1827	1 “ fol.
Theological Institution	1816 to 1830	2 vols. “
Condition of the College in	1821 & 1824	1 vol. 4to.
Letters to the Treasurer	1829 to 1842	5 vols. “
College Property within the Walls	1828	1 vol. “

63 vols.

“Since the papers are now all arranged in a methodical order, and bound in a permanent form, I would recommend that an index be made to the several volumes, as affording a greater facility for consulting them and promoting their usefulness.”

CORRESPONDENCE WITH OLD FRIENDS.

Rev. William B. Sprague sent his congratulations to his old Exeter friend, Jared Sparks, January 25, 1849: "I cannot forbear to congratulate you on your having reached the top of the ladder, for so I certainly consider it. I do not think there is another place *in the world* with which a man of your tastes and qualifications might afford to be so well satisfied as the presidency of Harvard College. From the time that I knew Mr. Everett was to retire and that you were spoken of as a candidate, I felt the deepest interest in the result of the election; and I can truly say that if the right of nominating had been vested in me, I should have had the honor of harmonizing with what has proved to be the judgment of the corporation. How wonderful are the ways of Providence! How little did I think when, in 1811, I caught a glimpse of a dark-complexioned young man sitting in Mr. Abbot's parlor, and was told it was Sparks from Willington, that my eye rested on a future president of Harvard College! Rely on it, few of your friends will rejoice more in this than our excellent Dr. Abbot, of Peterborough. I am going to write to congratulate him upon it. I think he has a sort of *magna pars fui* feeling in respect to both of us. Even my Cambridge doctorate brought from him a gratulatory epistle which showed that his old heart is capable of as warm and generous pulsations as ever."

To his friend and successor in Baltimore, the Rev. G. W. Burnap, Mr. Sparks wrote, March 28, 1849: "Whether this appointment will really be a source of congratulation either to me or the public remains to be proved. It is an arduous and highly responsible station, especially since the professional and scientific schools have been added to the college, and put under the general superintendence of the president. I have contrived to diminish the labor, how-

ever, by throwing a mass of mere details of the office into other hands. I accepted the place with the express condition that this arrangement should be made. I reside in my own house. The president's office is in the old Corporation Rooms, in University Hall, where I pass three hours a day, and am quietly at home the rest of the time."

Jared Sparks did not forget his old friend, Ansel Young, to whom he wrote, May 4, 1849: "Upon the resignation of Mr. Everett, I was elected president of our ancient university. This office brings with it new duties and labors, and imposes large responsibilities. In the college proper and the professional schools there are more than five hundred students, and upwards of thirty professors, tutors, and other instructors; so that I have enough to do. From the pamphlet which you mention having received, you can form some notion of the extensive relations of the university. In the autumn I will send you a catalogue, from which you will learn more of the details."

It must have afforded President Sparks rare pleasure to hear from one of those appreciative pupils whom he as a college student had once instructed at Havre de Grace, in Maryland. Mrs. Maria S. Johnston, one of the Pringle sisters, wrote to him, July 25, 1851, from the College of St. James, where she was the honored matron, enjoying in her widowhood a sheltered and happy home, with all the privileges of the church to which she was devoted: "I assure you I have never forgotten the scenes of early youth in which you were so prominent an actor, or the many happy days spent in our little school-room at dear old Bloomsbury, with you for our kind and faithful preceptor. I know it would gratify you, could you be an unseen listener to the conversations between my sisters and myself when recalling those days. . . . I felt compelled this morning, when Daniel Clarke mentioned his intention of reading law at Cambridge after graduating here, to tell him

I would make him the bearer of a note to you. . . . My sister Adelaide is now my guest, and unites with me in affectionate regards to yourself and a desire to be kindly presented to your family."

RESIGNATION.

During his administration, Mr. Sparks carried on the usual presidential correspondence with fathers and mothers of boys already at Harvard or preparing for college. Into the wilderness of literary undergrowth touching the routine of college government it is unnecessary to enter. It was all as unspeakably wearisome to President Sparks as it was to President Wayland of Brown University, who used to say that a college president's time is nibbled away by ducks. Mr. Sparks felt that he was sacrificing his chosen interests in life by scattering his attention and energy upon an infinite series of petty administrative details. He attended to all the duties of his office with the greatest conscientiousness, as his college memoranda show; but his utter weariness of the whole situation is evident from confessions to personal friends. The following is an extract from a letter to the Rev. Dr. Ezra S. Gannett, December 2, 1852: "As to my connection with the college, in which you express a kind interest, I can only say that I think I have done my share, and that other hands will turn the crank quite as well as my own. The principal reason for resigning, however, has been that the constant confinement and attention to details have operated unfavorably on my health. I must have more relaxation and more freedom from cares, many of them little in themselves but burdensome in the aggregate. Internally, the college is now in a good way, and in my opinion is too firmly established to be much affected by external influences. It has continued to prosper amidst all the hostile designs and attacks of its enemies."

To his correspondent in Baltimore, the Rev. George W. Burnap, Mr. Sparks wrote January 26, 1853: "My connection with the college will soon cease. The new candidate for the presidency will probably be nominated to the overseers to-morrow, and confirmed within two or three weeks. The constant confinement and wearisome details have lately been unfavorable to my health. I must have more freedom and relaxation. Besides, I have other things to do."

On the 30th of October, 1852, President Sparks addressed to the corporation of Harvard College a letter resigning the presidency. He said: "During the last two years, a precarious state of health has made it necessary for me, on two occasions, temporarily to suspend my duties in the college; and although it is at present somewhat restored, yet I am convinced it has not gained the degree of firmness requisite for a continued discharge of those duties. I now request, therefore, that you will accept my resignation of the presidency of the college, with which I have been honored by your appointment. To guard against any inconvenience that might arise from a vacancy in the office, I propose that the resignation shall take effect at such time, before the beginning of the next term, as may be deemed by you most compatible with the interests of the institution.

"The present condition of the college is perhaps as favorable for such change as could be desired. Order and tranquillity prevail in all the departments; and I can say with entire satisfaction that, during the four years in which I have superintended its administration, not a single occurrence has taken place which has given me anxiety or uneasiness. I am aware that this gratifying result is mainly to be attributed to the professors and other officers of instruction, with whom I have been immediately associated; and it gives me peculiar pleasure to acknowledge the

judicious counsels, and the kind and steady and efficient coöperation, which I have uniformly received from them. An uninterrupted harmony has existed in all the faculties, and an apparent solicitude on the part of the several members, by a faithful discharge of the trusts reposed in them, to do justice to the students and honor to the university."

To this letter the corporation — then consisting of Lemuel Shaw, George Haywood, Charles G. Loring, James Walker, J. A. Lowell, and Samuel Eliot — replied November 27, 1852. They expressed their conviction that the prosperous condition of the college was, to a large extent, the result of Mr. Sparks' influence and example, of the wisdom of the measures which he had devised, and of the reputation which his character and attainments had given the institution. "Though your term of office has not been long, yet we think there has been a spirit of progress visible, which will not be without effect upon the future, and, amid our regret at the loss of your coöperation, we would not be unmindful of the good you have accomplished, and the improvements you have suggested."

The board of overseers,¹ of whom Dr. George E. Ellis was secretary, passed an appreciative resolution concerning the administration of President Sparks. "His distinguished reputation as a scholar and historian, and the high respect everywhere entertained throughout our coun-

¹ Extract from Mr. Sparks' journal, January 27, 1853: "My resignation was this day reported to the Board of Overseers, assembled in the Senate Chamber; and the Rev. James Walker was nominated to the board by the corporation as my successor. The nomination was referred to a committee, who were to report at the next meeting." February 10th: "At a meeting of the Board of Overseers, the nomination of the Rev. James Walker as president was confirmed, and my connection with the university ceased from that time. I had filled the office of president since the 2d of February, 1849, being four years and eight days."

try for his character and talents, caused his entrance upon the presidency to be hailed with joy by all the friends of the college, and awakened hopes which were disappointed only by his resignation. The good order that has in general prevailed at the college during his presidency, the considerable increase in the number of students in all the departments of the university, the progress made in the various branches of learning, and the present healthy and prosperous state of the institution, afford sufficient evidence of his wisdom, good judgment, and fidelity in his office. The members of this board recognize with gratitude his valuable services both to the college and to the general interests of learning and literature, and would hereby convey to him the assurance of their cordial respect, and of their good wishes for his continued welfare and usefulness."

A cordial letter from the faculty of Harvard College, January 10, 1853, was signed by his "colleagues and friends:" James Walker, Henry W. Longfellow, C. C. Felton, Benjamin Peirce, Joseph Lovering, E. A. Sophocles, Francis J. Child, George M. Lane, James Jennison, Thomas Chase, Josiah P. Cooke, Jr., and Charles F. Choate. "We thank you for the ability and dignity with which you have directed the concerns of the university. Under your auspices, it has enjoyed an unusual degree of prosperity, and its members have zealously devoted themselves to the tranquil pursuits of learning. Good order has been maintained without undue severity, and good-will has been cherished without unworthy compliance. We thank you for the kindness and cordiality of your demeanor towards us individually and as a body. And now, when our official connection is about to be severed, we owe it not only to you but to ourselves to express our sense of the benefit we have derived from your labors in the discharge of your official duties, and from that high literary reputation you have gained by distinguished exertions in other fields."

A courteous and grateful farewell letter was also sent Mr. Sparks by Joel Parker, Theophilus Parsons, and Edward G. Loring, professors in the "Law School of the University at Cambridge." To all of these communications the ex-president wrote appropriate replies. To the law professors he said: "I know not how a man, retiring from a responsible station, can carry with him a more grateful reward than the conviction that his efforts faithfully to execute his trust have been understood and approved by those who are the most competent to judge, and whose good opinion he most highly values."

RELATIONS WITH STUDENTS.

The pleasant relations that always existed between Mr. Sparks and the students at Harvard College, especially during his administration, the grateful remembrance of which followed him after his retirement from the presidency, are indicated in the following letter, dated November 14, 1854: "The members of the classes graduated at Cambridge while you were president of the university are very desirous to place in the public library of the college a marble bust of you, and have deputed us to ask your assent to the plan. The library is already adorned with the busts of Kirkland, Quincy, Everett, and Walker, your predecessors and successor in office; but the group is far from complete without some memorial of a president who is held in such grateful remembrance as we all feel towards you, and whose term of office was marked by so much harmony and prosperity in every department of the university as were the years of your administration.

"The eager and unanimous desire expressed by all the members of the various classes, even those most remote from us, that your bust may take its place among those of the other presidents bears witness how fresh and strong are their recollections of the cordial greeting, and invari-

able and unwearied kindness, you at all times extended to every student, and how gladly they avail themselves of an opportunity to testify the respect and affection they must always feel towards you.

“ We trust that your inclinations will prompt you to accede to our wishes, and that your engagements will permit you to give time for the sittings necessary for the execution of the work. No sculptor has, as yet, been determined on, but we only await your answer to come to a decision.” This letter was signed by Messrs. Thornton K. Lothrop, Frederick D. Williams, George O. Shattuck, Darwin E. Ware, James Mills Peirce, Edward W. Forbush, a committee of the classes.

Mr. Sparks replied, November 28, 1854: “ Gentlemen, — Your letter of the 14th instant was duly received. You ask my consent, in behalf of the classes at the university while I was president, that a marble bust¹ of me,

¹ Hiram Powers, the American sculptor in Florence, was engaged to execute the work. It was at first proposed by Mr. Sparks that the bust be modeled after one made by Persico in 1834, with such additional suggestions as Powers could derive from daguerreotypes and a photograph; but Mr. Sparks' friends insisted upon a fresh study from life. He accordingly went to Florence with his family in the autumn of 1857, and remained there from November 7th until December 5th. His journal for November 25th records: “ Last day of sitting to Mr. Powers, having had fourteen sittings. The bust is entirely satisfactory to all who have seen it, and is considered a very exact likeness. It is to be cut in marble.” The work was not finished and sent to America until October 8, 1858. Mr. Powers wrote June 6th, regretting that he could not send the bust in time for the Harvard Commencement that year. He said that no portrait-bust in his studio had ever attracted more attention. Mr. Sparks' personal friends and his family regarded Mr. Powers' work as an excellent likeness. Mr. Charles Deane, writing to Mrs. Sparks, July 14, 1868, concerning the portrait by Sully of her husband, at the age of forty, as he appears in the frontispiece of Brautz Mayer's “Memoirs of Jared Sparks,” said: “The younger men are more familiar with Dr. Sparks as he is represented by Powers. An engraving of that would, I think, make a fine picture.” A heliotype of this bust by Powers, now in Memo-

procured by the members of those classes, may be placed in the public library. I should do injustice to my own feelings, as well as to the generous motives of those who have made this proposal, if I were not to assure you, that in acceding to it, I am deeply sensible of the kindness from which it springs, and of the value of so high a compliment.

“ You allude to our mutual relations in the university. I trust you will believe that the sentiments you express are cordially reciprocated. In fact, as far as my personal intercourse with the students was concerned, I look back upon that period with entire satisfaction and the most agreeable recollections. It was my steady effort to do what I could to promote their advancement and welfare, and I had abundant reason to be convinced by their uniform demeanor towards me, that they valued and respected my endeavors, whatever may have been the measure of their success. I will only add, that my best wishes and affectionate remembrance will ever attend the members, one and all, of the classes in whose behalf you have written, and that their future prosperity and happiness will be to me a source of high and sincere gratification.”

rial Hall, Cambridge, appears as the frontispiece to this second volume. A copy of the “Sully Portrait,” painted at the request of Mr. Sparks’ friend, William H. Eliot, is prefixed to the first volume.

Mr. Powers, after he had shipped the marble bust from Leghorn to Boston, was reminded that he had not prepared a mould for making casts of his work. He secured a matrix by using the original clay model. This matrix was sent to Mr. Sparks, and from it all existing copies of the Sparks bust were made. One of them may be seen in the Harvard College library, another in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and one, presented by Mrs. Sparks, now stands in the seminary library of history and politics in the Johns Hopkins University. It was perhaps a request for this memorial bust that led Mrs. Sparks to invite the writer, through Dr. Peabody, to undertake these two memorial volumes. Their title, “The Life and Writings of Jared Sparks,” was probably suggested to Mrs. Sparks by “The Life and Writings of George Washington.”

CHAPTER XXX.

LORD MAHON AND THE REED LETTERS.

No fault was found with Mr. Sparks' edition of the "Writings of Washington" until more than ten years had elapsed from the time of the first publication. In the year 1847, Mr. William B. Reed, a friend and correspondent of Mr. Sparks, issued the "Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed." This was done in no spirit of rivalry or hostility to Mr. Sparks. In this work Mr. Reed had occasion to publish several letters written to his grandfather by Washington. These had first been printed in Sparks' edition, with Mr. Reed's consent. Indeed, Mr. Reed had furnished Mr. Sparks with the original text for some of these letters. Others Mr. Sparks had himself copied from Washington's letter-books.

This republication of Washington's familiar letters to his private secretary, Joseph Reed, suggested no close comparison with Sparks' version of the same letters until early in the year 1851. Then a certain correspondent of the New York "Evening Post," who styled himself "Friar Lubin," published in that journal two communications, in which were set forth many apparent discrepancies between the Sparks and Reed editions of the same letters. It was alleged that "Mr. Sparks had materially altered, suppressed, and, in some instances, added to the original text, from an imperfect appreciation of his editorial functions."

It was at one time believed by Mr. Sparks and his friends, in fact it was so stated in the "Evening Post,"



that Lord Mahon, in his subsequent charges against Mr. Sparks, adopted the critical views of "Friar Lubin;" but Lord Mahon said this was not the case. He maintained that he came to his conclusions by an early and independent comparison of the two versions of Washington's letters to Joseph Reed. Lord Mahon said that, previous to his own publication, he never even saw the strictures of the "Evening Post" upon Mr. Sparks' edition of the "Writings of Washington."

Lord Mahon's charges were published, December, 1851, in the appendix to the sixth volume of his "History of England."¹ He introduced into the body of the text

¹ The stimulating influence of Jared Sparks' first visit to England upon historical writing in that country, and more especially upon the continuation of Lord Mahon's "History of England," may be seen in the following extract from a letter dated August 13, 1832, from Robert Southey to Lord Mahon: "When Jared Sparks was in England about five years ago, our State Papers relating to America during the war were examined in consequence of his inquiries. It was then thought that our own story would bear telling and ought to be told, and a circuitous application was made to me to know whether I would undertake it. I declined the proposal, because great part of my life had been passed in preparing for other subjects, and if they were left unfinished that labor would be lost. But the American War is a fine subject, and treated as you would treat it, with the same perfect fairness as the Succession War, its history would vindicate the honor of this country, at the same time that it rendered full justice to the opposite cause."

This suggestion by Southey seems to have been acted upon by Lord Mahon. He continued his "History of England," and, in the appendix to his sixth volume relating to the Revolutionary War, pays a high tribute to the early investigations of Mr. Sparks in the State Paper Office. Lord Mahon says: "Since Mr. Southey's letter, and according to his expectation, further and valuable extracts from these documents have been published by Mr. Sparks, in the notes to the collected edition of Washington's writings. Mr. Sparks' own share in these notes and illustrations is written not only with much ability, but in a spirit, on most points, of candor and fairness; and the whole collection is of great historical interest and importance."

of that volume certain critical remarks regarding Mr. Sparks' editorial work, although he commended it in general as "of great historical interest and importance," and spoke of Sparks' notes and illustrations as "written not only with ability, but in a spirit, on most points, of candor and fairness." The gravamen of Lord Mahon's reflections lay in the following brief extract from his appendix: "I am bound, however, not to conceal the opinion I have formed, that Mr. Sparks has printed no part of the correspondence precisely as Washington wrote it; but has greatly altered, and, as he thinks, corrected and embellished it. Such a liberty with the writing of such a man might be justifiable, nay, even in some respects necessary, if Washington and his principal contemporaries had been still alive; but the date of this publication (the year 1838) leaves, as I conceive, no adequate vindication for tampering with the truth of history." Lord Mahon then proceeded to give what he supposed to be sufficient grounds for this sweeping judgment: "The charge which I make upon the subject is mainly derived from a comparison of Washington's letters to President Reed (which, in Reed's recent biography, are printed precisely from the original MSS.) and the same letters as they appear in Mr. Sparks' collection." Lord Mahon cited parallel passages from the two editions, and left the reader to judge of the extent and character of the variations.

The first report of the charges of Lord Mahon came to Mr. Sparks through the columns of the New York "Evening Post." He had not seen the book itself. These charges, as restated, were practically the same as those made by "Friar Lubin." They comprised three points: omissions, corrections, and additions in editing the text of Washington's letters. In reply to "Friar Lubin" and Lord Mahon, Mr. Sparks prepared three

letters on "Washington's Writings." The "Evening Post"¹ published these communications in quick succession early in April, 1852. All three appeared together in the weekly edition of April 8th, and they were afterwards republished in Boston, in pamphlet form,² as "A Reply to the Strictures of Lord Mahon and Others on the Mode of editing the Writings of Washington."

Mr. Sparks denied that any of the charges were true, "in any sense which can authorize the censures bestowed by these writers, or raise a suspicion of the editor's fidelity and fairness." He said, however, that he regarded it as an editor's duty, in preparing manuscript letters for the press, to correct obvious slips of the pen, occasional inaccuracies of expression, and manifest faults of grammar, which the writer himself, if he could have revised his own hastily written manuscript, would never have allowed to appear in print.

"This is all I have done in the way of altering or cor-

¹ Mr. Sparks wrote to the editor, William C. Bryant, at the time the letters were sent to the "Evening Post," March 29, 1852: "These papers were nearly prepared two months ago, immediately after the notice of Lord Mahon's book appeared in your journal; but I was then seized with a severe illness, which has confined me to the house ever since, and from which I am but just now recovering."

² Francis Lieber, writing from Columbia, S. C., April 19, 1852, recommended the republication of the "Evening Post" articles in pamphlet form: "Writers, collectors, inquirers, as you and myself, know how essential the form is in which a writing is given, if the preservation of a publication is of moment. And your letters ought to be preserved and largely distributed here and in Europe. All that is nowadays published in newspapers only, is little better than writing in the sand of the beach. The next tide washes it out." In a subsequent letter, May 28, 1852, Lieber said the "editing of letters is a question which does not only belong to criticism, but also, and very seriously, to literary ethics, an important branch of morals little understood or cared for in this, perhaps in any country, but in this, I think, less than in any other."

recting Washington's letters. The alterations are strictly verbal or grammatical; nor am I conscious that, in this process, an historical fact, the expression of an opinion, or the meaning of a sentence, has, on any occasion, been perverted or modified. I can confidently affirm that the editorial corrections were never designed to have such a tendency, and, if such should anywhere appear to exist, it must be accidental and of little significance. What possible motive could there be for assuming such a license? Washington's character certainly did not require to be protected by so unworthy an artifice, and least of all could the editor derive from it either fame, profit, or any other conceivable advantage.

“These verbal alterations chiefly occur in the private letters, which were written in haste and not intended by the author for publication; and they make but a comparatively small portion of the work. In his official correspondence and papers prepared for the public eye, no man was more precise and careful than Washington as to the selection of his words and the construction of his language. His private and confidential letters, like those of other men, were often negligently written in regard to these particulars. This class of letters, I thought it the duty of an editor, as an act of justice to the memory of the author, to revise with care for the press. I am still of this opinion. I executed the task according to my best discretion. I do not pretend to infallibility of judgment; probably no two persons would decide alike in all cases of this kind, some of which involve minute distinctions of no great moment in themselves; nor am I sure that I should now in every instance approve my first decisions; but I feel that I have a right to claim the credit of integrity of purpose, and of having faithfully discharged the duty set before me, in strict conformity with the principles explained at large to the

public in the introduction to the first¹ volume that was published."

"Friar Lubin" and Lord Mahon both charged Mr. Sparks with making additions to the text of Washington's letters. Both critics based their accusation upon the following passage in a letter to Joseph Reed, as printed by Sparks: "The drift and design are obvious; *but is it possible that any sensible nation upon earth can be imposed upon by such a cobweb scheme or gauze covering?* But enough." The italicized words were declared to be the invention of Mr. Sparks, because they did not appear in the reprint from the original letter as given by Mr. William B. Reed. "Friar Lubin" said that all the rhetoric in this passage belonged to Mr. Sparks. Lord Mahon attempted to be satirical over the phrase "cobweb scheme or gauze covering." He said he preferred "Washington's homespun" to such manufactured goods.

When Mr. Sparks took occasion to compare his text with the original, he found that he had printed the passage in question with absolute correctness. The italicized words were Washington's own. Mr. Reed, or his copyist, had inadvertently omitted them from what was intended to be a literal version. The magnanimity and good sense with which Mr. Sparks treated this unfortunate editorial oversight might well have given pause to hasty and petulant accusers. Mr. Sparks said, "Notwithstanding the writer's assurance, the quotation in italics, word for word as here printed, is in the original letter written by Washington. It was doubtless omitted in the 'Life of Reed' by an oversight of the transcriber, or by some other accident. Every one knows how fre-

¹ This was the second volume of the "Life and Writings of Washington." The first, the biography, was published last in the series of twelve volumes.

quently accidents of this kind occur in the passing of manuscripts through a transcriber's and printer's hands; and the probability of errors from this source should teach caution to a critic who has not positive evidence of his accuracy."

Upon this point of the alleged addition of a phrase to one of the Reed letters, the following frank confession from Mr. William B. Reed, August 18, 1851, should be put on record: "I this morning received yours of the 15th, and have, as you desired, examined the original letter from General Washington to Mr. Reed of the 7th of March, 1776. The sentence you refer to *is* in the original, and must have been accidentally omitted by my copyist. In my book the sentence to which this belongs is most awkwardly and palpably broken off. It could have happened only in the way I have indicated, for I was extremely anxious that my copies should be literally correct."

Mr. Sparks' "Reply to the Strictures of Lord Mahon" was republished in England, in 1852, together with an elaborate review, by John G. Palfrey, of Mahon's "History of England." This review, reprinted from the 'North American,'¹ July, 1852, not only criticised very

¹ Henry Stevens wrote Mr. Sparks from London, March 4, 1852: "What will the 'North American' do with Lord Mahon's two volumes on the Revolution, vols. v. and vi.? I have told him that in my opinion he has laid himself open to severe criticism, and that he will probably find it in the 'North American.' I admire the work very much in many respects, but do think most decidedly that his sneers (for they can be called nothing else) at you are undignified in the extreme, to say nothing of the truth of them. Lord Mahon and I have this last year been thrown very much together, being upon the same class in the International Jury. I see Griswold, in the 'International Magazine,' sides with Mahon. I trust the April number of the 'North American' will settle the matter." The reprint of Mr. Palfrey's article from the July number, 1852, carried the war into England in fine style. In June, 1852, Mr. Sparks pre-

sharply Lord Mahon's history, but also traversed the entire ground of charges against Mr. Sparks, completely vindicating the honor and honesty of the American editor. Lord Mahon then published "A Letter to Jared Sparks: a Rejoinder to his Reply," and afterwards substituted it, in the appendix to a new edition of his "History of England," vol. vi., for the original "Strictures." The English critic, in his published letter, had the frankness to say: "But after Mr. Reed's statement and your own of the inadvertency which has crept into his volumes, I am now most willing to withdraw my charges against you of having made unauthorized additions. I am sorry that I should have made it. I will even go farther and express my regret that, believing as I did that charge to be well founded and fully proved, I adopted a tone towards you, in one or two other passages of my history, different from that which I should have used had I thought you wholly free from such an imputation."

The two other, and as Lord Mahon admitted, "far lesser charges of *corrections* and *omissions*," Lord Mahon continued to sustain. These charges Mr. Sparks never denied; for in his original prefaces, and in his first "Reply," he had avowed his editorial principles, and explained the necessity of making selections¹ from the

pared some "Brief Remarks on Passages in the Sixth Volume of Lord Mahon's 'History of England.'" They are in a volume of "Letters and Remarks" devoted to the Mahon controversy, and are marked "not printed." Evidently the American editor had some shot left in his locker.

¹ Mr. Sparks' edition of Washington's writings was based upon the idea of editorial selection, as truly as is the present work,— "The Life and Writings of Jared Sparks." He had, indeed, twelve volumes in prospect when he began his task, but he had materials for more than that number. He was compelled to omit many letters and parts of letters. No American publisher, even in our day,

enormous mass of Washington's letters. The grave mistake which Lord Mahon made in his "Rejoinder" was in conceiving and imputing motives for these corrections and omissions. Herein he imagined that Mr. Sparks was actuated by two principal considerations: (1) a desire to save the dignity of Washington; and (2) a tenderness for the people of New England, moving the editor to omit reflections by the commander-in-chief on their patriotism and courage. Lord Mahon gave various examples of fancied sins of omission and commission by the editor of Washington, and to these specifications Mr. Sparks addressed himself in a "Letter to Lord Mahon, being an Answer to his Letter addressed to the Editor of Washington's Writings." This was first published in the "National Intelligencer," and afterwards as a pamphlet, in 1852. In this letter Mr. Sparks met in detail every individual charge, and showed its groundlessness, as far as alleged *motives* were concerned. There is a certain grim and satirical humor in the following reply to the first imputation:—

"As a demonstration of the first motive, you begin by reproducing the phrases, 'flea-bite,' 'lame hand,' 'two of this kidney,' and, last of all, 'Old Put.' These phrases have become so well known, by the labors of yourself and others, that the false elevation to which Washington's fame had risen by their omission may now be considered as fairly brought to its true level. While I admit the offense in all its magnitude, and deplore its consequences, I must repel the charge of sinister design, or of any would dare to publish a complete edition of Washington. Mr. Sparks' friends thought twelve volumes an enormous risk. Guizot found six volumes quite enough for the French market. Von Raumer limited the German edition to two, and Colburn, a London publisher, found the same number a bad investment. G. P. Putnam's Sons have not ventured beyond fourteen volumes of the writings of Washington.

felonious intent upon the truth of history. If I could have anticipated the lively concern which the loss of these words was to excite, not only in the minds of respectable writers in the daily journals, but in that of an eminent historian, I cannot doubt that I should have weighed the matter more deliberately, or perhaps have come to a different decision. In the case of 'Old Put,' however, it should be remembered that this form of speech was not a conception of Washington; he placed it within inverted commas as copied from Mr. Reed's letter, to which he was writing an answer; so that no characteristic trait of the writer was sacrificed by changing 'Old Put' into 'General Putnam.'"

Lord Mahon insinuated that Mr. Sparks desired to set Washington "upon stilts." Sparks replied by asking this question: "Is it your settled belief that these four phrases were absolutely necessary to bring Washington's dignity down to its just position in forming an estimate of his character? If you have perused the eleven volumes of his correspondence, and particularly his familiar letters and diaries in the twelfth volume, you have seen hundreds better suited to answer such a purpose. What an absurdity in me, then, to undertake to shield Washington's dignity by suppressing half a dozen, or half a hundred, words or phrases, while multitudes of others equally or more objectionable on this score spring up throughout the work."

The truth is, Lord Mahon had a very narrow and insufficient basis for his charges regarding Mr. Sparks' motives and methods. The English historian chiefly employed for his standard of textual comparison the newly edited letters of Washington, in the "Life of Joseph Reed." This text had already proved a very feeble support for criticism, and it was destined, somewhat later, even in a revised form, to break down completely, when

a heavier burden than "Old Put" was placed upon it. Lord Mahon's imputation that Mr. Sparks set George Washington "upon stilts" has, however, unfortunately found credence down to the present day among people who ought to know the truth.

The proper way for any fair-minded student to disabuse himself of prejudice on this matter is to examine carefully the literary style of George Washington himself, especially his revisions of his own early letters, for example, one to Mrs. Fairfax, as given in the preface to the first volume of Ford's new edition. It will thus be quickly discovered that the Father of his country was capable of doing, and actually did, on occasion, his own "stilting." He lived at a time when letter-writing, like dancing, was stately business. George Washington probably wrote better English than did many country gentlemen and army officers in the eighteenth century; but he was never especially given to homespun English or homespun clothes. He could mix rhetoric and invent fine phrases like "cobweb schemes and gauze covering," for which Jared Sparks once enjoyed the literary credit. Whatever editorial finish he may have given to the proof-reading of Washington's characteristic letters, Mr. Sparks never set him "upon stilts." That stately writer was perhaps occasionally allowed to come down and proceed more naturally; but no nineteenth-century editor could possibly have stilted Washington's eighteenth-century prose. It was always formal and dignified, but at the same time vigorous and full of good sense. It contained here and there "specks of inaccuracy," as James Madison naïvely said; but it was good English "for a' that, and a' that."

After reviewing all the examples adduced by Lord Mahon as proofs of the first motive, that of exalting Washington's dignity, Mr. Sparks added: "I neither

admit such a motive, nor recognize in your course of argument anything which, rightly considered, can give countenance to your conjecture."

The second alleged motive was that of concealing Washington's opinions of New England officers and soldiers. Here again Lord Mahon cited various instances of omitted epithets, phrases, and passages, all indicating, he thought, a desire to spare the feelings of New Englanders. Mr. Sparks examined in detail all the specifications, and, while not claiming infallibility of editorial judgment, was able to point out, sometimes in close proximity to the omitted matter, statements of like significance and of equal severity. Writing to many different parties upon the same themes, Washington very naturally repeated himself. Mr. Sparks, in his desire to save space, to avoid repetitions, and preserve a certain historical sequence in Washington's letters, often omitted whole paragraphs when the same ideas or matters of fact could be found elsewhere. Mr. Sparks said to Lord Mahon: "You frequently quote a single sentence, as if it constituted the whole of an omission, and then infer a motive or conjecture a reason as appertaining to that sentence only, whereas the fragment quoted by you is forced out of its place as an integral part of a paragraph or several paragraphs taken collectively, which have been omitted for general reasons very remote from the one you assign."

Lord Mahon was in error when he attributed local and sectional motives to Jared Sparks. The editor of Washington and Franklin was too broad a man, too American in his views of history, to seek to protect the honor of New England by suppressing the truth. Probably he did not attach quite so much importance as did Lord Mahon to Washington's reflections on the conduct of two or three militia officers at Bunker Hill, and of raw recruits at the

siege of Boston. Mr. Sparks observed to his critic that "examples of misbehaving officers were not peculiar to the New England troops. The 'Orderly-Books' prove that they happened throughout the war in the lines of the army from the different States, as they doubtless happen in all armies consisting of undisciplined troops recently drawn from the mass of the people."

In concluding his examination of specific charges, Mr. Sparks said: "I have shown first, that in every instance in which you have supposed facts to be suppressed or concealed, these facts are to be found in other parts of the work, or in other works long well known to the public; secondly, that you have frequently selected short sentences, or fragments of sentences, and conjectured some special design for their omission, when in reality they were included in a paragraph, or larger portion of a letter, omitted for reasons in no manner relating to the purport of these sentences; thirdly, that your main charge of a personal motive prompting me to protect Washington's dignity and the good name of the people of New England, at the expense of historical justice, is not sustained by facts, reasonable inferences, or probability. . . . In making a selection from a large mass of papers left by Washington, extending over a long period and extremely various in their character, an editor could not expect to escape from occasional errors of judgment and opinion. Such errors are fair subjects of criticism; but when you assail motives, and thus call in question the editor's fidelity and rectitude, you give a wide range to a critic's privilege. I trust my sensibility to what I esteem your unfounded animadversions has not betrayed me beyond the proper line of courtesy, nor diminished the respect which I have been accustomed to entertain for you as an author and a man."

Nothing is more remarkable throughout this entire controversy with Lord Mahon than Mr. Sparks' self-

restraint and forbearance under provoking attacks and unjust censures. One can heartily quote the sentiment of Mr. William H. Furness, of Philadelphia, who, after reading the two pamphlets in reply to Lord Mahon, wrote to Mr. Sparks, May 6, 1853: "If I knew nothing of their author, I should gather from them the idea of a thorough gentleman, as fully entitled to the prefix of 'Lord' as any nobleman I know of." In his earlier theological and ecclesiastical controversies¹ with Dr. Wyatt, of Baltimore, and Dr. Miller, of Princeton, Mr. Sparks showed the same perfect courtesy, candor, and self-command.

The replies of Mr. Sparks to Lord Mahon are accessible in pamphlet form in our best American libraries; but it is not likely that many of the present generation of readers will take the trouble to read these documents *in extenso*. Some idea of their value as a complete vindication of Mr. Sparks, in the opinion of some of the wisest and best of his contemporaries, may be derived from the following selections from his correspondence at the time these controversial writings appeared.

Professor Andrews Norton, to whom Mr. Sparks showed his proposed reply to the charges first published in the "Evening Post," wrote as follows, March 23, 1852: "Your defense of yourself against the charges which have been brought against you as the editor of Washington's writings is most ample and satisfactory; especially in explaining the origin of those charges so far as they have been founded on mistake or ignorance. That, under the circumstances of the case which you have explained, the copies of the letters in Washington's letter-books, which were in your possession, and were your authority, should vary in some particulars from the letters actually sent was to be expected beforehand. For the most part the variations, so far as they have been brought before the

¹ See vol. i., chapter vii.

public, are evidently corrections made by Washington himself, — sometimes consisting in ameliorations of language which was a little foreign from his customary self-restraint, and which he did not care to have preserved. An editor in possession of the letters actually would have committed a great mistake of judgment, if, having the copy of them intended by the writer for preservation, he should have published instead the uncorrected originals.”

On the publication of the pamphlet, Mr. Francis Parkman wrote from Boston, May 1, 1852: “I thank you for the copy which you sent me of your reply to the strictures on the writings of Washington. I had already read the letters as they appeared in the papers, and it seems to me that they must prove satisfactory to any person who is not blinded by interest or prejudice. I hear them spoken of in this manner.”

Charles Sumner wrote from the United States Senate Chamber, April 9, 1852: “I begin by expressing my sincere satisfaction in your recent letters, which, it seems to me, amply vindicate your judgment and integrity in editing the papers of Washington. I never doubted them; but I am glad, for the sake of others, of your triumphant exposition.” Writing again from Washington, April 28th, Mr. Sumner said: “On the receipt of your letters in the ‘Evening Post,’ I lost no time in sending them to Mr. Peter Force. Meeting him in the street shortly afterwards, he told me that he thought your defense complete. He added that, at that moment, he had on his table a letter of Washington sent to Trumbull, which, on comparison, he found to differ in many respects from the copy in the letter-book. In company at dinner a few days ago I heard Mr. Coxe, the eminent lawyer of Washington, and several others, speak of your defense as triumphant.”

Mr. James S. Mackée, librarian of the State Depart-

ment, under Daniel Webster, had in his custody the Washington manuscripts, and wrote to Mr. Sparks, May 19, 1852: "Most apropos to the subject has been the frequent necessity of late for Colonel Force to compare some of the copies with original papers in this Department, and it is my duty to render him such facilities as I am enabled. I was struck recently with the fact that in one of Washington's letters we found *three* different readings, in different volumes. Other instances of a similar character have occurred, and no one cognizant of such facts would justly charge you with mutilating, suppressing, or altering the papers you have so faithfully and honorably edited."

Horace Binney¹ wrote from Philadelphia, December 1,

¹ Mr. Sparks answered, December 20, 1852, the above letter, as follows: "I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 1st instant, and I could not but be highly gratified with the favorable impression which the perusal of the two pamphlets had made on your mind. I felt bound to vindicate myself from illiberal and unjust charges. The plan adopted for editing Washington's writings was explained at the outset, in the fullest and clearest manner, and I knew that I had faithfully executed the plan according to my best ability and judgment. The task of making a selection of the most valuable materials from so large a mass of papers, and of reconciling the discrepancies of different copies, was as difficult as it was arduous. In so elaborate a work, it may be presumed that occasional errors of judgment have occurred. But I am confident that these are not such as to affect the structure or peculiarities of the composition, the statements of facts, or the historical and private character of the author.

"I was much astonished at the boldness with which Lord Mahon assailed *motives*, knowing that every charge of this kind was totally unfounded. Nor can I now conceive what should induce him to hazard such charges in a matter upon which he is so little informed, and in which he cannot be supposed to have any special interest. In fact, the parts of his 'History' relating to the American Revolution betray a limited knowledge and narrow views, which could not have been expected from a writer who deemed himself qualified to enlighten the public upon so large a subject."

1852, concerning Mr. Sparks' replies to Lord Mahon: "I read them both as soon as they appeared in the journals, with the highest satisfaction. Together they are a complete repulse of Lord Mahon's attack, and an irrefutable vindication of your ability and fidelity as an editor."

REPRINT OF THE REED LETTERS.

We come now to the last phase of this literary controversy. After the appearance of the various pamphlets already noticed, Mr. William B. Reed, in 1852, issued a "Reprint of the Original Letters from Washington to Joseph Reed during the American Revolution, referred to in the Pamphlets of Lord Mahon and Mr. Sparks." Remembering his own unfortunate mistakes in his "Life of Joseph Reed," Mr. W. B. Reed was now very properly "actuated by a sense of duty to all parties." Referring to his first editorial work, he naïvely said: "I printed the Washington letters from the original, the only variations being occasional corrections of grammar and spelling and the omission of one or two sentences, evidently the result of oversight on my part." From these easy sins of omission on the part of Mr. Reed arose Lord Mahon's most serious charge against Mr. Sparks,—that of making additions to the original text. The entire controversy originated in a comparison of Reed's text and Sparks' text of ten or twelve private letters from Washington to Joseph Reed, written the first year of the Revolutionary War. Washington kept no copies of these familiar letters. Sparks printed them from copies furnished by W. B. Reed from the originals in his possession. Undoubtedly Mr. Sparks edited these letters according to his avowed principles; but it is interesting to observe, from W. B. Reed's own confession, that he also corrected Washington's grammar and spelling.

In the "Reprint," he said, "I have thought it best to reprint every one of the letters, which have been selected by Mr. Sparks, even when he copied, not from the originals, but from the letter-books, in order to show, as a mere matter of curiosity, how far *they* differ." Mr. Reed employed the graphical method of parallel columns, showing first, the exact text of the original letters, and second, the variations from that text in Sparks' edition. Mr. Reed was mistaken when he said he had reprinted "every one" of the Reed letters that had been copied by Sparks from Washington's letter-books. Reed reprinted only ten, but there were more than twenty derived by Sparks from that independent source. In most cases, however, Reed printed from the originals in his possession, and prefixed the initials "J. S." to the supposed alterations by the editor of Washington's writings.

In April, 1853, Mr. Sparks prepared and published another pamphlet, entitled "Remarks on a Reprint of the Original Letters from Washington to Joseph Reed." This time the long-suffering and much-enduring editor took his turn in the use of parallel columns, with deadly effect upon Mr. Reed's expressed and implied criticisms. The text as printed by Mr. Reed and the corresponding text from the letter-books of Washington were now placed side by side. For the first time in the whole controversy the impartial reader had the opportunity of seeing for himself how widely the letters actually sent by Washington often differed from the letter-book versions retained by him. It could be seen at a glance that the alterations attributed by Mr. Reed to Jared Sparks were really variations in the text from which, in many instances, he was forced to copy, not having access to the originals. At the same time, it could be discovered exactly what kind of editorial corrections Mr. Sparks had ventured to make, for in footnotes he indicated whatever

slight differences there were between his printed version and that from which he had copied. In the main, Mr. Sparks' text corresponds very closely with the letter-books. There are surprisingly few variations, and these are of very little importance. In the case of one letter, dated December 12, 1778, from Washington to Joseph Reed, sixteen variations attributed by W. B. Reed to "J. S." are really chargeable to the letter-book.

Mr. Sparks said in his "Remarks" that he regarded this new presentation of the subject not as "a matter of literary curiosity," to use Mr. Reed's phrase, but as a duty, and as an act of justice to himself. Such, indeed, is this present review of the entire controversy. Reed himself was responsible for much of the misunderstanding which arose in Lord Mahon's mind and in the mind of the public. It appeared from Reed's own "Reprint" that some of the phrases attributed to Mr. Sparks as corrections were original with Washington. For example, in publishing a letter of Washington's explaining why he had not been able at Cambridge to show civilities to gentlemen in Massachusetts, Mr. Sparks had printed this sentence: "If this has given rise to the jealousy, I can only say that I am sorry for it." W. B. Reed, in his "Life of Joseph Reed," printed this phrase: "I cannot say that I am sorry for it." It was long supposed that Mr. Sparks had changed "cannot" to "can only," for the sake of sparing the feelings of Massachusetts people. It turned out from Reed's "Reprint" that Sparks was right, and that Reed was wrong again in the first instance. So it was also in the case of a letter in which Mr. Sparks was supposed to have substituted "Connecticut regiments" for "Continental regiments." In Reed's "Reprint" Mr. Sparks found, in two short sentences, three errors, — two omissions and a wrong name of a place (Peck's Hill for Peekskill!). All this tends to show, in

the calm words of Mr. Sparks, "the difficulty of securing verbal accuracy in printing from copies of manuscripts, even when the attention is directed to that point alone."

One of the strongest points made by Mr. Sparks in his "Remarks," which closed the whole discussion, was concerning Judge Marshall's editorial methods. Mr. W. B. Reed had sagely remarked, regarding omissions: "The only safe rule seems to be that which was adopted by Chief Justice Marshall long ago." Reed said that rule was, "to mark the fact that a passage was omitted." This information surprised Mr. Sparks, and he sent Mr. James W. Harris to Washington to compare the text of Marshall's extracts with the original letter-books, which Marshall had probably been compelled to use, as did Sparks himself. Harris reported, February 23, 1853: "I have commenced comparing the extracts in Marshall with the letter-books, but if I find as many variations throughout as I have in the first extract in volume ii., it will be considerable of a job, for I have numbered up to thirty-five variations in this extract. I have found all the letters in the letter-books from which the extracts were taken in the volumes ii., iii., and iv. of Marshall. . . . In copying the letters to Reed, I have paid attention to spelling, punctuation, and use of capitals. But in comparing the extracts in Marshall, I do not pay attention to punctuation, spelling, or use of capitals, but only to omissions or change of words and transposition of parts of sentences. It will be almost an endless job to note differences in punctuation."

The result of this careful inquiry Mr. Sparks stated in a few words in his pamphlet called "Remarks." He said it would be difficult to prove that Marshall had any editorial rule with regard to indicating omissions. "In his work are many selections from Washington's letters, some of them of considerable length, and in the midst of

them are frequent omissions of paragraphs and sentences. In no instance, it is believed, can any mark or other indication be discovered, which intimates an omission." Mr. Sparks resorted again to parallel columns to illustrate this point, and to show the fact that Chief Justice Marshall bestowed some attention upon the editorial revision of his selections from Washington's letter-books. There are frequent changes in phraseology and verbal corrections in style. Marshall plainly followed the same literary standards as did Sparks in preparing "copy" for the press, or in reading proof. Indeed, one can hardly resist the conviction that nearly all the corrections, by both Marshall and Sparks, were of the kind which might well have been made in the revision of proof-sheets, if the original "specks of inaccuracy" escaped both the copyist and the compositor.

The impression made upon fair-minded readers by Mr. Sparks' "Remarks" on Reed's "Reprint" is well illustrated by the following extract from a letter of William H. Prescott, May 5, 1853: "I have been reading your last on the Washington papers. It was a good thought,— your printing the two texts in parallel columns showing the variations. On the whole, you show very clearly that your alterations¹ in the Reed correspondence amount to

¹ Speaking of his own editorial variations from Washington's text, Mr. Sparks said: "For these I am willing to be responsible, because they were made under a full conviction of their propriety; but they rarely extend beyond a single word or phrase, and are for the most part grammatical corrections: such as altering the singular number to the plural, or the contrary, when the construction required it, the insertion of a particle or a relative pronoun, the change of one preposition for another, or of an adjective to an adverb, and the like. Special care was also taken to print all the proper names correctly, however they may have been written; and this was not so easy a task as may at first be imagined." This statement of his own case, with regard to corrections and changes, is made by Mr. Sparks in his "Remarks" upon Reed's "Reprint," and

nothing of the slightest consequence, and that your antagonist is himself responsible for two or three of the heaviest sins laid at your door."

SPARKS' OWN VIEWS OF THE CONTROVERSY.

In private letters to friends and correspondents, Mr. Sparks expressed himself very freely upon the subject of the Reed letters and Lord Mahon's criticisms. The reader may here discover exactly what Mr. Sparks thought about the controversy. The following letter was written to Epes Sargent, of Boston, April 22, 1852: "I was much obliged by your note of the 20th instant, and the notice in the 'Transcript' which accompanied it. You will have seen that the criticisms are expended on five or six letters to Joseph Reed. These letters were written very loosely and hastily, and were perfectly confidential. For this reason I at first doubted the propriety of printing them at all; I concluded to retain them in the manner I have done. For some of the discrepancies pointed out by the critic I certainly am not answerable. For instance, I should never have changed 'cannot' into 'can only.'¹ I might have omitted the passage, but should not have made such an alteration. The same may be said of several other verbal changes which are noticed. They should be ascribed, in many cases, to the errors of the transcribers or printers. Two separate transcripts were employed in the two works; and no one, who has not had much experience in the business, can be aware how frequently errors escape through these channels, especially when a substituted word does not mar the

is a perfectly fair conclusion of the whole matter. It should be noted that this statement virtually agrees with Judge Story's verdict in 1833; see vol. ii. p. 284.

¹ This refers to Washington's phrase, "I can only say I am sorry for it," *ante*, p. 497.

general sense of the passage. But these are small points, and I do not allude to them as an apology for the course I pursued in the general preparation of the manuscripts for the printers, which I thought at the time was right, and I have not yet changed my opinion. It is a matter, however, upon which there may be an honest difference of opinion, according to the views which individuals may entertain, without impeaching any one's integrity or motives; but the New York critics seem to have lost sight of candor and justice."

Mr. Sparks wrote to his old friend, the Rev. William B. Sprague, April 30, 1852: "My object was to show that my editorial labors were conducted with fidelity, fairness, and upon conscientious principles, all of which were brought in question by the tone of the remarks in the 'Evening Post,' founded on an inspection of six or eight letters to Joseph Reed. These letters were written hastily, in perfect confidence, and without the least thought that they would ever be published. Hence they are corrected with much more freedom than any others. See an extract from a letter from me to Mr. William B. Reed, in a note to the 'Life of Joseph Reed,' vol. i. p. 125. In regard to the corrections themselves, there will of course be a difference of opinion, according to the views which individuals may take of the nature of an editor's duty, and of his judgment in executing it in particular cases. This is a matter for discussion and criticism, and not a ground for censure and abuse."

Mr. Sparks' letter to Charles S. Daveis,¹ of Portland, January 23, 1854, throws an interesting sidelight upon the whole controversy, from an American point of view: "Your opinion, that my criticism upon Lord Mahon's assaults were less pointed and severe than the provoca-

¹ Mr. Daveis had written, November, 1853, a long and thoroughly appreciative letter to Mr. Sparks.

tion might justly warrant, is perhaps well founded. In fact, your remarks clearly prove that a higher tone might fairly have been assumed. But, in the first place, I knew that my cause stood on a firm bottom, and only required to be placed in its true light before the public. Again, I had the best evidence for believing that Mahon was put upon his false track by meddling and interested persons in this country, with some of whom he had before been in correspondence. There was a scheme on foot, an editor's and publisher's project, for bringing out a new collection of Washington's writings, and it was thought that the best preliminary steps would be to ruin my edition.¹ Hence the vehement and reckless attacks that first appeared in the newspapers. Under these circumstances, I thought it not worth while to go any further with Lord Mahon than to show him to be utterly in the wrong, as to every essential point which he made a ground of censure, and to rebuke in courteous terms his somewhat lofty airs and pretensions; taking care also not to divert the reader's attention by branching off into collateral topics, to which I was sometimes tempted by his presumptuous and overweening confidence.

"Mr. Reed's course was singular. He took no pains to correct the false charge uttered against me (the only one of real moment) of making additions to the text in some places and changing in others with the intent of altering the sense, although he was the only individual able to do it by having the originals in his hands. These originals, by the way, I never saw. I relied entirely on the transcripts furnished to me by himself, which proved in many parts to be erroneous. His book is anything but ingenuous. He prints the two texts in parallel columns, and leads the reader to understand that every

¹ There has been too much of the wrecker's business in all this modern criticism of Mr. Sparks' editorial work.

variation between them was an editorial change made by me, whereas nearly all of them are discrepancies between the originals in his possession and the letter-books from which my text was drawn. How far the variations in Judge Marshall's text were made by himself, or are discrepancies between the originals and the letter-books, it is impossible to ascertain, because it cannot be known in what cases he had the use of the originals; but it is highly probable that he used the letter-books only. . . .

“As to the general merits of the controversy, I have only to add that the mode of editing unpublished letters is a fair subject of criticism. But when an editor sets out certain principles with fullness and precision, the criticisms ought to proceed upon that basis, and not run into censures of him for not doing what he did not pretend to do. Hence it was unjustifiable in the critics to condemn my editorial labors with so much asperity, and at the same time to keep out of sight the explanations I had so largely and explicitly given in the introductory part of the work. This mode of proceeding was neither honorable nor just, since its only tendency was to pervert public opinion by making false impressions and exciting distrust.”

One further illustration of Mr. Sparks' conception of editorial duty is seen in the following letter, June 27, 1853, to the Hon. Charles F. Mercer, who had complained because one passage in a letter of Washington appeared to reflect upon the Mercer family: “I assure you that I never italicized a single line in Washington's letters which was not underscored in the manuscript; and least of all should I have done such a thing with the view of making conspicuous any remarks unfavorable to a family with whose very high standing, in regard both to itself and to its connections, I was well acquainted.”

PEACE.

It is a pleasant duty to record the fact that, in the end, Mr. Sparks and Lord Mahon reached a cordial understanding. Various literary and social courtesies were exchanged between them. Lord Mahon wrote to George Ticknor, in January, 1853, regarding Mr. Sparks: "It has given me concern to have found myself engaged in controversy with Mr. Sparks. I am told that he is coming on a visit to England. Pray, if you happen to see him, be so good as to say to him from me, that I hope the paper-war which has passed between us may not, in his opinion, preclude me from having the honor to call upon him on his arrival, and making his acquaintance. While I adhere to my own opinions and understand him as unreservedly to adhere to his, respecting editorship, I do not feel that difference as at all irreconcilable with my general sentiments towards him, as a fellow-laborer in the field of literature, of esteem and regard."

When Mr. Sparks published his last editorial work, he sent a complimentary copy to Lord Mahon, who acknowledged the same in a note from Grosvenor Place, London, May 30, 1853: "Lord Mahon presents his compliments to Mr. Sparks, and begs leave to return him many thanks for the obliging gift of a copy of the 'Correspondence of the American Revolution' as just published, a work that cannot fail to be of much interest and value. Lord Mahon accepts it from Mr. Sparks with the greater pleasure as a proof that the controversy in which they have lately been engaged has not left behind it in Mr. Sparks the smallest feeling of personal acrimony or ill-will, which Lord Mahon can assure him it has not on his own part."

The English historian sent his own writings to Mr. Sparks and sought his criticism. The American scholar offered various friendly and valuable suggestions. In a

letter dated October 21, 1854, Mr. Sparks said: "Permit me to take this occasion, my lord, to thank you for your kind message to Mr. Ticknor several months ago. If I should again cross the Atlantic, I assure you the meeting you propose will be among my most agreeable anticipations. I know not why our literary skirmishes should interfere with personal respect and esteem, or mar the relations of social intercourse. It would certainly give me pleasure to discuss with you in a more unreserved way the points of history and criticism which have been brought under our notice. I need not say that I was gratified with the diploma of membership of the Antiquarian Society, over which your lordship has the honor to preside. This gratification was enhanced by the knowledge that the influence of the president was exerted in promoting the election."

Lord Mahon wrote to Jared Sparks from Rome, November 17, 1854: "It is very gratifying to me to observe the cordial spirit in which you have been pleased to receive the presentation of my seventh volume, and the kind terms in which you advert to many parts of it. Besides the just value that must attach to your good or ill opinion on such subjects, I feel well warranted in regarding this offer and this acceptance as entire proof that our past literary skirmishes have left no rankling trace on either side. . . . It was with much pleasure that the Society of Antiquaries added your name—as they did with entire unanimity—to their distinguished and far from extensive list of Foreign Members, and they will look forward to the further satisfaction of receiving you, if you come to England. In that case, I shall also hope that you will not forget to do me the honor, of which you are so good as to permit me, as I had wished, to form the anticipation, of giving me an opportunity of seeing you; when I am sure that we might with much pleasure and without the least asperity talk over many of those long-

past Anglo-American affairs. Meanwhile, I beg you to believe me with great truth and respect, sir, your very faithful and obedient servant,
MAHON."

Earl Stanhope called repeatedly upon Mr. Sparks during his first brief stay in London in July, 1857. Upon Mr. Sparks' return the following spring from a tour on the continent and a winter in Paris, the earl sent him the following pleasant note, May 22, 1858: "In calling upon you this forenoon, I left a card from Lady Stanhope for an evening party on Wednesday the 26th, and hope that at all events we may see you then. But if you happen to be disengaged to dinner that day, and will come at 7.15 to meet the officers of the Society of Antiquaries, you would give great pleasure both to them and to, my dear sir, yours very sincerely,
STANHOPE."

Mr. Sparks accepted the invitation to meet the earl and his friends at dinner. Through Mr. Sparks' influence Earl Stanhope was afterwards elected to membership of the Massachusetts Historical Society.¹

¹ After Mr. Sparks' death, his memoir was prepared for the Massachusetts Historical Society by Dr. George E. Ellis, to whom Earl Stanhope wrote from the House of Lords, June 16, 1869: "I return you many thanks for the memoir of Mr. Jared Sparks which you have had the goodness to send me. It seems to me a worthy record of a laborious and accomplished man, to whom American history owes great obligations. For my own part, I desire to acknowledge the candid and courteous manner in which you have related the controversy between Mr. Sparks and me. Our discussion, during the time that it lasted, was not free from asperity; but I am glad to reflect that the cloud which it left gradually passed away. I know that I came to regard him with a friendly feeling. It is to him I am indebted for the honor of my election as a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and I had hoped to see more of him in private life in the event of his revisiting Europe.

"Allow me in conclusion to express a hope — without deviating into any political arguments — that the very hostile feelings against England, which seem at present to find favor in the United States, may be gradually assuaged, and that we in England may do or say nothing that should tend to their continuance."

CHAPTER XXXI.

RELATIONS WITH IRVING AND EVERETT.

IN the spring of 1830 Mr. Vaughan, the British minister in Washington, told Mr. Sparks that Murray, the English publisher, had engaged Washington Irving to write a Life of Washington. The information had come to Mr. Vaughan in a private letter from London. Mr. Sparks wrote, March 21st, to his friend Colonel Aspinwall, American consul in London, who had made the contract with John Murray for the publication of Irving's "Life of Columbus:" "I shall be sorry, for two reasons, if Mr. Irving engages in such an undertaking. First, because the materials to which he will have access are very imperfect, and his work must necessarily be marked by many important deficiencies. This will be much to be regretted, since a life from so elegant a pen as that of Mr. Irving will become a classic in the language, and thus a defective and partial memoir of our greatest hero will be perpetuated. And secondly, after the unwearied pains which I am taking to collect materials, for an edition of Washington's writings, and a full memoir of his life, such an interference at so unseasonable a time must tend to throw embarrassments in my way, and injure my prospects of success. This is no reason, however, why Mr. Irving should not accept any tempting offer as a matter of business, and I only mention it as a substantial cause of personal regret on my part."

Irving's "Columbus," based on Navarrete's valuable

collections, had appeared in 1828, and had met with extraordinary success. It is not unlikely that the English publisher, John Murray, made Irving some proposition regarding a Life of Washington. Sparks had twice conferred with Murray in 1828 regarding an English edition of the "Life and Writings of Washington," but no definite arrangement had been made. Sparks had agreed to send Murray the first two volumes of the work, as soon as they should appear. Murray was then to decide whether the work was suitable for the English market.

Murray's proposition, if actually made, led to no immediate result. It was impossible for Irving, or for any author, to write a suitable work on the Life of Washington without possession of the necessary biographical materials. The collection and publication of such materials was precisely the work upon which Jared Sparks was engaged for at least ten years, from 1828 to 1838. Irving could no more have written his "Life of Washington" without the aid of Sparks than he could have written his "Columbus" without the help of Navarrete. Irving did not attempt the former biography until towards the close of his literary career. The work was not finished until three months before his death in 1859, although the publication was begun in 1855.

Upon the subject of Irving's Washington, Mr. Sparks wrote, July 2, 1856, to his old college friend in Charleston, South Carolina, the Rev. Samuel Gilman, as follows: "I can scarcely think it advisable for me to attempt to give you any more light on the subject of your proposed review than you already possess; especially, if you are going through the volumes of 'Washington's Writings' in the way you mention. Little is known about Washington which is not to be found in those volumes, either in the text, notes, or appendixes. It is true enough that Mr. Irving's title is a strange misnomer. To indicate the

character of the work, the title should be 'History of the Life and Times of George Washington,' or perhaps more properly, 'History of the United States during the Life of George Washington.' It was evidently Mr. Irving's plan to collect together the most prominent historical facts within this period, and curious anecdotes of the principal actors, and bring them into the form of a memoir, which should be entertaining as well as instructive. I can perceive no objection to such a plan. On the contrary, it has many advantages for a writer like Mr. Irving, who has the genius and facility to throw a charm over whatsoever comes from his pen. But it should not be passed off as a Life of Washington. Indeed, it can scarcely be called history; it is rather a delineation of striking events, adorned with amusing incidents and anecdotes.

"As to the ample use he makes of 'Washington's Writings,' it will be obvious to you upon a slight inspection. He makes a reference now and then. I think he might have given a more full account of that work in his preface, especially as he was to draw so largely from it. As far as he has gone, I do not discover any facts in regard to Washington which I did not know before. The labor of research is not suited to Mr. Irving's patience or taste. But he makes no pretensions of having drawn from new fountains, and it would perhaps be unreasonable to complain of a deficiency in this particular, when he has done so much and so well in carrying out his own plan. He seldom alludes to the 'Library of American Biography,' although he often gleans from it. The lives in that work were mostly written from original materials, and were designed to have an historical value. They are many of them from the pens of our best writers.

"You inquire for a list of the lives of Washington. I know of none but that of Marshall and my own, which

can be regarded in the light of 'original authorities,' that is, as having been drawn from Washington's papers. Marshall's is a work of high character, but it is essentially an historical life. Many of the details are abridged in his revised edition in two volumes. It was my object to confine myself strictly to incidents relating to the character and acts of Washington. M. Guizot wrote an admirable essay, prefixed to the translation of the 'Life and Writings' published by him in Paris. As you may not have access to that work, I send you by mail a copy of Mr. Hillard's translation of the essay.

"Your 'Contributions' are in high repute here, and much read. Publishing them in that form was a happy thought. Some of them revive agreeable associations of times long past, when you were an inmate of 'Holworthy' and I of 'Stoughton Hall,' and both deeply engaged in teaching the 'young idea' not 'how to shoot,' but how to solve mathematical problems."

In a letter written at Sunnyside, May 23, 1853, to the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Washington Irving made the following appreciative reference to the work of Mr. Sparks: "I doubt whether the world will ever get a more full and correct idea of Washington than is furnished by Sparks' collection of his letters, with the accompanying notes and illustrations and the preliminary biography. I cannot join in the severe censures that have been passed upon Sparks for the verbal corrections and alterations he has permitted himself to make in some of Washington's letters. They have been spoken of too harshly. From the examination I have given to the correspondence of Washington in the archives of the State Department, it appears to me that Sparks has executed his task of selection, arrangement, and copious illustration with great judgment and discrimination, and with consummate fidelity to the essential purposes of history. His intelligent

and indefatigable labors in this and other fields of American history are of national and incalculable importance. Posterity will do justice to them and him."

Mr. Winthrop asked permission to show this letter to Mr. Sparks, and received the following cordial assent, dated Sunnyside, July 13, 1853: "I do not recollect what I said about Mr. Sparks in my former letter, but I know that I said nothing but what I thought and felt, and if you think the letter would be gratifying to him, you may put it at his service. He is a gentleman whom I have learnt thoroughly to respect and value from long and close consideration of his works."

This letter was shown to Mr. Sparks, and he indicated his gratification in the following letter to Irving, October 23, 1854: "More than a year has elapsed since Mr. Winthrop communicated to me, as I understood by your consent, an extract from one of your letters to him, containing remarks on the manner in which the task of editing 'Washington's Writings' had been executed. Illness and other causes have prevented my writing to you in reference to that letter much longer than I could have wished. Be assured I was not insensible to the candid and liberal spirit with which you spoke of my literary labors in that undertaking, and I valued your opinion the more highly as it was a voluntary offering, and as no other individual is so well qualified, from his own researches and studies, to form a mature and unbiased judgment.

"The assaults lately made with so much asperity on the editorship of the work might have given me annoyance and concern, if I were not conscious of having performed what I undertook with the utmost care and strictest fidelity, according to the principles laid down and fully explained in the introductory parts. Few persons, without large experience in attempts of this kind, can

easily comprehend the difficulties of such an undertaking, or form a just conception of the infinite variety of details upon which the judgment is called to decide. In the plan I adopted, two objects were aimed at: first, to select such materials as would unfold the private life and character of Washington, as far as it could be done within the limits prescribed; and, secondly, such as contained the most important historical facts illustrative of the public events in which he was concerned. Whether this was the best plan that could be devised, or whether it was executed in the best manner it could have been, are fair questions, and I am by no means disposed to insist on an affirmative answer. Indeed, I can see room for improvement, but I spared neither time, care, labor, nor expense in the work, and I cannot charge myself with any censurable delinquency in performing the duties of a faithful editor.

“The discrepancies often occurring between the manuscripts, and the crude state of many of those transcribed into the letter-books, were a constant source of embarrassment. In making corrections of grammar and phraseology, which seemed to me absolutely necessary for the press, it is highly probable that my judgment may sometimes have been misled. But I am confident that not a single idea or opinion is altered or added in the whole collection.

“The critics have a propensity to find fault. They occasionally speak with as little knowledge as forbearance. I was recently censured with much vehemence in a New York journal for having omitted a passage concerning slavery in one of Washington’s letters to Tobias Lear. It turns out that the passage is not in the letter-book from which I printed, nor in the original, which has been inspected. It is found in a copy, however, made nobody knows when or where.

“Before I close, will you allow me to relate a little incident? In the first year of my college life I went to Maryland, where I was engaged for several months as a teacher in a private family. On my progress to the South I stopped a day in Philadelphia, at a hotel in Second Street. While I was sitting in the drawing-room with Mr. Gold, then a member of Congress from New York, a young gentleman came in, and talked somewhat fluently with him for half an hour on the prospect of a war and other topics of the day, and then retired. After he was gone, Mr. Gold said to me, ‘That gentleman is Mr. Washington Irving.’ So I went on my way rejoicing that I had seen the author of ‘Knickerbocker,’ and took care to tell it to my classmates when I returned to college. This happened on the 2d of May, 1812.¹ Again, dear sir, accept my thanks for your kind letter to Mr. Winthrop, and the assurance of the sincere respect and esteem of your most obedient servant, JARED SPARKS.

“P. S. I have sent to New York a copy of the ‘Correspondence of the Revolution,’ which will be forwarded to you by express, and which I hope you will consider as not an unworthy contribution to your library.”

SPARKS AND EVERETT.

In 1860, Edward Everett’s “Life of Washington” was published. Mr. Sparks welcomed the work of his friend in the following letter, dated October 22, 1860: “I have been very much gratified with the perusal of your ‘Life of Washington,’ a copy of which you had the kindness to send me, and for which I beg you will accept my thanks. It has revived associations with my own labors, which I am not reluctant to cherish. It is no easy task

¹ Irving was born in 1783, and was therefore six years older than Sparks. Irving published “Knickerbocker’s History of New York” in 1809.

to compress such a variety and multitude of important facts within so small a compass, but it appears to me that you have executed this difficult task with signal skill and success, not only in regard to the events in Washington's life, but to the characters of the distinguished men who were associated with him.

"The Rev. John M. Simpkinson, Vicar of Brington,¹ in Northamptonshire, has recently published a small volume entitled 'The Washingtons,' in which are contained some new facts respecting Lawrence and John Washington, the emigrants to Virginia. John was advanced in life when he emigrated, and had two sons grown to manhood, one of whom was named John. His wife had died several years before. As no notice of this son John after the emigration has been found in England, Mr. Simpkinson is of the opinion that he accompanied his father to America. Considering the father's age, he suggests, also, that it may have been the son who married Anne Pope, and received the commission of Colonel during the wars

¹ In a letter to Governor Andrew, February 22, 1861, Mr. Sparks, quoting Charles Sumner, said that in the church at Brington, near Althorpe, in Northamptonshire, were placed the remains of Lawrence Washington, father of John and Lawrence Washington, who emigrated to America. Earl Spencer, the proprietor of Althorpe, had sent to Mr. Sumner two stones, of the same size and from the same quarry as the original monuments to Lawrence and his brother Robert, and with facsimile inscriptions. Mr. Sparks, with Mr. Sumner's approval, recommended to Governor Andrew that these stones be placed in the State House at Boston. This was done, by a resolution of the Massachusetts legislature, in accordance with Governor Andrew's message, which was printed, with Mr. Sparks' letter to the governor and Mr. Sumner's letter to Mr. Sparks, in House Document No. 199, in 1861, just before the outbreak of the Civil War. It was ordered that the two memorial tablets be placed in the Doric Hall of the State House, near the statue of Washington. This was the last public service rendered by Mr. Sparks to the memory of the Father of his country.

with the Indians. This suggestion is not without weight. It is, moreover, proved that the father was knighted, and was known as Sir John Washington in England."

To this English vicar, in grateful acknowledgment of his contribution to the history of the Washington family, Mr. Sparks sent a sketch of the famous elm-tree under which Whitefield had preached, and under which Washington took command of the American army. Mr. Sparks sent also a picture of the house occupied by Washington as his headquarters in Cambridge. In that house it will be remembered Sparks prepared for publication the "Life and Writings of Washington."

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Mr. Everett often applied to Mr. Sparks for historical information on points of political interest. The following extract from Mr. Sparks' letter of May 27, 1861, in reply to Mr. Everett's of May 25th, explains itself: "I do not remember to have seen any such letter as you mention, in which Washington is reported to have said in substance that 'it was the independence of the United States which was acknowledged by England, and that, ceasing to be united, Great Britain would no longer be bound by the recognition.' It seems to me highly improbable that he should have expressed such an opinion in any unqualified sense. In the first article of the treaty, it is stated that 'His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States to be free, sovereign, and independent States, that he treats with them as such, and, for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquishes all claims to the government, propriety, and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof.' This declaration is unconditional and positive, and was evidently intended to be perpetual. An independent nation must certainly have the power of changing its forms of government without sacrificing its independence; and while it fulfills the terms of its trea-

ties with other nations, such nations are bound to recognize and respect the government under such forms as it may choose to adopt. Moreover, if the opinion ascribed to Washington be correct, the independence of the States and Territories west of the Mississippi River has not yet been recognized by Great Britain, as they are not within the limits defined in the treaty. It is true that, if there should be a separation of the States, and if a portion of them should unite in setting up a new form of government, the relations between Great Britain and America would become more complex, and it is uncertain in what light these might be viewed by the British ministers. Present appearances afford grounds for the inference that they would not regret such a result. I hope you will be able to find Washington's letter, if it should prove to be in existence."

The Trent affair, or the American seizure of the Confederate emissaries Mason and Slidell, upon an English vessel, led to some correspondence between Mr. Everett and Mr. Sparks regarding the case of Mr. Laurens,¹ which Mr. Sparks had mentioned in his edition of the "Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution" (vol. ii. p. 461). The question at issue was whether Mr. Laurens was captured in an American vessel sailing from Philadelphia, or in a Dutch vessel from Martinique. Mr. Sparks thought it was doubtful whether Laurens was taken from a neutral vessel, and upon this point turned the significance of the precedent.

In preparing his orations, Mr. Everett frequently consulted Mr. Sparks upon doubtful questions. Indeed, the best historical scholars in the country, including William

¹ Sparks to Everett, November 22, 1861, and February 4, 1861; Everett to Sparks, November 23, 1861. Frank Moore's *Diary*, vol. ii. 353, was Mr. Everett's authority for thinking that Mr. Laurens had been captured upon a Dutch vessel.

H. Prescott, George Ticknor, George S. Hillard, and George Bancroft, were continually writing to Mr. Sparks for information throughout the later years of his life.

A curious letter from Edward Everett is that of January 5, 1864: "I notice that in your 'Life of Washington' you do not adopt any of Weems' anecdotes. Might they not be accepted when not intrinsically improbable, and when Weems mentions the authority on which he gives them? The story of planting the cabbage seed so as to form the letters of Washington's name is suspicious as being told of some one else, though I forget of whom; but that does not absolutely discredit it. It is a different case from Tell's shooting the apple from the child's head, which is questioned on account of an older legend to the same effect. Washington's father might have been led to the little *ruse* by the very fact that it was practiced in a former case. Please tell me in three lines whether you think Weems wholly worthless as a biographer of Washington. . . .

"P. S. By the way, can you tell me who it is of whom the planting anecdote is told? A friend who has just left me thought it was Pascal; but nothing of the kind is related in the 'Biographie Universelle.'"

To this inquiry regarding the credibility of Parson Weems, Mr. Sparks replied, January 11, 1864: "I have never referred to Weems' 'Life of Washington,' because I have very little confidence in the genuineness or accuracy of his statements. His anecdotes are generally derived from tradition or hearsay, and they are so much adorned by his own fancy as to make them of very doubtful authority. Of his 'Life of Marion' he speaks as follows, in a letter quoted by Duyekineck: 'Knowing the passion of the times for novels, I have endeavored to throw your ideas and facts about General Marion into the garb and dress of a military romance.' Such also was undoubtedly his design in the 'Life of Washington.'

“As to seed-planting, it may be recollected that Beattie was only two years younger than Washington, and the story may have gone abroad at the time and tempted Washington’s father to repeat the experiment. But, whatever may have been the fact in regard to planting the seed, it is certain that the conversation between the father and son is entirely imaginary. And the same may be said of all the dialogues and language ascribed to others throughout the book.

“Historical facts are often distorted, and sometimes erroneously stated. The affair of Jumonville is represented to have been at the Little Meadows. It really occurred near Fort Necessity, twenty-eight miles farther north. The writer tells us that Braddock died at Fort Cumberland ‘in the arms of Washington.’ He actually died at Fort Necessity, fifty miles from Cumberland. The place of his burial was pointed out to me, more than thirty years ago, by an inhabitant of that neighborhood. Tradition says that he was buried in the road to prevent the Indians from discovering his grave.

“As to the anecdote of Payne, I do not believe that ‘our hero was brought to the ground by a sturdy hickory.’ I have no knowledge of a reference to such an event by any other writer. There may have been a rencounter of some kind. Washington was then in Alexandria with the remnant of the troops, who had retreated with him from Fort Necessity.

“Weems’ writings had a very extensive circulation. I have seen the twenty-ninth edition of the ‘Life of Washington.’ After leaving Pohick Church, he was employed by Matthew Cary as a traveling agent for selling books. His own works made a large part of his stock. His ‘Life of Franklin’ has never come into my hands, nor that of William Penn. They were doubtless of the same romantic character as that of Washington. That is,

they were novels, founded in some parts on facts, and in others on the suggestions of a fertile imagination. It seems to have been his aim, however, to inculcate principles of morality, suited to the minds of his young readers."¹

¹ The above is the last letter transcribed into Mr. Sparks' letter-book.

CHAPTER XXXII.

DISCOVERY OF FRANKLIN'S PAPERS.

MR. SPARKS was far from being satisfied with the results of his work in 1840 in collecting the writings of Franklin. The preface ends with these words, which, while expressing regret at the incompleteness of the edition, are almost prophetic of discoveries that were to come: "Although the Editor has spared neither labor nor expense in his endeavors to make this edition a complete collection of the writings of Franklin, yet he is constrained to say, in justice to the memory of the author, that he has been less successful than he could have wished. Many papers, known to have once existed, he has not been able to find. Of this description are numerous letters to his son, written before the Revolution; and also his letters, during a long course of years, to his daughter and his son-in-law, a very few of which have been preserved. Again, his entire correspondence with the Assemblies of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Georgia, while he was agent for those colonies in England, has hitherto eluded the most vigilant search. All these papers are probably lost, as well as those taken from the chest in Galloway's house, and others, described by him as important, which he had committed to the charge of his son, before his mission to France. It is possible that other writings may yet be brought to light, which may afford some future editor the means of more entire success."

The very year that the publication of Sparks' "Frank-

lin" was completed, there was found in St. James Street, London, on the top shelf of a tailor's shop, a mass of Franklin's papers in loose bundles. The person who found them had at one time been a fellow-lodger of William Temple Franklin, to whom his grandfather, Benjamin Franklin, had willed all his books and manuscripts. William Temple Franklin had brought the great bulk of his grandfather's manuscripts to London, and there, in 1817-19, had published selections amounting to three quarto volumes. The English publisher, Colburn, was unwilling to go on with the work until its success as a business venture was fully assured. William Temple Franklin died in Paris in 1823, and his widow took charge of the Franklin papers, which had hitherto been stored at her husband's bankers' in St. James Street, near his lodgings. Mrs. Franklin probably had more use for the chest than for its contents, which were doubtless thought to be a mass of useless papers. Some idea of the practical use to which they were put in the tailor's shop the present writer once derived from the library of the State Department in Washington, where Franklin's papers now are. One of the manuscripts appeared to have been cut into the form of a sleeve pattern! William Temple Franklin's fellow-lodger, who first obtained possession of the papers, held some office under the English government, and endeavored to sell them to the British Museum, but they were declined by this institution, also by Lord Palmerston, and by various American ministers, who doubtless thought that the papers had all been published in the edition of William Temple Franklin. Many of them were indeed already in type; but the great mass, some 2,430 pages, had never been printed.

About 1850 the Franklin papers were brought to the notice of Mr. Abbott Lawrence, then American minister

at the court of St. James. He referred the matter to Mr. Henry Stevens, an American bookseller, who, appreciating the value of the collection, ventured to purchase it. He appears to have sought special information from his old friend and patron,¹ President Sparks, of Harvard

¹ Mr. Sparks was one of the earliest patrons of Henry Stevens, "the Green Mountain Boy" and American bibliophile in London. In a letter, February 3, 1847, Mr. Stevens speaks of his great success in becoming a special agent for Panizzi, the librarian of the British Museum, and says he now has large plans, "especially for a boy who was obliged to borrow \$400 in order to leave home. God bless *you* for assisting me to that money. I shall never forget your kindness." Panizzi employed Stevens to furnish the British Museum, at a commission of ten per cent., with every book and pamphlet relating to America, North or South, that could possibly be discovered in any language. Panizzi sent him on special commissions to the Continent, and gave him letters of introduction to the great libraries of Paris, Stuttgart, Munich, Leipzig, Dresden, Vienna, Berlin, and Göttingen. Stevens became the American agent of some of these libraries, and introduced into Europe hosts of American books. He once jocosely said to Mr. Sparks, "It seems to me that 1,000 volumes of good American books in Austria will be equal to half a dozen Presbyterian missionaries and two steam engines!" The international services of good booksellers, like Stevens in London, and Bossange in Paris, were incalculable. Stevens made the British Museum one of the best places in the world for American historical research. He patriotically gave, however, first choice to the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, to which, at one time, he sold his entire collection of Americana, two thirds of which came from Mr. Obadiah Rich, his virtual predecessor, with whom Mr. Sparks had dealt for many years. Stevens said to Mr. Sparks in 1845: "I doubt not Mr. Brown will soon have the most complete collection of books pertaining to North America, printed prior to 1700, in the world." Stevens also rendered important services to the Brinley Library and to Mr. James Lenox, founder of the Lenox Library in New York. A very large portion of the Lenox Library once belonged to Stevens (see "Recollections of James Lenox," p. 186). He was the literary agent in London of the Smithsonian Institution. For Harvard and other colleges, for American historical societies, for public and private libraries throughout the United States and Canada, he secured

College. There is a packet of Stevens' letters, with drafts of the answers sent to them, in one of Mr. Sparks' portfolios, showing very early and serious negotiations towards the American publication of the newly discovered materials. Stevens wrote, June 27, 1850: "I thank you very much for the information you gave me about the Franklin papers. I have much to communicate to you on this subject, and will try and find time to do so by the next post. There is no mystery about the matter, and nothing to conceal, but as so much noise was made foolishly about the Washington books, I thought I would hold this matter in the dark until I had got the papers arranged, bound, and catalogued. But as soon as I can, I will tell you the whole story, and shall have lots of questions to ask."

For a time Stevens kept very quiet about this matter, but alludes to it again in a letter dated February 6, 1851: "I have been doing nothing with the Franklin papers for some time, having many other affairs on hand. A large portion of them are at the binder's. The papers that I have are very voluminous. About half of them, I should think, have been printed, not more. Among them are about twenty-five original letters of Count Vergennes, which I do not find printed in your edition of Franklin. These papers consist of nearly all the MSS. used by W. T. Franklin in his edition, six volumes, 8vo, 1818-32,

many valuable books. The importation of English literature and periodicals into America he long carried on, single-handed, upon a large scale. At one time, 1854, he said he was doing "a cash business of upwards of £20,000 a year." The great libraries of two continents were materially aided by this enterprising "Green Mountain Boy," this protégé of Jared Sparks, who first set him upon the track of materials for American history in foreign archives. Stevens' interest in the Franklin papers, and in procuring copies of American historical manuscripts, was first quickened by commissions from the American biographer and historian.

and about as many more which he probably intended to have printed. But I have not the papers of Governor Franklin, of New Jersey. These, with many other papers, I suppose, were the ones deposited with Herries & Co., Bankers, when Temple Franklin went to Paris, about 1819. The box containing these papers was delivered to the order of Franklin's widow in April, 1828, so I am informed by Herries & Co. Further I cannot trace the papers; but I suppose them to be somewhere in Paris. Can you give me a clue to them?"

In Mr. Sparks' journal for February 22, 1851, is recorded further information derived from the above letter: "Received a letter from Mr. Henry Stevens, London, in which he says that the autograph biography of Dr. Franklin, which he gave to M. Viellard in Passy, is now in the possession of the descendants of M. Viellard, at Amiens. Mr. Stevens saw the manuscript there last May. It is a folio volume of 120 leaves. He offered \$500 for it, but the owners asked \$5,000." Mr. Sparks wrote Stevens, June 1, 1853: "I have not heard from you for a long time. More than a year ago I wrote requesting you to procure for me from Mr. Crossley [of Manchester] a copy of Franklin's essay on 'Liberty and Necessity.'¹ . . . In the collection of Franklin papers, which you purchased in London, there are doubtless valuable letters, which have never been published. It has occurred to me that you might make a profitable use of your papers, and render an important service to the public, by printing a selection from such of them as have not already appeared from the press, including all the letters written by Franklin. My edition of Franklin's works contains everything known to have come from his

¹ James Parton afterwards secured a copy of this rare tract, and reprinted it in the appendix to the first volume of his "Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin."

pen, which could be found when that edition was printed. It is comprised in ten volumes. Your papers might be published as a continuation, and in a style to match with those volumes. Several thousand sets have been sold, and nearly all the purchasers would, of course, desire to have the work complete. This would open a ready sale for a pretty large number of copies. The additional part might also be sold as a separate work."

Mr. Sparks offered to prepare the papers for the press, to make as favorable terms as possible with a publisher, to superintend the work of publication, and to give Mr. Stevens two thirds of the profits, with a two thirds interest in the work. Mr. Sparks said his principal object was to make his own edition complete. To this fair proposition Mr. Stevens replied, July 20, 1853, saying that he was inclined to accept it: "The only question is as to the effect of the publication on the price which I mean to demand of Congress. Considering that I have nearly all the records of Franklin's embassy in Paris, and many other public papers, I am told that I may as well demand at least \$25,000. I am having them arranged and bound in morocco, in about one hundred volumes, large and small. I cannot tell of course how many of them would be of sufficient interest to print, but I should guess that you might find enough to make five additional volumes, including some important letters addressed to Franklin. However, if you think that their publication, as you propose, would not materially reduce the value of the original MSS., I am willing to place the whole collection in your hands, on the terms you offer. You, with all your other resources, can make more of these MSS. than any one else. I am too much pressed with other matters to make a list of the papers, but will place them as soon as bound in your hands, so that you can look them all over. You will meet with some strange evidences of Temple Franklin's ability and honesty as an editor."

Mr. Sparks wrote again to Mr. Stevens, August 9, 1853: "I have just received your letter of the 20th ultimo, and hasten to reply concerning the Franklin papers. If you design them for Congress, I can scarcely suppose that the publishing of a selection from them would diminish their value as official and original documents and records. But on this point I think your own judgment as good as that of any other person. If it is your purpose to send the papers ultimately to this country, and you are disposed to accede to my proposition, your best course will undoubtedly be to forward the volumes to me as fast as they are ready. I will take the best care of them, look them over, and let you know my opinion of the whole matter without delay after they all arrive. William Temple Franklin died at Paris in 1823. His widow (an Englishwoman, as I understood) was living there in 1829, when I was first in Paris. I did not see her, but Mr. Coxe Barnett, who was long the American consul there, was well acquainted with her, and at my request consulted her about the papers left in her hands by her husband. She said that she had such papers, but declined allowing them to be examined, because they established, as she believed, certain claims of her husband upon Congress, which she intended to pursue, and she thought any previous use of the papers might interfere with the success of this application. She died not long afterwards, and what became of the papers I have never known. You might possibly ascertain from Mr. Walsh, or some other person well acquainted in Paris. It will be desirable, at any rate, to obtain those papers, whatever they may have been; and the fact that you have procured all the papers left by William Temple Franklin will enhance the value of your collection. It seems probable that Mrs. Franklin's effects may have been sent to her family in England. It was only from

general report, however, that I understood her to be an English lady."

The prospect seemed to be good for a new and supplementary edition of Sparks' "Franklin," to embrace the new materials in the Stevens collection. But on February 17, 1854, Mr. Stevens wrote that, in consequence of other purchases of manuscripts, he had been obliged to deposit the Franklin papers as security, until certain notes were paid. He asked Mr. Sparks to advance him from £500 to £700 for six months, and said he could then send the manuscripts to America. Stevens furthermore said that he should like to see the Franklin papers published as soon as possible, and that Cornwall Lewis, editor of the "Edinburgh Review," who had published in the last number of that magazine an article partly relating to Franklin, had promised to review the new volumes. "He is full of Franklin."

Mr. Sparks wrote again, April 14, 1855: "As to the Franklin papers, if they are to be published at all, I think the sooner it is done, the better; because the longer it is delayed, the less connection these papers will seem to have with the edition of his works, and on this connection the sale will very much depend. If you will send the papers to me, I will examine them with care, and let you know my opinion of the whole matter. I shall feel a very lively interest in the success of such an enterprise, and will lend it all the aid in my power, but how far I shall be able to take upon myself the responsibility and labor of the editorship is somewhat uncertain in the present state of my health. At all events, I will do what I can, and take care that proper arrangements shall be made according to your wishes. I hope the papers will come soon."

Nine days later Mr. Sparks wrote again, saying that the publishers who then owned the copyright and plates

of his "Franklin" were about to break up their establishment, and that probably the firm would sell this stock at a low rate. Mr. Sparks urged Stevens to send the manuscripts to America without delay, for a favorable arrangement could be made with other publishers to buy the "Franklin" plates and publish a new and revised edition. Mr. Stevens wrote, May 17, 1855, promising a definite reply by the next steamer, and saying that he was making arrangements to send Mr. Sparks the whole collection of manuscripts in two or three weeks. But the Franklin papers did not come. They were mortgaged to George Peabody in London, who had advanced money to Mr. Stevens on this excellent historical security.

In the summer of 1856, Mr. Sparks availed himself of his friend Palfrey's visit to England to make inquiries through him regarding the Franklin papers. Palfrey reported from London, July 16, 1856: "At last I have got a sight of the Franklin papers, and given them a good examination. They are of great interest and importance, and, though I had not your edition to compare them with when we looked them over in the loft of a city warehouse, I think I cannot be mistaken as to their embracing much valuable new matter. A large part of them is bound, and almost all are in legible condition, except a quite small portion which are irretrievably damaged. They belong to different periods from 1750 to Franklin's death; perhaps some are earlier than the former of these dates. The letter-books of the period from 1777 to 1789 are very full and rich, and there are numerous separate letters of the same years. . . . Unless I am mistaken in the character and value of these papers, you should have the use of them, not only for your plan of a published supplementary collection, but also for your 'Diplomatic History.' I should think it was worth a good deal to you to secure them. I made Stevens prom-

ise to see Mr. Peabody, and let me know in two or three days (from Monday, the 14th) on what terms (that is, as to advance of money) he would deliver the papers to me to bring to you. He said that when he spoke to Mr. Peabody some time ago, it was at an unlucky moment, and Mr. Peabody expressed an unwillingness to give them up, except on a settlement of his whole claim. If Mr. Peabody persevered in this view, Stevens said he would want from £500 to £800 advanced, the residue of his debt to Mr. Peabody to be made up by himself. But he hoped Mr. Peabody would not persist in that view, in which case, his (Mr. Peabody's) lien on the papers being retained, and they being insured for the voyage, etc., he would probably demand only a small sum."

Mr. Sparks replied to Dr. Palfrey, July 31, 1856, saying that, upon mature reflection, he had concluded not to advance money towards the redemption of Mr. Stevens' pledges, but hoped Mr. Peabody would allow the papers to be sent, fully insured, to America upon agreement with Mr. Stevens that the proceeds from copyright should go to his banker. Mr. Sparks apprehended some difficulty in making arrangements with publishers for a new edition of "Franklin's Works." A year and a half ago, he said, when Tappan gave up business, the old plates might have been purchased at a low rate, and he had told Mr. Stevens so at that time. The plates and copyright were now in the hands of a new firm, and Mr. Sparks was not confident of their responsibility for a new enterprise.

On the 22d of August, 1856, Dr. Palfrey wrote again to Mr. Sparks, saying, "In reply to my communication to Mr. Stevens of your decision respecting the Franklin papers, and my proposal to see Mr. Peabody on the subject, he writes to me: 'Nor do I wish, if I can help it, to give him (Mr. Peabody) a lien on the MSS. If I can

pay him the £700, the MSS. will be free. This I will manage to do, between this and October. You need not, therefore, say anything to Mr. Peabody about the matter." September 26, 1856, Dr. Palfrey wrote: "Stevens agrees to let you have the Franklin papers, but he cannot get them ready to go by me. He will send them to Mr. Blake, Mr. Peabody's correspondent, before long. So he says and intends."

Mr. Peabody visited America in 1857, and Mr. Sparks met him in Cambridge. Mr. Sparks afterwards, May 23d, wrote to him as follows: "You will recollect our conversation about the Franklin papers. We both agreed that it was desirable to publish, in connection with 'Franklin's Works,' such of them as have never been printed, and you seemed inclined to allow this to be done, if suitable arrangements could be made with reference to your claim upon them. The main obstacle in the way consisted in the apparent necessity of sending the papers to this country. About the middle of June, I expect to sail with my family for Europe, and shall probably pass three or four months in London. Are you willing that I should examine the papers while I am there, and, with the consent of Mr. Stevens, have copies taken of such portions of them as I may deem suitable for publication? These copies may be brought to America without removing the original manuscripts. Meantime, the conditions for publishing them may be agreed upon between the parties. If no such agreement shall be made, the copies to remain in your possession. If you approve of this plan, will you have the goodness to write me a letter, which I can show to Mr. Stevens, and to your agent who has charge of the papers in London, expressing your willingness that I should examine them for the purpose above indicated? I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you in Boston before I leave the country."

Mr. Peabody replied from Georgetown, D. C., June 10th: "I have not the least objection to your having access to the Franklin papers, and to your taking copies of all or any part for publication, the consent of Mr. Stevens being first obtained, and you giving me a letter stating that all remuneration which may be due to Mr. Stevens for such privilege shall be paid over to me for the credit of his account. I wrote to my partner, Mr. Morgan, according to your wish when I had the pleasure of seeing you in Cambridge, but heard nothing from him about the papers, and presume that there was nothing done." Mr. Peabody inclosed a note to Mr. Morgan in London, and expressed the hope of meeting Mr. Sparks there.

Meantime, May 25, 1857, Mr. Sparks had written to Mr. Stevens, announcing the intention of visiting England, with his family, in the early summer, and expressing a desire to examine the Franklin manuscripts with a view to their publication, provided arrangements could be made that were satisfactory to Mr. Peabody. It appears from Mr. Sparks' journal, July 9, 1857, that he examined the Franklin papers at Mr. Peabody's banking-house. Mr. Peabody himself returned to London about the same time, and showed Mr. Sparks every possible courtesy.

No satisfactory arrangement for publication was ever made with Mr. Stevens by Mr. Sparks. The longer negotiations were protracted, the more Mr. Stevens was convinced of the growing value of the rediscovered Franklin manuscripts. His main objects now were to obtain a release from Mr. Peabody's claim, and either to publish a new edition of Franklin himself, or to dispose of the papers to the United States government. In August, 1858, Mr. Stevens wrote Mr. Sparks from the Astor Library, proposing to buy the copyright and plates of Mr. Sparks' edition of Franklin, if they could be had "at a moderate price."

In that very year, however, George William Childs and Robert E. Peterson, of Philadelphia, bought of a Boston firm¹ the stereotyped plates and copyright of this work, and applied to Mr. Sparks, October 13, 1858, to edit a new edition, revised and enlarged by the addition of new materials then in the hands of Dr. Bache. The firm also stated that they would like to own all of Mr. Sparks' works, and "keep them alive before the people." More than a year before this date, Childs and Peterson had proposed a new edition of Sparks' "American Biography," if they could procure the plates from the Harper Brothers and Little & Brown. But all these publishing projects of new editions came to naught.

Benjamin Franklin Stevens, a brother of Henry Stevens, seems to have acquired the ownership of the plates and copyright of Sparks' "Franklin," for he issued an announcement to this effect in London, December 10, 1881, and offered a new, limited edition at a very moderate price, \$12.50, for a complete set of ten volumes. The work was then quite out of print. In that same year, 1881, the Franklin papers were offered for sale to the United States government. The librarian of the State Department, Mr. Theodore F. Dwight, was sent to London to examine the collection. He made an elaborate historical report upon it in November, 1881, and Mr. Blaine sent the report² to Congress, recommending the purchase of the Stevens collection. The Franklin papers were bought for \$35,000, and were deposited in the library of the State Department.

¹ T. Niles, of Boston, wrote Mrs. Sparks, March 10, 1882: "On the dissolution of the firm of which I was a member, in 1858, the 'Franklin' went by purchase to George W. Childs, of Philadelphia."

² Other good accounts of the Franklin papers may be found in the prefaces to Bigelow's "Franklin," and E. E. Hale's "Franklin in France." The preceding pages will supplement previous information upon the subject.

The entire collection had been well arranged by Mr. Henry Stevens, beautifully mounted, and handsomely bound in large folio volumes. The acquisition gave a decided impulse, under the direction of Dr. Frederic Bancroft, to the proper mounting and preservation, in bound volumes, of other historical manuscripts belonging to the State Department. The purchase of the Stevens collection led also to the preparation of John Bigelow's new and excellent edition of Franklin's works, in ten volumes, and to the work, in two volumes, called "Franklin in France," by Edward Everett Hale and his son, who bears his father's name.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

PRIVATE LIFE OF JARED SPARKS.

VERY little has been said hitherto, in this second volume, concerning the private life of Mr. Sparks. The previous chapters have been written upon the principle recognized by the subject of this memorial, that "a scholar's life is in his works." From the time of his resignation of the Baltimore pastorate in 1823 to his first marriage in 1832, the busy editor lived in Boston¹ lodgings, with no real home life. The principal relaxations which he allowed himself from literary work were long walks, occasional travel, and social intercourse with Boston and Cambridge friends. For more than forty years he was a member of Prescott's "Club,"² in which he used regularly to meet some of the most congenial men in Boston. The numerous invitations which he received and preserved show that he was in great request socially. He was fond of visiting his friends, Palfrey, Folsom,³ William and Samuel Eliot, and Prescott. He enjoyed dining and good company. Music, the theatre, and the opera always pleased and diverted him.

Brantz Mayer, of Baltimore, who knew Mr. Sparks well, says in a printed "Memoir," prepared at the request of the Maryland Historical Society: "In personal

¹ A glimpse of Mr. Sparks' bachelor life in Boston is given in vol. i. 353-356.

² For an account of this social and literary club, see vol. i. 234-238.

³ Mr. Sparks once spoke of Charles Folsom as "the best man in the world and the truest friend."

appearance Mr. Sparks had a noble presence, a firm, bold, massive head, which, as age crept on, sometimes seemed careworn and impassive, but never lost its intellectual power. His portraits show that in his prime his face was remarkable for dignified, manly beauty. His manners were winning; and, though undemonstrative and rather reticent among strangers, with friends he was always cheerful and hearty."¹

Although a hard-working editor for many hours every day, Mr. Sparks was no recluse. From his college days he continued to enjoy ladies' society, and was never happier than when visiting in some domestic circle, where there were young people and children. We have already seen how happy he was in Mr. Stephen Higginson's² family in Bolton and Cambridge, and with Mr. Amos Williams' family in Baltimore. With Miss Storrow,³ sister of Mr. Higginson's wife, and the aunt of Colonel T. W. Higginson, Mr. Sparks carried on a friendly correspondence from the time he left Massachusetts in 1819. His letters to her were found to be the best source of information regarding his experiences in Baltimore and Washington. From the time he left the South in 1823, until the last years of his life, he occasionally wrote to members of Mr. Williams' family. To his friend, Miss Nancy Williams, who afterwards married his successor, the Rev. George Washington Burnap, he said in a letter

¹ "Memoir of Jared Sparks, LL.D.," by Brantz Mayer, President of the Maryland Historical Society, p. 27.

² Speaking, in 1841, of this family, Mr. Sparks said: "I cannot reconcile to myself the idea that the Higginsons will remove. Twenty-five years of constant friendship and kindness have attached me most strongly to that family." Stephen Higginson was steward of Harvard College from 1818 to 1834. His family afterwards removed to Brattleboro, Vermont.

³ Mr. Sparks said of Miss Storrow, in 1848, "If ever I had a guardian angel, it has been she for the last twenty years."

dated at New York, April 16, 1831: "Seldom has it been my lot to live with people who *knew* me, could make allowances for my defects, and see that there was value in a rusty coin. In all our social relations those were happy days to me. My public labors were oppressive, my spirits exhausted by ill health and incessant fatigue; but the ready sympathy and gentle forbearance of those around me were a solace that gave me the only joy I felt; and it was a true joy. . . .

"I shall go to Boston in a few days and take up my quarters somewhere, but the Lord knows where, for I am turned out of house and home by reason of Dr. Channing's¹ getting married and thereby obtruding me from my rooms. I have heard of the evils of matrimony, but this is the first time I have ever been doomed to feel them. The difficulties which come over a reasonable bachelor in finding a tolerable place to live in are inconceivable. The world seems to be made with a special design to worry old bachelors (though I beg you will not understand that I mean to call myself an *old* bachelor, notwithstanding I come in for a full share of their miseries). There is no such thing in Boston as a comfortable residence for a single man, and I go back in a sort of despair. I have books and papers and rubbish enough to fill a house, and this must be moved, and moved *where?*"

Never was there a more realistic picture of bachelor woes and discomforts. For a single man, with a large library and the accumulated belongings of a life undisturbed by domestic cyclones, to be suddenly thrust out

¹ Dr. Walter Channing, 1786-1876, was a professor in the medical faculty of Harvard University. He was the father of William Ellery Channing, the poet, who was born in 1818. Dr. Channing's first wife died early, and he married again about the time of Sparks' letter to Mrs. Burnap.



FRANCES ANNE SPARKS

1807—1835

into a cold world because his landlord wants to get married, or because his landlady wants to move, or go to Europe, is a calamity unparalleled by anything short of the eviction of an Irish tenant or the removal of a large family. But Mr. Sparks, like other long-suffering bachelors, bore up heroically under his afflictions. Taking his books and manuscripts from Dr. Channing's on "Common Street," he sought refuge in a widow's house in Somerset Place,¹ where he fortified himself anew until his own marriage in the following year.

Mr. Sparks was first married, October 16, 1832, to Miss Frances Anne Allen, daughter of William Allen, Esq., of Hyde Park, New York. She was born near Red Hook, New York, December 6, 1807. The marriage ceremony was performed in the Episcopal Church at Hyde Park by the Rev. Mr. Johnson. It was a morning wedding, and Mr. and Mrs. Sparks, with a merry party of wedding guests, took the afternoon boat down the Hudson to New York. "All is well that ends well," wrote Mr. Sparks to his old friend Ansel Young. "So my bachelorship has been well, for nothing could end better, and I am very willing to bid adieu to that state of vagrant independence and solitary comfort."

Concerning the happiness of his new relation in life Mr. Sparks wrote to Mrs. Burnap, February 4, 1833: "Your anticipations of my happiness were not premature nor ill-founded. I envy no one his lot. I am contented

¹ In a "Memoir of Jared Sparks," published in the "Historical Magazine," May, 1866, the Rev. James Freeman Clarke, D.D., is quoted as authority for the following account of Mr. Sparks' mode of life at Mrs. Clarke's boarding-house: "He was then in the habit of working in his room all day on the 'Life of Washington.' The walls of two rooms were covered with books from floor to ceiling, and he gave ten or twelve hours' solid work every day to his studies. For weeks together he would not leave the house until the evening, when he would go out to call on his friends."

with my own. No one could be happier, no one could have more solid reasons for entire contentment, for unalloyed happiness. Those clouded brows and sombre features, with which you have been so familiar, have cleared up amazingly in recent times; the heavy heart has become light; and the forebodings of despondency are changed into cheering visions of hope and the undoubted assurance of present joy. . . .

“We have been living in Boston during the winter, but in the spring we think of approaching more nearly to the seat of the muses and of taking up our abode in Cambridge.¹ . . . Fanny (whom you call Mrs. Sparks) knows all the kind interest you and your family take in me and the reasons I have for valuing it highly, and she will be as happy as myself to see you at our home.”

On the 18th of September, 1833, a daughter was born in the Craigie house to Mr. and Mrs. Sparks. The child was named “Maria Verplanck.” To his mother Mr. Sparks wrote not long after the christening: “We have a little daughter, whom we name Maria. She was born on the 18th of September, and is a hearty, good-natured little girl. The mother sends her respectful and affectionate regards to you.” A fellow-feeling makes historians kind. Mr. George Bancroft wrote these pleasant words to Mr. Sparks, October 5, 1833: “Let me congratulate you upon the new interest life gains for you, now that you have become a father. Some of my happiest moments are those which I pass in amusing the little girl that helps to make my home a cheerful one.”

¹ Extract from Sparks' journal: “About the 1st of April, 1833, we removed to the house owned by Mrs. Craigie, in Cambridge,—the same house that was occupied by General Washington as his headquarters while he had command of the army at Cambridge, from July 2, 1775, till the early part of April, 1776. While I resided in that house, I was busily employed in preparing for the press the identical letters which Washington had written there.”

The following extract from a letter to Mrs. Burnap, February 12, 1834, affords a charming glimpse of Mr. Sparks' happy home-life: "We live in Cambridge, in a retired, quiet manner, after the fashion of the place. This suits my occupations, particularly as my books are printed in Cambridge; and Fanny is not fond of crowds, or bustle, or worldly vanities. Our little girl¹ is nearly five months old, and affords a great deal of solace and comfort. She is a hearty and good-natured little personage, with light complexion, light hair, deep blue eyes, and rosy cheeks. The gloomy fits which used to brood over me are now ashamed to make their attacks, and there is nothing left to mar the enjoyment which attends a life of tranquillity, peace, and contentment. Do you think these things impossible to your once restless, roaming, and rambling friend? Come and see."

One year and five months from the date of this joyous letter, Mr. Sparks' home was made desolate by the loss of his wife, who died of quick consumption, July 12, 1835, at Hyde Park, where she now lies buried. She was a woman of refinement, with artistic and poetic tastes,²

¹ To his mother, April 28, 1834, Mr. Sparks described his little daughter as "bright and sprightly," with "very fair complexion, blue eyes, and light hair. She resembles her mother more than me, but she is not much like either of us."

² Frances Allen Sparks was a gifted and accomplished woman, like her sister, Mrs. W. H. Channing. Mrs. Sparks left several exquisite paintings and various poems. She drew the profile of Houdon's bust of Washington for the engraver as it now appears in Sparks' "Washington." She also drew her husband's maps of battlefields for the engraver.

Upon his return from Hyde Park, July 20th, Mr. Sparks did not go back to his desolate house, but went to Mr. Palfrey's. Extract from Sparks' journal, August 3, 1835: "Began to remove my books and other effects to Mrs. Coffin's, at the Botanic Garden House. I am to have apartments there, and she is to board me and my little child. It is a retired residence, suited to my present state of feeling, as well as to the nature of my pursuits."

but with a very delicate constitution. Mr. Sparks spoke feelingly of her in a letter to Mrs. Burnap, September 28, 1835: "My beloved wife was a person of rare endowments of mind and character. Heaven had been bountiful to her in all that is good, generous, and elevated. Her religious principles were pure and practical, and deeply impressed on her understanding and her heart."

A tender memory of Mrs. Sparks was cherished by her sister, Julia M. Allen, who, in 1836, married the Rev. William H. Channing,¹ and who named her first daughter "Fanny."² The following letter, December 1, 1837, from

¹ William Henry Channing was a son of Francis Dana Channing and a cousin of William Ellery Channing, the poet, who was a son of Dr. Walter Channing. In 1857, W. H. Channing succeeded James Martineau as pastor of the Hope Street Unitarian Chapel at Liverpool. At the time of the Civil War in America, Mr. Channing preached for the Unitarian Church in Washington. Frank B. Sanborn has a good notice of him in the American Supplement to the "Encyclopædia Britannica."

² Fanny Channing became the wife of Sir Edwin Arnold. Her family had removed to England, where the Rev. William H. Channing for many years preached a liberal Christianity. His son, Frank A. Channing, was educated at Oxford, and was elected a member of Parliament in 1892. In the light of this fact, the following extract from a letter of Mr. W. H. Channing, written at Liverpool, November 11, 1859, to Mr. Sparks, will interest Americans: "You will be glad to hear, I am sure, that Frank has already distinguished himself at Oxford. Last week, at the examination for the 'Exeter College Scholarship,' among forty competitors Frank stood first, and was of course elected. When I add that the 'Exeter' scholarships rank in the first class with 'Balliol,' 'University,' etc., and that the examination continued four days, it will be seen how high the honor is, as a proof of Frank's present attainments and future promise. A literary friend writes to me: 'It is a great thing to get a scholarship like the Exeter; it seems to me a wonderful thing, that any one, untrained by a public school, should beat all our public school boys, and I think you may well feel proud.' Frank is very modest about his success, which was quite unexpected to him, as to me."

The following is an extract from a letter to Mr. Sparks, November

Mrs. Channing to Mr. Sparks, alludes very tenderly to this name: "I felt sure that the name of your little niece would gratify you, my dear brother, and in naming her, it was not possible for me to choose another dearer, and most fondly do I cherish a hope with you that in more than mere name she may recall to us all the remembrance of that beloved friend whose pure and lovely character must ever be treasured up in the memory and heart of those who had the happiness of knowing and loving her."

Mr. Sparks found great consolation in his little daughter Maria as she grew up under his fatherly eyes. He was very fond of her company in his own library, and used to allow her to handle his books and pictures with the greatest freedom. He wrote concerning her to Mrs. Burnap, March 22, 1838: "You kindly inquire about my little girl. She is well, hearty, and happy, and fills her father's heart with joy. She is one of the best tempered and most affectionate little creatures in the world, and gives no trouble to anybody."

With all this evident comfort and joy in his little daughter, Mr. Sparks was living a life in some respects more forlorn than that led in his bachelor days, when he was driven from Dr. Channing's to seek new lodgings. On the 19th of November, 1838, he alludes in a letter to

25, 1865, from Mrs. Channing, who was then at 24 Sion Hill, Clifton, Bristol: "From late American letters, I hear of your kind remembrances of me and mine, and believe me I feel deeply touched by your affectionate interest, unchanged through so many years. We have two fine photographs of you, one sitting, the other standing, and we value both highly. I hope you received Frank's essay safely, and I now inclose a funny little likeness of Blanchie, taken in a garden at Blackheath Park. We think it is like our dearest Maria; do you see some resemblance? She is a most intelligent child, and draws remarkably for her age, although in a quaint style."

one of his friends to his engagement to Miss Silsbee,¹ of Salem, whom he had met in Washington many years before. She was the daughter of the Hon. Nathaniel Silsbee, a Massachusetts senator, and a colleague of Daniel Webster, and was one of the society queens in Washington.

In her father's house in Salem, May 21, 1839, at twelve o'clock, Mary Crowninshield² Silsbee was married to Jared Sparks by the Rev. Dr. Flint. Mr. Sparks was then fifty years old. His wife was born April 10, 1809. There is a series of letters written to Mrs. Sparks in 1840-41, when he was abroad for nine months, conducting historical researches in the State Paper Offices of London and Paris. One passage in a letter dated at London, November 3, 1840, refers to his daughter Maria, and may be fitly quoted here: "The affectionate interest which you take in all that concerns her, and which appears in all your letters, goes to my heart. . . . I can with truth say that I have ever considered her better off in your hands than mine. . . . By you her character is to be formed, and on you her future destiny is mainly to depend."

His letters from London and Paris are full of entertaining accounts of experiences abroad, of the sights he had seen, and the people he had met. He attended a prorogation of Parliament in 1840 and saw the young Queen Victoria. "She has the sweetest voice imaginable, and she read her speech to admiration; simply, audibly, and with a clear and distinct enunciation. It was certainly interesting to see so young a creature with a crown

¹ Hon. Nathaniel Silsbee was said to be the seventh of that name in the family line dating from the seventeenth century. His father was a famous shipmaster. Nathaniel Silsbee was trained by the accomplished scholar and statesman, the Rev. Manasseh Cutler.

² This was the family name of Miss Silsbee's mother. Nathaniel Silsbee married a daughter of George Crowninshield, an eminent merchant.





MARY CROWNINSHIELD SILSBEE

1809—1887

From a portrait by ALEXANDER

on her head, receiving the homage of all the great dignitaries of the kingdom, and of the ambassadors of all the sovereigns of Europe." Lady Holland's influence had secured for Mr. Sparks one of the best places in the House of Lords for observing the splendid pageant. Lord Holland offered to present Mr. Sparks at court, but he declined the honor. He was entertained at Holland House only three weeks before Lord Holland's sudden death. He met again his friends, Sir James Mackintosh, Sir Francis Palgrave, Lord Lansdowne, and M. Guizot, then French ambassador in London. In Paris, through M. Guizot, he obtained renewed access to the archives. He saw the great pageant of two hundred thousand troops and one million people doing honor to the first Napoleon's remains when they were borne through the city streets and placed in their present tomb. Mr. Sparks described the Italian opera, the receptions given by General Cass, the American minister, the soirées of Madame Tocqueville, and other social events. He did not trouble himself to purchase a court dress for the sake of beholding French royalty at the Tuileries. "Anybody," he said, "can be introduced that pleases, and Governor Cass delights to see his countrymen in this courtly costume. But I shall spare the charge and the folly."

In England he took pains to visit the private libraries of the Duke of Sussex and Sir Thomas Phillipps. At the latter's country-house in Worcestershire, Mr. Sparks spent by invitation a delightful week. The following interesting account to Mrs. Sparks is from a letter dated December 3, 1840: "Sir Thomas is a man of singular tastes. I found him in a large mansion in the midst of an estate of more than six thousand acres of land under high cultivation. His only family is three accomplished daughters, all of them under twenty years of age. His house from top to bottom is filled with manuscripts and

rare books, which he has collected. In the basement is a private printing-press, which he keeps in constant operation. He has more than eleven thousand volumes of manuscripts! Among them are some curious papers relating to America, of which I took copies. The book in four volumes was there; a most laborious work on books relating to America, by Dr. Homer, a Fellow of Oxford. I knew such a manuscript once existed, but supposed it was lost. Sir Thomas has allowed me to bring it to London, and it is now in the copyist's hands. It is a great treasure of its kind."

Another extract from the same letter reveals Mr. Sparks in a novel rôle, that of a fox-hunter: "I joined in a fox-chase while there, with about two hundred others, some in their scarlet coats and white-top boots, making a picturesque and animated scene. Sir Thomas mounted me upon a spirited but docile animal accustomed to the sport, and I rode as fast as any of them, over hill and dale, for some eight or ten miles; but I looked out well for the ditches, and instead of leaping stone walls, I rode through the gateways. Every field has gates, which are quickly opened without dismounting from the horse. . . . My horsemanship was praised, notwithstanding my caution about ditches, and I am glad to have seen a fox-chase. It would have put your Alisan into an ecstasy of delight; and if you had been on him, I dare say he would have cleared as broad a ditch as any of them."

Mr. Sparks dwelt with evident pleasure upon his visit to the University of Cambridge, England. He dined twice in the commons hall of Trinity College, with the officers, fellows, and students. He looked at manuscripts in the library of Trinity. He noted that the Harvard library building was modeled after that of Kings College. "The walks attached to the colleges on the banks

of the Cam, with their lawns and gardens, are beautiful, and perfectly retired." In the garden of Christ College, he plucked a twig from the mulberry-tree planted by Milton and inclosed a leaf in a letter to Mrs. Sparks. For her also he plucked an English harebell upon Hampstead Heath, when he went to call upon Lucy Aiken. Everywhere, in London or in Paris, he was thinking of his wife at home. From the gay French capital he wrote, February 27, 1841: "In three days I shall set my face homeward, yes, homeward, and my heart will become lighter and lighter at every step I take. I am tired enough of this wearisome absence. Give me my Mary, and my child, and my 'brown study,' and I care not for the 'jumbling world.'"

Beside this ardent devotion to his wife and children, there was nothing finer in the character of Mr. Sparks than his tender and enduring regard for his aged mother,¹ who continued to reside at Willington, Connecticut, among her own kindred. There are letters preserved, from 1820 to 1843, which show, on his part, an unchanging filial devotion. After his first marriage she visited him at his Cambridge home. Mr. Sparks kept his mother well informed concerning his own family affairs. He wrote, July 21, 1842, concerning the death of a little daughter, Mary Crowninshield, who was only six weeks old. He spoke also of the child of his first wife: "Your grandchild Maria, who will be nine years old in September, is perfectly well. She has grown a good deal more robust and hearty than she was four or five years ago. She goes constantly to school, and makes excellent progress in her studies. She often speaks of you, and she keeps very

¹ Mrs. Eleanor Orett Sparks was born October 19, 1767. She was the daughter of Caleb Orett, of Willington, Connecticut, son of Caleb Orett, of Bridgewater, Massachusetts. She died May 2, 1843, aged seventy-five, and was buried in Willington, Connecticut.

choicely the little present which you gave her in New York. Her Aunt Julia (Mrs. Channing) resided in Cambridge during the last winter. She has two children, and I was very glad that Maria had so good an opportunity of being with her aunt and cousins. You remember that Julia was living with us, when you made your visit to Cambridge."

On the 28th of October, 1845, another daughter, Florence, was born to Mr. Sparks in Cambridge. At this time Maria was already in rapid decline from consumption, which she seems to have inherited. In one of his letters Mr. Sparks says, "She bore her sufferings with a patience and steady calmness that might furnish a high example to every human being." She died in Cambridge, February 3, 1846, and was buried by the side of her mother's grave at Hyde Park.

Charles Sumner took a deep interest in this child, and eight months before her death proposed to Mr. Sparks, June 9, 1845, that William Story should be allowed to draw a likeness of her: "I have just seen William Story, who is full of sympathy for you in your anxiety, and is desirous of doing anything in his power that would be agreeable to you, in order to preserve an image of your dear child. . . . Of course, his friendly services need not interfere with the arrangement already made with Ames; though, perhaps, two artists will weary the child too much. I hope you will pardon this intrusion on your anxious hours, and believe me, with sincere interest in your child, very sincerely yours." Mrs. Sigourney,¹ the poet, sent Mr. Sparks a letter expressing her deep sympathy, and inclosing a poetic memorial of the beloved child.

¹ Mrs. Sigourney and Mr. Sparks began their literary career at about the same time. Her verses on "Hope and Memory" were printed in the "North American Review," in May, 1817. This was the first number edited by Mr. Sparks.

In April, 1846, Mr. Sparks removed his residence from Cambridge to Salem. He retained his connection with Harvard College as professor of history, but his academic duties did not actually require residence in Cambridge, and he thought he would try the experiment of living for a time within easy distance. He found, however, that it was better for a college man to reside in the college town where his interest lay. It appears from his journal, September 3, 1847, that on that day he removed his family to the new residence which he had bought, on Quincy Street, corner of Kirkland. He took great pleasure that fall in superintending improvements upon the grounds. Ninety trees and shrubs were set out in October, besides buckthorn hedges; and a serpentine path was made. The hedge on Kirkland Street had been planted by Mr. Treadwell, the former owner, and was already fully grown.

In this delightful Cambridge home Mr. and Mrs. Sparks lived happily for the rest of their lives. Here were born three children, — first, his only son, William Eliot; then his fourth daughter, Lizzie Wadsworth; and lastly, his fifth daughter, Beatrice. When the son was born, the mother, remembering her husband's love for a former president of the college, said, "You will name him Kirkland." "No," said Mr. Sparks, "there is a dearer friend yet. The boy's name shall be William Eliot."¹ In the first volume of this memorial allusion has been made to this friend,² who died in early manhood. Mr. William

¹ Samuel Eliot wrote to Mr. Sparks, October 28, 1847: "I wish most particularly and most sincerely to thank you for the name you have given to the boy; that it is to live again and belong to the son of my father's faithful and valued friend. There is nothing in this life dearer to me than my father's memory; and there is nothing I could thank you for more warmly than such a sign of your own affection towards him and his name."

² See vol. i. p. 356.

Eliot was one of the most refined, generous, and public-spirited citizens of Boston. He was always a friend¹ of Mr. Sparks, and assisted him in many ways, not only financially, but also by words of hearty good cheer, when the over-worked editor was suffering from depression or discouragement.

From 1857 to 1858 Mr. and Mrs. Sparks and the children spent a year in Europe. In Liverpool they found Mr. William Henry Channing and his family. Mr. Channing was pastor of a Unitarian Church in that city. When in London, the Duke of Northumberland, to whom Mr. Sparks had brought a letter of introduction from President Tyler, called and took Mr. Sparks to the House of Parliament, where he heard Lords Granville, Derby, and Lyndhurst, and Mr. Brougham speak upon what was then called the "Jew Bill." Mr. Sparks was surprised at the intensity of feeling shown. He said some speakers seemed to fear that Christendom would fall if a Jew should be admitted to Parliament, notwithstanding the fact that the city of London had chosen Rothschild for its representative. The Duchess of Northumberland called upon Mrs. Sparks, and sent her tickets of admission to many places, among others to Aynwick Castle, which the family afterwards visited, in the North of England. Earl Stanhope, "formerly Lord

¹ Mr. William Eliot wrote Mr. Sparks, February 7, 1831: "You could not do Margaret (who continues well) and me a greater favor than by sitting for your portrait to Sully, now decidedly the first portrait painter in the country. As a production of his pencil it will have great value to *me*, but as a souvenir of its subject I will not attempt to say how dear it will be to us both." Again he wrote, February 19, 1831: "I am glad to hear that the portrait will be ready for shipment on the opening of the Delaware." This picture was owned by Mr. Eliot's family. Some years ago it was generously given as an heirloom to William Eliot Sparks, with whose children at Taunton it now remains.

Mahon, with whom I had a controversy upon certain historical points," promptly and repeatedly called upon Mr. Sparks, and extended social courtesies to both him and his wife.

At a London dinner party Mr. Sparks met Dr. Livingstone, who had just returned from Southern Africa. He dined also with Dr. Barth, famous for his travels in Central Africa. It was evidently a great pleasure for Mr. Sparks thus to revive old memories of Timbuctoo, and to hear the latest scientific returns from the dark continent. He afterwards went to Dublin with his family to attend the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, where he heard Dr. Barth describe his exploration of the river Niger and Dr. Livingstone read a paper on his discoveries in Africa.

Miss Burdett-Coutts took Mrs. Sparks to a country-seat at St. Albans, Highgate, and gave a luncheon to Mr. Sparks in her town-house on Piccadilly, opposite Green Park. Mr. Sparks met there two Hindoo princes in their national costume. "We went with all the children to Sion House, near Brentford. We had a ticket from the duchess, admitting us to see the place. We then crossed the Thames in a boat to Kew Gardens, and returned across the New Bridge to the railway station." Sir William Colebrook, formerly governor of New Brunswick, an old friend and correspondent of Mr. Sparks, invited him to dine at "Datchet," near Windsor. Amid all the entertainments, dinner parties, excursions into the country, and sight-seeing in the city, Mr. Sparks did not neglect to examine the Franklin papers, then in George Peabody's banking-house, nor to continue his researches in the State Paper Office with the aid of Mr. Henry T. Parker.

Leaving London August 8th, Mrs. Sparks and the children took a trip through England and Scotland. Return-

ing to Liverpool, they saw again Mr. Channing, his wife and his children, with Mr. and Mrs. Motley. After a trip to Dublin, Mr. Sparks went with them to Birmingham, Worcester, and the Malvern Hills to visit friends and to see the country. From Malvern the family party went to Evesham, arriving before noon. "Mrs. Sparks, myself, and William then rode to Middle Hall, on a short visit to Sir Thomas Phillipps. We passed a few hours there, lunched with him and Lady Phillipps, and returned at six o'clock." The following Sunday Mr. Sparks attended church at the Essex Street Chapel, where Belsham and Lindsay formerly preached. Later, Mr. Sparks dined with Mr. George Peabody at Richmond Hill, after a drive in Richmond Park.

The next week they went to Rotterdam and the Hague, where Mr. Sparks made arrangements for securing copies of historical papers in the Dutch archives. "We all rode out to Scheveningen on the seacoast, between two and three miles from the Hague, and dined there." After visits to Antwerp, Brussels, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Cologne, the party stopped at Bonn, where "twenty-nine years ago, I met Mr. Woolsey, then attending lectures here, now president of Yale College; and also passed an evening with Professor William Schlegel, to whom I had a letter from John Bowring, now governor of Hong Kong, China."

After the usual trip up the Rhine and a visit to Switzerland, Mr. Sparks and his family crossed into Italy by the St. Gothard Pass, to the Lakes Maggiore, Lugano, and Como; thence to Milan. The journey, with four horses and a vetturino, from Mantua to Florence in four days must have been a unique experience. Across the Po on a rude ferry, over a swelling flood, and through many little towns to Modena; thence to Bologna, where the travelers stopped for an afternoon to see the place.

Thence they ascended the Apennines all one day. "Our four horses were frequently assisted up the hills by a yoke or two of oxen. . . . Stopped for the night at a hotel near the summit." The next day they descended the mountains and arrived at Florence in the evening. Here they tarried from November 7th until December 5th. During this sojourn the American sculptor, Hiram Powers, modeled the bust of Mr. Sparks, which had been requested by graduates of Harvard University. "Much conversation with Mr. Powers and Mr. Kinney concerning the Vespucci family now residing here, a brother and two sisters, direct descendants of Amerigo Vespucci. Mr. Kinney has seen several original manuscript letters of Amerigo, and will endeavor to procure copies of them for me." From Florence they returned westward by way of Pisa, en route for France.

Mr. and Mrs. Sparks were in Paris at the time of the attempt to assassinate the emperor, Napoleon III. The following extract is from Mr. Sparks' journal, January 15, 1858: "Mr. Motley called this morning on his way to Brussels. He has left his family at Nice. Last night an attempt was made to take the life of the emperor, while his carriage was driving up to the door of the opera house. Three small bombs, or hand-grenades, were thrown near his carriage, and exploded when they struck the ground. The emperor and empress escaped unhurt, but several persons were killed, and more than a hundred wounded. *January 16th, Saturday.* — The emperor has shown himself abroad to-day. At two o'clock we saw him walking in front of the Tuileries, a single attendant accompanying him. There was a large concourse of people in the gardens, separated from the place where the emperor was walking by low and open iron railing." Mrs. Sparks added to this account a pencil note: "He drove himself through Paris, smoking a cigar, I think."

On the 3d of February Mrs. Sparks went with Mr. Mason, the American minister, and his family, to a reception at the Tuileries, where she was presented to the emperor and empress. A court ball followed. Mr. and Mrs. Sparks went to various soirées, given by Mr. Mason, by the French minister of foreign affairs, and by M. Guizot, at whose house Mr. Sparks met M. Cornelis De Witt, who had married a daughter of M. Guizot and written a Life of Washington in French. Mr. Sparks improved every opportunity to increase his collection of manuscript materials for a history of the American Revolution. He called upon Count de Vergennes, to inquire about the papers of his great-uncle, and learned that they were in the possession of the count's mother in the country. With his bookseller, Mr. Bossange, he called upon the librarians at Versailles to inquire for manuscripts. He drove to Passy to see the house in which Franklin lived, and found it occupied by a charity school for girls. Just before leaving Paris, Mr. Sparks had an experience which might be called historic, if not prehistoric. March 14th: "For the last three weeks I have been confined to the house nearly all the time by a severe attack of what is here called the *Grippe*, a kind of influenza with a very heavy cough, a complaint which has prevailed much in Paris during the winter." This was in 1858.

Returning to London April 16, 1858, Mr. and Mrs. Sparks spent six weeks. Mrs. Dallas, wife of the American minister, called upon Mrs. Sparks and afterwards presented her to the queen, at one of her "drawing-rooms," held in St. James' Palace. Mrs. Sparks afterwards attended the queen's ball in Buckingham Palace. Mr. Sparks breakfasted with Sir Thomas Phillipps, and dined with the Society of Antiquaries. He was repeat-

edly entertained by Mr. George Peabody,¹ who, on one occasion, took the whole family on a pleasant excursion down the Thames.

From London they went to Cambridge. "I walked with William to Magdalen and Jesus Colleges, which are on the borders of the town. We crossed the bridge over the river Cam, where the old bridge stood which gave the name to Cambridge." The whole party then passed through the south of England by way of Salisbury and Winchester, and had a delightful visit at "Westbrook Hay," Mr. Granville Ryder's country-house, twenty-four miles from London. Thence they traveled to the lake country in the northwest, where Mr. Sparks renewed old associations with the Wordsworth family. One Sunday Mrs. Sparks rode out to Grasmere, where, after service, they met Sir John and Lady Richardson, and went home with them to luncheon. July 14th the party reached Liverpool and sailed for America. Mr. Sparks returned to the well-ordered and quiet life of his suburban home. There is a charming letter from Mr. Charles Folsom to William Eliot Sparks, saying, among other pleasant things, "Tell your father and mother that Cambridge is not Cambridge to some people so long as you are all away."

¹ April 28, 1858: "I dined with Mr. George Peabody. A large party of American gentlemen were present, among whom was Captain Hudson, of the American ship Niagara, who is about to set off again with his ship to assist in laying down the telegraphic wire from Ireland to Newfoundland; Mr. Field, the electrician of the expedition." May 1st: "At the opera with Mrs. Sparks and Florence in Mr. Peabody's box by his invitation. Mr. and Mrs. Astor, of New York, and their granddaughter, Miss Ward, were also there."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

LAST YEARS.

MUCH of Mr. Sparks' time, during the years following his resignation from the presidency of Harvard College, was devoted to his extensive correspondence. His long and useful career as a scholar and collector of manuscripts had brought him a reputation for encyclopædic knowledge upon subjects pertaining to American history. The inquiries for information that were made of him from all parts of the country were almost overwhelming in number and variety. Mr. Sparks' letter-books, with his daily record of letters received and sent, show what endless and irksome labors were imposed upon him in his declining years, when the mere use of the pen¹ had become both fatiguing and painful.

¹ Here lies the explanation of Mr. Sparks' physical inability to accomplish his great task of writing the Diplomatic History of the American Revolution, for which he had made thorough preparation. We have already mentioned the accident in 1851, which, with an increasing neuralgic affection, partially crippled his right arm. He never could accustom himself to the practice of dictation, which prolonged the usefulness of George Bancroft and Leopold von Ranke. "Under the weight of these mixed evils," says Brantz Mayer, "of nervous malady and fractured limb, his task was procrastinated; yet his patient hope was profound. The conflict between the desire to achieve and the disability was so painful, that the subject of his projected history became a sacred one among all who were familiar with him, and even in his family it was passed over in silence. . . . It was his great grief that the mine of golden ore was at hand, but that he could work it no more."

During these last years Mr. Sparks rendered very substantial service to historical science by extending and enlarging his collection of manuscript materials from the State Paper Offices of London,

One cannot but liken Mr. Sparks' literary situation to that of Mr. Jefferson, whose old age at Monticello was consumed in letter-writing and in labors for the University of Virginia. Bitterly did Jefferson complain to his personal friends of the burdens of correspondence that were thrust upon him. He, too, suffered from some affection of the right hand and arm, the effect, he said, of a sprain, which made the physical labor of writing very wearisome. Oftentimes it would take Mr. Jefferson an entire day to transcribe a single important letter. He never learned the modern art of treating either private or public matters lightly and superficially. Whatever he undertook to discuss, he considered thoroughly. This was also the habit of Washington and all men of the old school.

Paris, Madrid, and the Hague. His investigations first set in motion those organized inquiries of Henry Stevens, Ben Perley Poore, and other great collectors, the results of whose labors are not yet fully appreciated in this country. Some idea of the enormous amount of work done in this direction by Jared Sparks may be seen in the great oaken cabinet surmounted by his bust and containing many large volumes and portfolios of historical manuscripts, upon the ground floor of the reading-room of Harvard University. To this institution, by his will, they have belonged since the death of Mr. Sparks' only son, under the conditions that they shall always be kept together in one case, and be open to inspection under proper rules, and never be taken from the library building. A descriptive catalogue of these "Bound Historical Manuscripts collected by Jared Sparks," with valuable notes and comments, was printed at the Riverside Press in 1871. Mr. Justin Winsor, librarian of Harvard University, published in the "Harvard University Bulletin," January, 1887, an elaborate "Calendar of the Sparks Manuscripts in Harvard College Library." This is a helpful guide through this labyrinth of original sources of American history. The "Sparks Manuscripts" have been utilized by many modern workers, and are still an unexhausted mine of authentic materials, many of them copied under official sanction in foreign government offices. Of course, Mr. Sparks employed many copyists, but he did an extraordinary amount of transcribing with his own hand, as his numerous manuscripts clearly show.

Mr. Sparks' letters show characteristic formality and attention to details. His letter-books contain copies, in another hand, of his most important answers to historical and other questions that were submitted to him. These letters and the wealth of knowledge which they contain are memorials of those quiet but useful years from 1853 to 1866. The extent, variety, and more or less occasional character of these writings do not admit their reproduction in the limited space of these closing chapters of a memorial volume. Suffice it to say, they all served the end for which they were written; they have entered into the thought and literary compositions of other men. The names of Mr. Sparks' contemporaries, who sought historical aid from him or his collections, indicate something of the living currents into which the tributary influence of his knowledge flowed. The speeches and books of other men bear witness to his friendly coöperation. Among those who most frequently turned to Mr. Sparks for help or suggestion were Edward Everett, George Bancroft,¹ Charles Sumner, Robert C. Winthrop, George Ticknor, William E. Prescott, and Francis Lieber.

Innumerable are the instances of special help and coöperation lent by Mr. Sparks to individual writers, editors, and biographers. Among these may be mentioned Henry D. Gilpin,² editor of the Madison papers, who says concerning the historical part of that invaluable work: "The fullness and accuracy of these references have been increased in a very great degree by the re-

¹ Mr. Bancroft frequently wrote to Mr. Sparks for information, and sent him his proof-sheets for criticism.

² Extract from Sparks' journal, November 1, 1839: "Mr. Gilpin, the editor of Madison's papers, which have been purchased by Congress and are now in press, requested me to furnish notes and references to the first volume. The printed sheets were accordingly sent to me, and I have supplied brief notes to the part containing debates in the old Congress, and letters during that period."

searches and aid of Mr. Sparks, of Cambridge.”¹ William C. Rives was greatly indebted to Mr. Sparks for his contributions to the writings of Madison. Henry S. Randall owed much to the same generous correspondent for testimony regarding the life of Jefferson, particularly concerning his religious belief and relations to George Washington. John C. Hamilton, in preparing for publication the life and works of his distinguished father, had frequent recourse to Jared Sparks. John G. Shea, the Roman Catholic historian of this country, was one of Mr. Sparks’ correspondents, and dedicated to him a work on “The Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley.”² Benson J. Lossing, whose “Field-Book of the American Revolution” has delighted so many young Americans, received valuable assistance from Jared Sparks. John Pickett, of Baltimore, was allowed by him to make copious selections from his edition of Washington’s writings for that admirable “History of the Potomac Company,” wherein Mr. Pickett shows that Washington is the father of the internal improvement policy of this country.

¹ “The Papers of James Madison,” vol. i. p. xxviii.

² Upon the receipt of this work Mr. Sparks wrote, December 28, 1852, to Mr. Shea: “I hope you will now engage in a larger enterprise: the history of the early Catholic missions in Canada and the West. It is a noble subject. The annals of the world afford few examples of self-sacrifice and conscientious devotion to a great cause in the midst of privations, difficulties, and dangers, which can be compared with those exhibited by the early missionaries in Canada. The writer of such a work should forget that there were Jesuits or Recollects, and turn his thoughts to the men, their purposes, efforts, and acts. Charlevoix and Le Clercq have both been faulty in this respect.” Mr. Shea acted upon this suggestion, and asked Mr. Sparks’ advice as to the manner of executing the work. In a long letter dated March 26, 1853, Mr. Sparks inquired, “Have you made any attempt to procure materials from Rome? In the archives of the Jesuits in that city there certainly must be valuable manuscripts relating to the missions in Canada.”

Friedrich Kapp, the German biographer of De Kalb and Steuben, received friendly encouragement from Mr. Sparks.

Most remarkable, perhaps, was his generous interest in the work of William Henry Trescot, of Charleston, South Carolina, who entered Mr. Sparks' own chosen field of American diplomatic history at the very time when the president of Harvard College was about to retire from that position and devote himself to his *magnum opus*. No one can read Sparks' letters to Trescot without appreciating the magnanimity of the historical veteran towards his young and ambitious rival. Upon receipt of Trescot's historical essay on the "Foreign Relations of the United States during the Revolution," Mr. Sparks, recognizing the value of the work, immediately sent it to the editor of the "North American Review," for notice in the next number. He wrote Trescot, September 1, 1852: "I have read your work with close attention. It appears to me that you have accomplished your object with great skill and entire success. It was no easy task to unravel such a network of facts, and to draw out the substance of them, and to compress it within so narrow a compass. This analysis you have executed, as I think, with good judgment and fidelity, and in such a manner as to present a clear, candid, and just view of the whole subject. I may not agree with you in all the incidental matters of opinion, but on the important points, both in regard to facts and the conclusions drawn from them, I am sure you are correct. The fairness with which you have spoken of the motives and characters of the principal actors is worthy of much praise. I am glad you have done justice to Vergennes. He does not hold the rank in French history which his ability and eminent public services deserve. The part he took and faithfully sustained in our cause will ever claim the respect and gratitude of American writers. . . ."

“I hope you will write a diplomatic history of Washington’s and Adams’ administrations, preceded by two or three preliminary chapters on the foreign relations of the United States during the Confederation after the treaty of peace. It is an interesting subject, and the materials may be easily obtained. Examine the papers in the Department of State and the private papers of the several foreign ministers during that period.”

This suggestion and other practical hints were afterwards acted upon by Mr. Trescot, who was sent to England in 1853 as secretary of legation,¹ and there continued historical inquiries originally begun by Jared Sparks. In 1858 Trescot sent Sparks a completed monograph upon “The Diplomatic History of Washington and Adams.” The work was acknowledged in a pleasant note dated September 16th: “I am extremely glad to find that you have been going on with the good work which you began so successfully in regard to the Revolution. . . . I hope

¹ Mr. Trescot was nominated to the United States Senate as secretary of legation at London, and was unanimously confirmed December 30, 1852. Edward Everett the next day informed Mr. Sparks of this fact and said, “Mr. Trescot did not apply for the office, directly or indirectly. The selection was made from a conviction of his superior fitness.” Mr. Sparks replied, January 3, 1853: “I cannot but think it a judicious choice. His book proves him to be a man of ability and good scholarship; and Dr. Gilman [of Charleston, S. C.] spoke highly of his personal character and qualities. No man has written more correctly on the diplomacy of the Revolution, although he aims only at a brief sketch.”

Mr. Trescot’s contributions to American diplomatic history were never extended beyond the administration of John Adams. It was reserved for Henry Adams, a great-grandson of John Adams, to continue the subject of American diplomacy in his “History of the United States” during the administrations of Jefferson and Madison. Charles Francis Adams published valuable materials illustrating the diplomatic career of John Adams, his grandfather, and Mr. John Jay has critically reviewed the part taken by his ancestor in concluding the treaty with Great Britain in 1783.

you will persevere and unfold the progress of our diplomatic relations, at all events as far down as the Treaty of Ghent, and as much farther as the materials shall seem to possess a decided character and establish permanent results."

Mr. Sparks continued to welcome fresh contributions to American history with words of encouragement or commendation. Letters of this class are very numerous in his later years, and often led to continued correspondence and to further contributions to historical knowledge. He was especially pleased with Mr. Charles Deane's edition of Governor Bradford's "History of Plymouth Plantation." The following is an extract from Mr. Sparks' letter to Mr. Deane, June 30, 1856: "As an original source of American history it appears to me the most important and valuable work that has appeared since the first publication of Winthrop's history. Written as it was by one who had a personal knowledge of the events he narrates and who took so large a part in them, it possesses a charm and carries with it an authority which belong to few works of this class. Great praise is due to the editor for his zeal and address in procuring the manuscript, and for the accuracy and taste with which the text has been presented to the public. The notes also show a thoroughness of research, and an excellent judgment in selecting the points to be illustrated and skill in explaining them." This cordial tribute to an editor of the new school, who was one of the first American scholars to reproduce historical texts with literal exactness of original spelling and archaic phrase, is noteworthy and characteristic. Jared Sparks and Charles Deane were alike in their devotion to the study of American history from the sources and in their generous aid and recognition of younger students in the same field. The present writer recalls with pleasure the friendly sug-

gestions of Mr. Deane¹ with regard to this very biography of Mr. Sparks.

In war time Mr. Sparks had many historical questions to answer from men like Edward Everett and Francis Lieber. When our public men made political speeches, and when college professors lectured on international law or wrote tracts for the times, the natural tendency was to turn to the old historian at Cambridge for historical facts. For example, Francis Lieber wrote from New York, February 1, 1862, to this effect: "Was not the harbor of Savannah barred by a sunken vessel or vessels during the Revolution, and by whom? There seems to be the recollection of the fact in my mind, but I am unable to restore it fully or to find it in the books of my library. Lec-

¹ In Cambridge Mr. Charles Deane lived upon Sparks Street, as does also Mr. Justin Winsor, who not long ago published an interesting memoir of his old friend and nearest neighbor. The following letter from Mr. Deane to Mr. Sparks, January 24, 1864, relates to the origin and bounds of Sparks Street, named in his honor: "I called on the city clerk the other day to find the legal bounds of Sparks Street, but I find the street never was formally accepted by the city. Mr. Stearns, the steward, tells me that what is now called Sparks Street from Brattle to 'Vassal Lane' was an old lane (perhaps two hundred years old), which ran into and made part of the lane which now runs to the pond. Some years ago (fifteen, more or less) the city straightened and widened it, *i. e.*, from Brattle to what is now known as Vassal Lane, and it received the name of 'Sparks Street.' I think we should take some steps to have its name and bounds on the city books. Mr. Stearns also tells me that this old lane had no name, but that he suggested that that part of it which runs from Sparks Street to the pond be called 'Vassal Lane,' so that is a modern name. . . ."

"P. S. The street running from Brattle to Mt. Auburn Street is also considered a continuation of Sparks Street, and has that name."

Mr. Justin Winsor says that, some time after the date of the above letter, Sparks Street was accepted by the city of Cambridge, and is now a regular thoroughfare. It extends from Mt. Auburn Street, across Brattle Street, to Concord Avenue.

turing lately in my course on the Laws and Usages of War¹ on Land, in the Columbia Law School, I had to treat of the admitted means of destruction and obstruction, and naturally came to discuss the 'stone fleet,' etc. Of course Mr. Sparks confirmed Dr. Lieber's recollection, and gave him such historical references as Gordon's "History of the Revolution," vol. iii. p. 326, and Stevens' "History of Georgia," vol. ii. p. 205, showing that two armed vessels and four transports were sunk by the British at the mouth of the Savannah River.

Again Lieber wrote to Mr. Sparks, October 13, 1862: "I have taken the liberty of sending you a copy of my tract on 'Guerilla Parties' in point of the law of war; and now would take the farther liberty of asking you whether you remember any case in the Revolution, when privates and non-commissioned officers, taken prisoners, were paroled, except by regular capitulation. Thus the English were paroled after the taking of Fort Motte. Were they always paroled not to serve again in America during the war? I feel quite sure that paroling privates has never taken place in Europe. As we carry on paroling now, it is a premium on cowardice, somewhat reminding us of the later days of the *condottiere*. You must excuse me for troubling you, but to say the truth I think you will not grudge your neighbor in history coming for some water to your well."

To this appeal Mr. Sparks replied, October 17, 1862, in an autograph letter kindly presented to the editor by Mrs. Lieber: "I have perused with much satisfaction

¹ The manuscript of Dr. Lieber's lectures on the Laws of War is preserved in the Historical Department of the Johns Hopkins University. These lectures were the basis of the "General Order No. 100" (Lieber's "Old Hundred") issued by the United States government for regulating the conduct of our armies in the field. This order led to Bluntschli's "Kriegsrecht," and to the codification of the Laws of War by the Institut de Droit International.

your tract on 'Guerilla Parties,' and thank you for sending me a copy of it. As to your inquiries, I do not remember any cases of paroles during the Revolution, in which the persons receiving them were not considered as prisoners of war, to be afterwards exchanged. The Convention of Saratoga was on a different footing. In this Convention a free passage to Great Britain was granted to the army under General Burgoyne, on condition of not serving again in North America during the war. But even here provision was made for an exchange of the troops, as prisoners, in case a cartel for that purpose should be made. See Gordon's 'History of the War,' vol. ii. p. 575. In the *Index* to 'Washington's Writings,' under the articles 'Convention Troops' and 'Prisoners,' you will find many references. A few particulars may also be found in the 'Journals of the Old Congress' under the following dates: vol. i. p. 258, February 8, 1776; vol. iii. p. 81, October 5, 1778. These relate to *Paroles*. But you should consult the journals throughout the entire edition in four volumes, with copious indexes. Under the article 'Prisoners of War,' in the indexes, you will find a multitude of references."

A noble tribute to the women of New England in war-time was written from Lowell, Massachusetts, May 29, 1861, by Mrs. Nancy Williams Burnap, then a widow, to her old friend Mr. Sparks. Mrs. Burnap with her daughter had left her home in Baltimore at the outbreak of the war and sought a peaceful refuge among Northern friends. "How energetic," she said, "have been the women of New England, and how patriotic! Their cheerful surrender of those they love to their country's cause is sublime and affecting. It does not seem so much enthusiasm as principle, not so much ardor as a sense of religious duty. It is wonderful to see their daily calmness, instead of their weak despair, as such sacrifices are apt to produce. The

North is certainly a reasoning and a reasonable section of our country, and its firmness must bear fruit. God keep Maryland loyal to the government!"

One of Mr. Sparks' most appreciative correspondents in Baltimore was Mr. Joshua I. Cohen, who, with Robert Gilmore and Brantz Mayer, was an enthusiastic collector¹ of autographs and rare manuscripts. The following letter from Mr. Cohen, October 29, 1865, is of some historical value: "You may probably recollect a conversation I had with you many years ago during a visit to Cambridge, in which I mentioned that Judge Noah, of New York, was then engaged in gathering together the facts and memorials of the part which our people, the Israelites, took in our Revolutionary struggle, and you kindly offered to him through me the use of your biographical series for any memoirs he might prepare on the subject. The death of Judge Noah not long after put an end to the project. I mentioned to you a military company that was formed in Charleston, S. C., composed almost exclusively of Israelites, of which my uncle was a member, and which behaved well during the war. Major Frank, one of Arnold's aids, was spoken of, and also Haym Salomon and others. In connection with Mr. Salomon you expressed yourself very fully, and, in substance (if I recollect correctly), that his association with Robert Morris was very close and intimate, and that a great part of the success that Mr. Morris attained in his financial schemes was due to the skill and ability of Haym Salomon.² I do not pretend to quote your language, but only the idea. The

¹ The Cohen collection of Egyptian antiquities is now in the possession of the Johns Hopkins University. The Cohen family in Baltimore still retain the autographs and specimens of colonial currency collected by Joshua I. Cohen.

² Interesting memoranda regarding this Jewish financier were found among the Sparks papers, and some future use of the materials will perhaps be made.

matter was brought up to my mind recently by the marriage of a great-grandson of Mr. Salomon to a niece of mine, one of the young ladies of our household."

Brantz Mayer, one of the best historical scholars in Maryland, was for many years one of Mr. Sparks' appreciative correspondents, and testified to his generous service in an excellent memorial read before the Maryland Historical Society. It was Brantz Mayer who said of Mr. Sparks: "He brought together the dispersed fragments of colonial and revolutionary days, and made the writing of history untroublesome for authors who, in 'slippered ease' and comfortable libraries availed themselves of his labors. . . . These are the silkworms of literature, whose glory is spun from the digested leaves of other men's culture. It was his habit, when allusions were made to such appropriations, to find sufficient reward in his own diligence, and to comfort himself for 'this way of the world' by a patient shrug and a pinch of snuff. Irving, in his advanced life, could never have written his Washington, had not Sparks organized his twelve volumes of materials and analyzed them in the biography." The works of Guizot, Everett, De Witt, and Lodge (the most recent writer upon the life of Washington) are all greatly indebted to Jared Sparks.

In a letter to Mr. Sparks, February 22, 1865, Brantz Mayer said: "How gratifying it is to your friends in Maryland to observe the affection with which you revert to the State with which your name must always be connected. We have almost a right to call you a Marylander, but we recollect also that you belong to the whole country, the glory and example of whose good men you have made immortal by your pen." One of the last historical services rendered by Mr. Sparks was to Brantz Mayer, in aiding him to revise the first edition of the Journal of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, during his visit to Canada

in 1776 as a commissioner from Congress. The last letter received and filed by Mr. Sparks was from this Maryland correspondent, to whom he had written as follows: "I take a lively interest in all that concerns Maryland, both present and past. I have not forgotten that my home was once there. I have many and deeply cherished recollections of Baltimore, which will remain in my heart and mind while the power of memory continues to act. The order of Providence and strange events have produced changes, *but it is Baltimore still.*"

Mr. Sparks remained a conservative Unitarian¹ to the

¹ As a matter of historical interest Mr. Sparks' creed is here recorded. It is taken from a copy in his own handwriting, with an appended note to the effect that the creed was read before the ordaining council of the First Independent Church of Baltimore, May 4, 1819: "I believe in one God, self-existent and eternal, the creator and supreme ruler of all things, infinite in power, wisdom, and goodness. I believe in his superintending providence, his parental care over his creatures, and his benevolent purposes. I believe that He made a partial revelation of his character and his will to the prophets and wise men of old; that the Jews were his peculiar people, and that the laws they received were from Him; that the Jewish dispensation, although of divine origin, was preparatory to another of vastly higher importance and more general extension; and that the prophets were divinely inspired to foretell the period and many of the circumstances of this dispensation. I believe that Jesus Christ was the Son of God, sent into the world to publish his will, to declare his promises and confirm their truth; 'that he revealed the doctrines of free pardon and everlasting life, and pointed out the conditions by which these blessings are to be obtained,' namely, repentance for past sins, and obedience to the precepts and commands of the Gospel; that he was indued with the power of working miracles, as an evidence of the divine nature of his mission, and a confirmation of the doctrines which he taught; that he voluntarily submitted to an ignominious death, and was raised again by the mighty power of God, as an additional proof of his divine authority and a pledge to his followers that they also shall be raised from the grave, delivered from the power of sin and death, and receive a righteous retribution in another world. 'Christ gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify to himself a peculiar

end of his days, although he never preached after his retirement from the Baltimore pastorate. When he removed from Baltimore to Boston he destroyed all his sermons, and regarded the ecclesiastical period of his life as forever closed. Henceforth he ministered to the American people as an editor, as a biographer of its great men, and as historian of its Revolution and diplomacy. This was certainly a larger life than that of a Unitarian propagandist in Baltimore; but throughout his broad career he remained loyal to liberal Christianity.

In his old age Mr. Sparks must have been pleased to receive from the First Independent Church in Baltimore the following notice of the installation of a new pastor, the Rev. N. H. Chamberlin. The letter was written February 27, 1860, by Dr. N. H. Morison, afterwards the first Provost of the Peabody Institute: "It is the earnest wish of your old friends and former parishioners, of the new members, and of the pastor elect, that you should be present. . . . The sons and daughters of those to whom you once broke the bread of life will greet with a kindly welcome one whom their fathers taught them to reverence, and in whose private virtue and public fame they have ever taken a just pride."

people, zealous of good works.' He came among men, suffered, died, and arose from the dead, that through him we may have everlasting life. I believe the Scriptures to be the word of God, containing everything which it is necessary for us to know respecting his character, our own duty, and our future prospects; and that, rightly understood, they afford every requisite motive to obey the precepts of Christ, to confide in his declarations, and awaken a lively and rational faith in him as the Son of God. They teach us to view God as a father and friend, to rely on his goodness, to trust in his mercy and forgiveness, if we repent of our sins and forsake them. They show us the way of salvation. They teach us the necessity of being pure and holy, of denying ungodliness and worldly desires, of living soberly, righteously, and religiously, if we would secure peace and happiness to ourselves, gain the favor of God, and enjoy an endless felicity in his presence in another and better world."

One of the last services rendered by Mr. Sparks to the Unitarian cause was a brief historical sketch of the Unitarian Church in Washington,¹ contributed to Sprague's "Annals of the American Pulpit."² A letter from Josephine Seaton to Mr. Sparks, March 3, 1864, gave him some interesting information upon the relation of her family to the Unitarian movement: "My grandfather, Mr. Gales, was well known for his zeal as one of the leading dissenters in England, and for his intimacy with the eminent Pye Smith and famous Dr. Priestley, the English pioneers of our faith, and for the earnestness with which he labored for the cause of Unitarianism subsequent to his removal to America, both in North Carolina and in this city. His mantle descended upon my father, who still wears it bravely." Mr. Seaton, of the well-known firm of Gales and Seaton, proprietors of the "National Intelligencer," was one of the original worshipers who met in an "upper room"³ in Washington and attended the ministrations of Mr. Sparks and Mr. Little. He was untiring in his efforts to build up the Unitarian church in the federal city. It was to Mr. Seaton that John C. Calhoun once remarked that in twenty years Unitarianism would become the faith of the country. A Roman Catholic priest in Washington once told Miss

¹ An historical sermon, preached by Mr. Conway during his pastorate, gives the history of the Unitarian Church in Washington down to 1854. He was dismissed October 4, 1856. After an interval, the Rev. W. D. Haley was chosen, January 10, 1858. He remained in charge till February 1, 1861. The Rev. W. H. Channing was installed December 8, 1861. MS. letter of Seaton Munroe to Jared Sparks, February 22, 1864.

² W. B. Sprague, "Annals of the American Pulpit," vol. viii.; "Unitarian, Congregational, Historical Introduction," pp. xvi-xviii.

³ In Georgetown and Washington, Unitarianism found shelter in private houses as early as 1814-15. In New York, also, Unitarianism was first preached in family circles.

Seaton that "the social and personal influence of your parents has been for many years the mainstay and anchor of Unitarianism in this city ; if one could only win them over to the good old Mother Church, we should esteem it a triumph, besides shattering such a mischievous stronghold of heresy."

DR. PEABODY'S REMINISCENCES OF MR. SPARKS.

The following reminiscences, by one who knew Mr. Sparks intimately in his old age, were written expressly for this work, and may well be introduced in this account of his last years. The reminiscences well serve also as a rapid summary of Mr. Sparks' long and useful life : —

"The only friend of his early days in Connecticut with whom I ever talked about him was the late Rev. Dr. William B. Sprague, who used to speak of his remarkable proficiency in mathematics, and his prompt mastery of the rudiments of the Latin tongue as having been the wonder of his rural birthplace, and a matter of no small interest to the few educated men in the neighborhood. Mr. Sparks had no instruction, other than that of a common district school, except in Latin from his minister, for whose services, though nominally paid for in manual labor, he retained a lifelong gratitude. Shortly before his pupil's death I was at Alton, Illinois, where Mr. Loomis was still living at a very advanced age, and on my return to Cambridge Mr. Sparks made very earnest inquiries about him, and spoke with evidently deep emotion of his indebtedness to the good old man for having started him on his life-career.

"My earliest knowledge of Mr. Sparks was through the volume of letters to Rev. Dr. Miller on 'Christian Doctrine,' and that of letters to Rev. Dr. Wyatt on 'Church Government,' — books in design and in form controversial, yet so entirely free from the sharpness,

asperity, and shallowness which commonly give to such writings an intrinsic value in inverse proportion to their polemic adroitness, that the elder Dr. Ware was wont to put them on his list of reference books. They are sober, learned, able, candid, exhaustive discussions of the points at issue, and, as was well known, won for their author the high and enduring respect of the eminent divines to whom they were addressed. We were often referred also to his six volumes of 'Essays and Tracts in Theology,' which are, all of them, treatises of standard merit, and have ceased to interest the present generation only because the lines of inquiry and discussion in our time diverge very widely from those which gave direction to religious thought half a century ago.

"My personal acquaintance with Mr. Sparks began when, after his first marriage, he took up his residence in the Craigue house, where he and his lifelong friend, Willard Phillips, and their wives made neither two families nor one, but bore in common a certain portion of the domestic charge and care. I was intimate with Mr. and Mrs. Phillips, and in their apartments I often saw Mr. and Mrs. Sparks, and I can recall with vivid remembrance her sweet and lovely countenance and manners, and the blended dignity and grace which made his society always attractive and charming. I was then (1832-33) a tutor in college, but for several subsequent years was seldom in Cambridge.

"I next saw Mr. Sparks at his inauguration as President of Harvard College, and afterwards not unfrequently on public occasions, and at receptions at his own house, during his whole term of office. In his presidency he reminded the older graduates of Dr. Kirkland, whose administration, while firm and resolute, had the paternal element for its prominent, and then almost unprecedented, characteristic. Mr. Sparks regarded the college as exist-

ing for the students, not the students for the college. He considered their well-being as a higher end than conformity to traditional rules and customs. Perhaps because his own youth had been so poor in means of enjoyment, he had a strong sympathy with youth, together with a great tenderness for juvenile frailties, indiscretions, and follies, when free from moral wrong. His official course, therefore, was marked by forbearance, assiduous kindness, and a policy toward offenders lenient and indulgent to the utmost limit of safety. It was with him a matter not merely of feeling, but of principle, and while in this respect he departed from the tradition of his time, there has been of late years a constant approach to his method and to the spirit that pervaded it. But on all questions, whether of discipline or of general management, he maintained inflexibly the ground which he had assumed after due deliberation, and there were instances in which he constituted in the faculty a minority of one. Thus, when the Kossuth rage infested Cambridge no less than Boston, and in prospect of Kossuth's attendance, the faculty voted unanimously to hold an approaching exhibition in the Parish Church instead of the College Chapel, Mr. Sparks, in announcing the vote, said: 'Gentlemen, you may have the exhibition where you please, I shall take my place at the regular hour, in my gown and cap, at the chapel.' Of course the vote was at once reconsidered, and it was not long before the faculty were very thankful to him for the stand that he had taken. His presidency was not marked by any event that has its place in the history of the colleges; but it was remembered gratefully and lovingly by the many students to whom he had given generous relief in stress of need, encouragement under adverse circumstances, and serviceable counsel as to their studies, conduct, and character.

"I came to Cambridge as Professor of Christian

Morals and Preacher to the University in 1860. Mr. Sparks attended worship at the College Chapel, and I became his near neighbor. For the remainder of his life I was in the habit of constant and familiar intercourse with him, often his guest, and on many occasions his companion. We both enjoyed the frequent hospitality of the Wednesday Evening Club in Boston, and at those meetings I deemed it my privilege, as his junior, to serve as his escort. Though his power of continuous literary labor had yielded to the strain of many years of incessant toil, there was to the last no token of decay or disabling infirmity of body or mind. He seemed young for his age. His frame was massive, his eye undimmed, his step firm. He enjoyed society and society enjoyed him. Genial, considerate, always paying special attention to those who claimed it the least and needed it the most, perfect in that spontaneous courtesy in which eye and voice and manner are the transcript of a pure, true, and kind heart, he can have had no merely casual acquaintances who did not feel themselves his friends. His conversation was rich in good sense and practical wisdom on subjects of current interest, in reminiscences of his own large and varied experience, and in such anecdotes as might have their fit place in biography or history.

“But it was not those only on his own social plane who were impressed by the sweetness and benignity of his character. He won the affection of all who came into any sort of relation or intercourse with him, and it seemed impossible for him to overlook or omit an occasion of performing a kindness. One day, shortly before his death, I overtook him with a large bundle of clothes from a laundress in his hand, and a little girl, in shabby raiment, trotting at his side. I found on inquiry that he had overtaken the child almost staggering with a weight too heavy for her, and was going out of his way to relieve

her. This seemingly slight act was typical of the temper and habit of his whole life.

“His last illness¹ was short and almost painless. When I saw him consciously under the close impending shadow of death, I found him serene and cheerful as he had been in his days of health and activity.”

At a special meeting of the president and fellows of Harvard College, held March 15, 1866, President Thomas Hill announced the death of ex-President Sparks March 14, 1866, at the house near the university, which he had occupied during and since his presidency; whereupon the following preamble and votes were adopted:—

“The Corporation of Harvard College would express their profound and grateful recognition of the lifelong services of Jared Sparks, LL. D., not only of his long and varied labors in the cause of literature, — his charity, learning, and zeal in the chosen walk of his earlier life, his indefatigable industry, scrupulous exactness, and fruitful diligence in biography and history, known and acknowledged in the work of letters, — but more especially his excellence in private life, and of his services to the university, in the various offices which he filled in its boards, and in the interest which he ever manifested in its welfare, therefore

“*Voted*, That this board will attend the funeral of ex-President Sparks. *Voted*, That we offer the use of Appleton Chapel to the family for the services. *Voted*, That the president be requested to make arrangements for the attendance of the college officers at the funeral.”

A copy of this action on the part of the corporation was sent to Mrs. Sparks. President Hill added a personal note of sympathy, and paid a tribute of grateful respect for the memory of his former teacher.

The funeral was held Saturday noon, March 17th. Dr.

¹ Mr. Sparks died of pneumonia.

George E. Ellis has well described the final and fitting honors paid to the memory of ex-President Sparks. In Appleton Chapel, "amid a concourse of saddened but loving friends, the funeral rites were rendered to the Christian, the scholar, the honored head of the university, the patriot, the historian, the helping guide and patron of many who had struggled and wrought in the measure of their experience and devotion as he had done. 'Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright,' were the words which introduced the reading from the Scriptures, on that occasion. His remains were interred at Mount Auburn."

MARY CROWNINSHIELD SPARKS AND HER CHILDREN.

Mrs. Sparks survived her husband twenty-one years. She continued to reside in the Quincy Street home, which she and Mr. Sparks had chosen together. There, surrounded on every hand by memorials of him, she lived to a serene old age. The writer well remembers the appearance of the sunny library, where Mr. Sparks had done his literary work for twenty years. His standing desk was still there, as he left it, surmounted by silver candlesticks. Adjoining this library there was a little room containing his private papers, which Mrs. Sparks desired to have used in the preparation of these two memorial volumes, according to the recommendation of Dr. Palfrey, the lifelong friend of her husband. There were his bound manuscript journals, his commonplace and account books; his letter-books in quarto form, containing copies of the most important letters written by him; there too was the vast collection of letters received by him, chronologically arranged in leathern-bound cases resembling quarto and octavo volumes, with the bound records of letters received and sent throughout a long and busy life. The manuscripts of Mr. Sparks' "Lec-





MARY CROWINSHIELD SPARKS

1809—1887

From a crayon by ROWSE

tures on the American Revolution" were there. So also were the bound manuscripts of his printed works and a set of the "North American Review" during the period of his editorship. There were many cases, portfolios, and volumes of miscellaneous papers, all connected with Mr. Sparks' literary and editorial career.

A careful examination of this well-ordered collection of family archives soon convinced the editor of these volumes of the historic interest and value of the Sparks papers. It was evident that Mrs. Sparks regarded them as her most precious possession. They had been for years her literary solace, and in her old age were dearer than ever. It was therefore with great reluctance that she yielded to the necessity of their removal to Baltimore for the purpose of this biography, having at first hoped that the work could be accomplished in Cambridge.

Mrs. Sparks was a woman of remarkable force of character, having great strength of mind and of will. Her tastes were literary. She had been much in society, and was brilliant in conversation. Her nature was loyal and very sympathetic, and her religious feeling deep and strong. She died September 3, 1887.

William Eliot Sparks fitted for college at Phillips Exeter Academy, as did his father, and was graduated from Harvard College in the class of 1869. He adopted the profession of a mechanical engineer and machinist. After a short course as a special student at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, he spent a year in the locomotive works at Manchester, New Hampshire. In September, 1872, he entered the Mason machine works at Taunton, Massachusetts, of which business in October, 1874, he became assistant superintendent. He married, January 20, 1875, Harriet A., daughter of William Mason, the proprietor of the works. William Eliot Sparks died of typhoid fever September 5, 1886, leaving two daughters, Mary Silsbee Sparks and Ethel Sparks.

Mr. Sparks' oldest living daughter, Florence, was married November 16, 1876, in Appleton Chapel, Cambridge, by the Rev. A. P. Peabody, D. D., to Mr. Benjamin P. Moore, of Baltimore, a graduate of the Harvard Law School, and a member of the Baltimore Bar. Two children have been born to them: Robert, born November 17, 1877, in Cambridge, at the Sparks homestead on Quincy Street and died there November 21, 1877; and Jared Sparks, born also in Cambridge, September 29, 1879. Beatrice, the youngest daughter of Mr. Sparks, resides with her sister, Mrs. Moore, in Baltimore. Lizzie Wadsworth Sparks was married March 9, 1874, in Appleton Chapel, by the Rev. William Newell, D. D., and the Rev. Dr. A. P. Peabody, to Mr. Edward C. Pickering, of Boston. They now reside at the Harvard College Observatory, of which Mr. Pickering is the director.

CHAPTER XXXV.

TRIBUTES TO THE MEMORY OF JARED SPARKS.

DR. ANDREW P. PEABODY.

Extracts from a sermon preached by Dr. Peabody in the Harvard College chapel the day after the funeral of Dr. Sparks, from the text, "With long life will I satisfy him, and show him my salvation" (Psalm xci. 16).

AFTER a suggestive exposition of his text, Dr. Peabody said: "I am led thus to speak by my vivid and loving memory of the venerable man whose lifeless form rested here yesterday on its way to the grave; and in paying my grateful tribute to one so closely and honorably connected for many years with our university, I want to draw out some of the rich lessons of his life, and especially to show you how vigorous, faithful, noble a lifework has been consummated and crowned by an old age transcendently beautiful."

Dr. Peabody rapidly reviewed Jared Sparks' early and remarkable career as a student at Phillips Exeter Academy, as a clergyman and religious editor in Baltimore. "Then commenced his labors in the department of American biography and history, . . . continued with patient diligence for many years, and until he had contributed much more largely than any other author or editor has done to the preservation of important historical documents, the verification of facts, and the enduring record of the services and merits of the great men of our republic. Indeed, he has surpassed all other American authors

in the voluminousness of his publications, nearly one hundred volumes¹ having borne his name as author or editor, — a few of them, theological writings of admirable timeliness and of permanent interest and value, and all the rest, worthy monuments of his patriotism, of his literary taste, of his conscientious, painstaking fidelity, and of his unsurpassed ability, alike in his own lucid, impartial, appreciating narrative, in the use of the materials afforded him by his numerous collaborators, and in the editorship of the writings which he gave to the public. Indeed, his biographies of Washington and Franklin alone, with their writings prepared for the press under his editorship, would have been his adequate title to enduring fame; but these are only a small part of the fruits of his labor.

“To all but himself his lifework seemed done and nobly done. But he regarded all that he had accomplished and the rich materials collected by his lifelong researches as but a preparation for a History of the United States, to which he had long looked forward as his crowning literary enterprise. When he would have addressed himself with undiminished courage and hopefulness to this herculean task, infirmities, induced, no doubt, by intense application, forbade the undertaking, and for the later years of his life precluded all continuous literary labor. But in no respect does he more command our admiration than in the serenity with which he bore this severe disappointment, his more than submission, his cheerful acquiescence in the appointment of Higher Wisdom, his uncomplaining, contented resignation of the work which would have been the joy of his life, — thus to the spiritual discern-

¹ See Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, April 3, 1866: “A copy of each of the works of Dr. Sparks, representing his written and his editorial labors (numbering over one hundred volumes), was exhibited upon the table.” Cf. the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop’s remarks, p. 162.

ment giving to the broken column a richer finish and a completer symmetry than it would have presented with the capital of his designing.

“His official connection with the college as tutor, professor of history, and president, occupied seventeen years of his life; and his associates and his pupils will bear concurrent testimony to his unwearying assiduity and his persevering kindness. He loved the students as if they had been of his own household, rejoiced in all that redounded to their honor, was slow to believe aught to their injury, solicitous rather to win by patient kindness than to awe by severity of discipline, and cherishing a hearty sympathy with the young life around him, especially with those who were struggling manfully with such difficulties as had tested his own strong powers of effort and endurance. When withdrawn from official duty, he remained none the less the faithful and vigilant friend of the university, making all its interests his own, seeking ever to promote its honor and prosperity, aiding by his counsel and encouraging by his kind offices those engaged in the administration of its affairs, and large numbers of students in every department.”

REV. WILLIAM NEWELL.

Extract from a discourse occasioned by the death of Jared Sparks, LL. D., delivered March 18, 1866, before the First Parish in Cambridge, by William Newell, minister of the First Church in Cambridge.

“‘Blessed,’ says the Scripture, ‘is the memory of the just.’ . . . In the narrower as well as in the larger sense does the word apply to our honored friend. He was thoroughly just, upright, conscientious in his dealings; fair, candid, equitable in his judgments; never willingly, never consciously, I am sure, doing wrong by word or act, with

pen or tongue, to any man. He was transparently truthful, artless, and sincere; with a mingled simplicity and unassuming dignity, a blended suavity and quiet reserve, that were very winning. And he was as sweet-tempered as he was truthful; as gracious and benevolent as he was just; kind, cordial, tender-hearted, full of mercy and good works. No one ever went to him in vain for help. Perhaps he was in danger, sometimes, of being over-charitable, over-generous, giving to the asker beyond the asker's claim. Many a poor man, many a poor woman, in this neighborhood, will feel the loss of his pleasant word; his bountiful purse, ever open, as in his college presidency, to the young men who needed, as he himself once needed, the helping hand; so to all whom he had opportunity to succor and serve.

“Fully did he, if any man, meet the requirement announced by the prophet of old, saying to his people, still saying by the spirit of us all, ‘He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?’

“He walked humbly with his God, as he walked modestly and lovingly with man. He was truly, unaffectedly devout, of a deeply reverent spirit, in his views of Scripture and of Christ adhering to the school of Channing and Ware; disliking and dreading the innovations and radicalism of the day, as well as the false reaction in an opposite direction, but ever steadfastly manifesting his profound religiousness of mind in outward ordinances, in constant attendance, morning and afternoon, at the sanctuary, in the whole tone of his speech, in the whole tenor of his life; he was, in short, a true disciple of Christ, both in love to man and in love to God.”

CHRISTIAN REGISTER.¹

“There is no name of Christian scholar, advocate, or preacher more frequently mentioned, and always with more uniform confidence, in the early volumes of the ‘Christian Register,’ than that of Jared Sparks. He entered upon his professional services as a Unitarian minister, in Baltimore, in 1819, at a period when the heat of the controversy had reached its intensest point. Providence favored us at that time with many men of the character, mental qualities, and endowments and attainments most needed and best fitted for a peculiar work. They were men of the highest culture of the time, possessed of accurate scholarship, guided by a pure literary taste, chastened by a profoundly reverential and devout spirit, and seeming to be providentially commissioned to state, authenticate, and defend a form of Christian faith, and a method of the Christian life, and a type of the Christian character, for multitudes of thoughtful and sincere persons around them wholly alienated from, and utterly beyond the reach of, Trinitarianism and Calvinism. How nobly our Unitarian worthies, of the generation now passed away, met that exacting and emergent service, is not more than half known.

“We do not hesitate to assign to Mr. Sparks the highest place as a scholar, an advocate, and a champion in that service. Buckminster had been a more attractive preacher. Channing was a more popular essayist, more gifted in the æsthetics of sentiment and delicate dealing with the religious emotions and aspirations. Norton was more accomplished as a Scriptural scholar and in the accuracies of criticism. But Mr. Sparks comprehended larger and fuller gifts, and made a stronger and deeper mark in the catholicity and fullness of his method and materials of

¹ March 17, 1866.

advocacy. He devoted himself to the preparation of elementary papers for the illustration of Unitarian views by Scriptural texts and expository remarks. He gathered a whole series of volumes of tracts and essays by wise and able men nominally found in various Christian communions, who had never assumed the Unitarian name of advocacy, but who were, therefore, all the more effective witnesses and examples of its great principles. He also girded and exercised himself for direct controversy, though in self-defense, against Calvinists and Episcopalian assailants, whom he met without bitterness, but on whom he visited a signal discomfiture.

“There was a gravity and solidity in his style, a directness in his statements, and a carefulness of research to secure accuracy, which made all he wrote especially valuable to men of calm judgment and careful mental culture. During this period of controversy, as we have heard from all trustworthy witnesses, Mr. Sparks so admirably bore himself as a courteous, refined, and dignified Christian gentleman, that even those who dreaded and cried out upon him as a heretic met him with profound respect in private intercourse, and were the foremost of his friends and patrons in those large literary and historical undertakings to which he turned when his failing health drove him from the pulpit. That the minister of the Unitarian Church in Baltimore should have been chosen to the Chaplaincy of the House of Representatives at Washington was a tribute of personal respect to Mr. Sparks, the significance of which it is hardly possible, in these days, to appreciate.”

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.¹

At a special meeting of the American Antiquarian Society, on the sixteenth day of March, 1866, at Antiquarian Hall, in Worcester, to consider the loss of Jared Sparks, who had been the secretary of the Society for Foreign Correspondence since May, 1846, the following resolutions were offered by the president, Hon. Stephen Salisbury:

Resolved, That this society has occasion to mourn for the loss of our distinguished foreign secretary and constant friend, who encouraged and aided the operations of our association by his wise assistance, his uniform presence at our meetings, and the manifestation of his unabated interest in our progress and success.

Resolved, That we deeply regret the departure of the foremost workman in the harvest for which we have engaged. No other writer has illustrated American history in so many various and important subjects, and it was always done with a pure and patriotic tendency. He never indulged in the painting and paradox which please the first taste and become bitter in the memory, but contented himself with the enduring approbation and confidence that he gained by his documentary proofs, and his accurate, lucid, and well-sustained narrations.

Resolved, That we will remember with honor and gratitude the services in furtherance of good learning and Christian morality which Dr. Sparks rendered as a minister of the gospel, and in his writings and editorial labors, in criticism and belles-lettres, and in his successful performance of the duties of an instructor and of the President of Harvard University.

Resolved, That we lament that we can no longer enjoy, at our stated meetings, the quiet and cordial society of

¹ From the Records of the American Antiquarian Society, March 16, 1866. See, also, May 29, 1866.

this Christian scholar, whose presence reminded us of his good example in his consistent life, in his unostentatious and fruitful industry, in his just and generous disposition, and in the combination of charity and decided opinions which gained the respect of those whom he did not convince in his theological discussions.

“*Resolved*, That this society will express our affectionate respect by attending the funeral of Dr. Sparks.

“*Resolved*, That the president is requested to transmit a copy of these resolutions to the family of our distinguished associate, with the assurance that we sympathize with them in their great sorrow, and we commend them to the source of strength and consolation.”

The adoption of the above written resolutions was moved and seconded, and after addresses by Rev. Dr. Alonzo Hill, Hon. Ira M. Barton, Hon Isaac Davis, and Samuel F. Haven, Esq., the resolutions were unanimously adopted.

DR. SAMUEL F. HAVEN.¹

“Mr. Sparks dealt with the materials of history as an organizer and administrator, grasping them in the quantity and mass as well as in detail, marshaling them bodily in place and order, associating and combining them with reference to their mutual relations, and causing them to become the narrators of events and the developers of character, instead of attempting these results in his own proper person.”

REV. DR. ALONZO HILL.²

“He published more, and more that was worthy of being published, than any man among us. His works, in their separate editions, are reported to be not less than

¹ Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, March 16, 1866.

² *Ibid.*

six hundred thousand volumes. . . . He is regarded as an authority, — has done more, perhaps, than any other man to diffuse among European scholars a correct knowledge of our institutions, and the great men by whom they were founded.”

PROFESSOR THEOPHILUS PARSONS.¹

“In the year 1811, I entered Cambridge College on the same day with Mr. Sparks. Some similarity of tastes and pursuits soon led us into more intimacy than is always common even among classmates. From that time that intimacy has never been broken. Through all these years he has been one of my nearest, one of my dearest, friends. . . . I have not known, and I can scarcely imagine, a man more absolutely devoid of vanity or affectation. He valued the good opinion of good men as evidence that he had succeeded in his efforts to be and to do what such men approve, and that what he had done for others would be acceptable and useful. But, in the half century of our acquaintance, I have never witnessed an act, a look, a word, which indicated even the thought of seeming other than he was; of winning even momentary approbation by a mere seeming.”

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP.²

“Indeed, there were few things, as you all know, more characteristic of Jared Sparks than the manner in which he uniformly shrunk from any assertion or any recognition of his own unquestioned title to celebrity. He was never tired of recognizing the claims of others to distinction, or of paying tribute to whomsoever tribute was due,

¹ Extract from the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, April 3, 1866.

² *Ibid.*

whether among the dead or among the living. His whole life, I had almost said, was spent in doing honor to others. But for himself he seemed content with the quiet consciousness of having labored diligently, faithfully, devotedly, successfully, through a career of varied fortunes and many early discouragements, in the cause of education and letters, and of having contributed what he could to the illustration of the great names and great deeds of his country's history.

“ And who, we may well ask to-night, — who has contributed more than he, who has contributed so much as he, to that illustration? Not a few of his contemporaries in the field of American authorship have prosecuted their historical researches and found the heroes of their story in distant realms and in a remote past. But it has been one of the peculiarities of his career that it has been occupied exclusively with topics connected with his native land. In the crowded gallery of portraits which have owed their execution, directly or indirectly, to the untiring industry of Jared Sparks, and which include so great a variety of character and so wide a range of service, there is not one, I believe, which is not associated prominently, if not exclusively, with the colonial or the national history of our own country. Nor can any one write that history, now or hereafter, without acknowledging a deep indebtedness, at every step, to his unwearied researches. Abandoning, as he did, only within a few years past, as the infirmities of age began to steal upon him, his long-cherished purpose of preparing a formal narrative of our great Revolutionary period, he might yet well have congratulated himself, if his modesty had suffered him to do so, that he had quarried the materials with which others are building, and with which others must always continue to build. Certainly, no more thorough or more valuable investigation of all that pertains to that transcendent

period of American history has ever been made, or is likely to be made, than that of which the abounding fruits were given to the world in his 'Life and Writings of Washington,' in his 'Life and Writings of Franklin,' and in the numerous lesser biographies with which he has enriched our historic literature. Bringing to whatever he undertook a sturdy strength of mind and body, a full measure of practical common sense, faculties of perception and comprehension which more than made up in precision and grasp for anything which may have been wanting in quickness or keenness, — a marvelous love of work, a patience and perseverance of research which nothing could fatigue or elude, — he pursued his inquiries with all the zeal of an advocate, but weighed the results and pronounced the decision with the calm discrimination of a judge. The simplicity of his style was a faithful index of the simplicity of his whole character. There was nothing in his nature which tempted him to seek brilliancy at the expense of truth. He had as little capacity as taste for indulging in rhetorical exaggerations or embellishments. No man was ever freer from unjust prejudices or unjust partialities. No man ever sought more earnestly to do justice to his subject without displaying himself or espousing a side. And thus his historical writings will be respected and consulted, in all time to come, as the highest and best authority in regard to the men, the facts, and the events to which they relate. . . . Here before me, too, are witnesses more impressive and emphatic than any voices either of the dead or of the living. This multitudinous accumulation of volumes on our table, hardly less than a hundred in number, — nearly all of them his own gift to our library, all of them his own gift to American literature, — what a life of labor do they not bespeak! To what rich resources and earnest researches, to what varied accomplishments and noble achievements, do they

not bear testimony! Of what an enviable and enduring association of his own name with the names of the heroes of our history, and more especially with that preëminent and peerless name which is to live longest in the memory of mankind, are they not at once the ample price and assured pledge!"

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.¹

"*Resolved*, That in the death of Jared Sparks this society has lost one of its most valued and distinguished members, whose private virtues and whose literary achievements have alike entitled him to our respect and admiration.

"*Resolved*, That the contributions of our lamented associate to the history of our country have been exceeded in amount and value by those of no other man among the living or the dead; and that we cannot doubt that posterity will confirm the judgment of Irving and Everett in pronouncing him 'one of the greatest benefactors to American literature.'

"*Resolved*, That the president be requested to nominate one of our number to prepare a memoir of Dr. Sparks for our next volume of Proceedings."

DR. GEORGE E. ELLIS.²

"Even over the piled-up volumes which contain the work that he performed, we must say, as over the end of the career of every good and great man, that he left more of his purposes and his resolutions unaccomplished. And yet these volumes do substantially contain the 'American

¹ From the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, April 3, 1866.

² Extract from the memoir of Jared Sparks published in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, May, 1868.

History' which Dr. Sparks desired and intended to write. The reader of them may trace in them the rise and development of this republic. Their pages carry him over the whole territory which it originally embraced, and recognize the agency of all the leading actors, all the important events, the enterprises, discomfitures, and successes which entered into its organization and its full establishment. When we consider the number and variety of the biographies in his works, both those which are full and elaborate and those which offer only condensed sketches of ascertained facts, and remember that the writer was scrupulously careful to present accurately the opinions and the actions of his subjects, we are tempted to ask, what was there for him to do more?

“There is a judicial dignity and gravity in Dr. Sparks' style which well become the subject and matter of the large majority of his volumes. He did not aim for a fascinating or a rhetorical manner in his compositions. He avoided superlatives and all exaggerations. He was religiously considerate in his estimate of the motives, purposes, and characters of men, and rigidly conscientious, as well as deliberate, in pronouncing his judgment upon perplexed or contested issues involving reproach and honor for public actors. He had a profound sense of the responsibility of an historian or a biographer, whose pages would stand for authorities, to be followed, trusted, and quoted indefinitely onward, — binding him to accuracy, candor, and charity, as he put on permanent record assertions or opinions which he was supposed to have had peculiar if not exclusive means for verifying or knowing. The most expressive tribute of confidence and deference paid to Dr. Sparks for the qualities just ascribed to him is found in the fact, that might be richly illustrated here if space allowed, that in some sharp controversies and personal disputes between several later historians and

biographers and those who, as representatives of public men, have challenged them for alleged misrepresentations of their ancestors, Dr. Sparks has in every case been recognized as an impartial arbiter. I have read a pile of pamphlets touching the deserts of fame of Generals Greene, Sullivan, and Schuyler, and President Reed and others, as periled by some judgment of Mr. Bancroft's brought under question by grandsons and friendly champions, and in every case have noted how valuable to either side is the judicial estimate anticipated in the pages of the editor of *Washington*. The phenomenon is certainly of striking significance."

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.¹

"Mr. Sparks did nothing that was not done well, few things that were not done superlatively well. His reputation rests not merely on his capacity as an editor and compiler; had he written nothing else, his biographies alone would have seemed work and glory enough for one man; and these, in the appreciation of their subjects, in the grouping of persons and incidents, in the delineation of character, and in the tracing of relations and sequences among events, give ample evidence of a keen insight, an analytic faculty, and a constructive power, which the literary world would have better appreciated had not his more important biographies, those of *Washington* and *Franklin*, been in form subsidiary to the publication of their works.

"In his private character, no ordinary terms can convey the measure in which he was honored and loved most by those who knew him best. He can have had no enemies; and no man can have made more or warmer friends. In meekness, modesty, kindness, generosity, a winning polite-

¹ Extract from the Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, May 29, 1866.

ness that went to the heart because it came from the heart, the most tender concern for the well-being and happiness of others, constant watchfulness for the opportunities of doing good, charity that dropped its benefactions in look, word, and deed all along his life-path, — in these and other like traits he realized to many, with more fullness than they can readily recall it elsewhere, the idea of a Christian gentleman. And it was his happiness and ours that he died, though full of years, before the infirmities of old age had impaired either his capacity of enjoyment or — what would have been to him the same thing — the power of active beneficence. ‘*Felix, non vitæ tantum claritate sed etiam opportunitate mortis.*’ ”

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

At a meeting January 3, 1867, Colonel Brantz Mayer, from a committee appointed October 4, 1866, to prepare a memoir and resolutions relative to the late Dr. Jared Sparks, submitted the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted: —

“*Resolved*, That the Maryland Historical Society has received with deep sorrow the intelligence of the death of the Honorable Jared Sparks, who was one of our first and most esteemed associates, the virtues of whose early life, passed in this State and city, have endeared his memory to all who know him in Maryland.

“*Resolved*, That this society regards the labors of Dr. Sparks as entitling him to the foremost rank among our national men; that no one has contributed more solid, useful, and enduring materials to the historical literature of America, or elucidated those materials with more attractive skill and candor.

“*Resolved*, That while lamenting his loss to literature and friendship, we take sincere delight in remembering his successful career through disheartening struggles to

ultimate renown, — the reward of a pure and intellectual life, — worthy, in all respects, of the study and emulation of his countrymen.

“*Resolved*, That the corresponding secretary be requested to send a copy of these resolutions to the family of our lamented associate in the Maryland Historical Society, with the assurance of our true sympathy in their and the country’s irreparable loss.”

COLONEL BRANTZ MAYER.¹

“It must ever remain as the highest praise of our late colleague, that, in the field of national biographies, national in all their elements, he stands beside the masters on the platform of acknowledged success. He was the real pioneer in the unexplored wilderness of our historical literature. ‘Indeed,’ says one familiar with his works, ‘it requires considerable knowledge on the part of the reader, a knowledge of the state of things, of the obstacles and perplexities in the way of effort, and of the hard conditions of success, at the time when Mr. Sparks gave himself to his large and costly enterprise, in order that his eminent devotion and success may be, even in degree, appreciated.’ . . . He was always the careful protector of human reputation, dealing with the unresisting and undefending dead as their advocate and righteous judge; reluctant to condemn by argument or inference, and never unless the proved facts were irresistible. He studiously discarded all that might either attract or detract by fancy or elaborate discussion; in a word, he shunned ambitious rhetoric, so perilous to solid judgments, and so often giving false color to historical portraits, for he knew the risk of losing the reliable in the brilliant. In his style

¹ Extracts from a memoir of Jared Sparks, prepared at the request of the Maryland Historical Society, of which Mr. Sparks was an honorary member, and read before it February 7, 1867.

he was the artless artist, if there is truth in Thackeray's observation, that the 'true artist makes you think of a great deal more than the objects before you.' His extreme calmness may have sometimes made him cold; yet, by conforming himself to plain forms of language, he always aimed to convey the absolute truth, which he regarded as the coveted prize of history. For history, to his mind, was a serious thing, not a melodramatic tale, and he wrote it as he would have delivered testimony in the presence of God. His desire was that the fact and not the form should fascinate and teach; because the fact was permanent and independent, the form was flexible and voluntary. No one knew better or more dreaded the risk of biasing opinion by over or under statements concerning the conspicuous persons of whom he wrote. . . . He never wrote a sentence that was not in the interest of his whole country."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

ACADEMIC AND LITERARY HONORS.

MR. SPARKS received the diploma of A. B. from Harvard University, August 30, 1815; LL. D. from Dartmouth College in 1841; LL. D. from Harvard University in 1843. The compliment from Dartmouth College must have been very gratifying, for it came during the administration of President Lord, Mr. Sparks' former tutor at Phillips Exeter Academy. In the year 1837, when Edward Everett was Governor of Massachusetts, Mr. Sparks was appointed a member of the Board of Education, together with Horace Mann, of Boston, Robert Rantoul, Jr., of Gloucester, and five other prominent citizens of Massachusetts.

LIST OF SOCIETIES TO WHICH MR. SPARKS WAS ELECTED.

Phi Beta Kappa Society, Harvard University	August 16, 1812.
Maryland Academy of Sciences and Arts	June 22, 1821.
American Academy of Language and Belles-Lettres, Washington	April 5, 1822.
American Academy of Arts and Sciences	May 25, 1825.
Massachusetts Historical Society	August 29, 1826.
Columbian Institute, Washington	October 7, 1826.
American Antiquarian Society	October 23, 1827.
Michigan Historical Society	August 30, 1830.
Indiana Historical Society	December 11, 1831.
Pennsylvania Historical Society	March 20, 1834.
Golden Branch Society, ¹ Phillips Exeter Academy	November 7, 1834.

¹ This was an election to honorary membership of a student literary society in the old academy where Jared Sparks prepared for

American Philosophical Society	April 21, 1837.
Antiquarian Society of Copenhagen	October 30, 1837.
Antiquarian Society of Athens	June 20, 1838.
Kentucky Historical Society	July 30, 1838.
Historical and Geographical Society of Brazil	December 1, 1839.
Georgia Historical Society	July 8, 1840.
National Institution, Washington	August 22, 1840.
Illinois Literary and Historical Society	December 18, 1843.
Scientific and Literary Society, Palermo	February 11, 1844.
Connecticut Historical Society	April 3, 1844.
Maryland Historical Society	April 4, 1844.
Missouri Historical and Philosophical Society	January, 1845.
Royal Academy of Sciences, Berlin	February, 1845.
American Colonization Society	March 22, 1845.
New Jersey Historical Society	September 4, 1845.
New England Historic-Genealogical Society	October 7, 1846.
Royal Academy of Sciences, Turin	November, 1849.
New Hampshire Historical Society	July 12, 1850.
Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society	May 26, 1852.
Newport Historical Society	November 23, 1853.
Society of Antiquarians, London	February 15, 1854.
Wisconsin Historical Society	March 6, 1854.
Old Colony Historical Society	April 3, 1854.
Iowa Historical Society	March 4, 1857.
Moravian Historical Society	July 13, 1857.
Chicago Historical Society	November 24, 1857.
Historical Society of Tennessee	January 5, 1858.
Historical Society of New Mexico	January 30, 1860.
Vermont Historical Society	1860.

Harvard in 1808-9. The Golden Branch Society was formed in the year 1818 for the promotion of literary culture. The society has always enjoyed the favor of both faculty and students, and is widely known among Exeter alumni.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS OF JARED SPARKS.

PART I.

ARTICLES IN THE "NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW."

THE following list of contributions to the "North American Review" is based upon a manuscript record prepared by Mr. Sparks himself. The list has been supplemented by the aid of William Cushing's "Index to the North American Review," and by additional references, especially to critical notices, given to the present compiler by that veteran bibliographer, Dr. William F. Poole, formerly of the Boston Athenæum, now of the Newberry Library. Additions to Mr. Sparks' manuscript list are indicated by the letters C and P, which stand for Cushing and Poole. Allibone says that Mr. Sparks contributed fifty-two articles to the "North American Review." Every article and notice to which no letter is appended is here claimed for Mr. Sparks upon the authority of his own manuscript list. But even upon his list Mr. Sparks did not note certain articles and notices that are known to be his.

1817.

	VOL.	PAGE
Augustan Age of Italian Literature	4	309
Interior of Africa (C)	5	11
Conflagration of Havre de Grace	5	157
Narrative of Robert Adams concerning Travels in Africa	5	204
Riley's Narrative	5	389

1818.¹

Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry	6	293
Internal Improvements of North Carolina (C)	12	16

1821.

Appropriation of Public Lands for Schools	13	310
Education in Maryland (C)	13	338

1824.

Colonization Society	18	40
Ingersoll's Discourse concerning the Influence of America on the Mind	18	157
Hodgson's Remarks on America	18	221
Theories of the Earth	18	266
Schools in the State of New York (C)	18	284
New Zealand (C)	18	329
Tanner's American Atlas (C)	18	382

Miscellaneous Notices.

President Humphrey's Address	18	407
Moore's Annals of Concord	18	407
Notes on the Epistle to the Romans	18	409
Bigelow's Address before the Peace Society	18	409
Tillet's Key to the Exact Sciences	18	411
Address for the Benefit of the Greeks	18	412
Plan of the City of Baltimore	18	414
Memorials of Columbus	18	415

Nova Scotia (P)	19	137
South America	19	158
Agriculture	19	325

¹ For volumes 4, 5, and 6, Mr. Sparks says he wrote various literary and miscellaneous notices, but these are now difficult to identify. He was editor from May, 1817, to May, 1818. From 1819 to 1823 was the period of Mr. Sparks' Unitarian pastorate in Baltimore. He bought the "North American Review" in September, 1823, and began his second term of editorship in January, 1824.

Miscellaneous Notices.

Tax on Banks	19	256
Prose by a Poet	19	260
New General Atlas	19	261
The Common Law	19	411
Canadian Review	19	457
Woodbridge's Geography	19	460
History of the Indians	19	464
Sketch of Connecticut	19	467
Bishop England's Discourse	19	470

1825.

Poinsett's Notes on Mexico	20	77
Baltimore	20	99
Emigration to Africa and Hayti	20	191
Escalala, an American Tale	20	210
Butler's Reminiscences	20	272
Insurrection of Tupac Amaru in South America	20	283
Letters on the Gospels	20	366
Count Pulaski vindicated	20	375
Everett's Orations	20	417

Critical Notices.

History of Philadelphia	20	215
Hull's Memoirs	20	226
Improvement of Government	20	227
Auction System	20	229
Evenings in New England	20	230
Hall's Columbia	20	441
Female Education	20	444
Outline of the United States	20	446
New Hampshire Historical Society	20	448
Cubi's Spanish Grammar	20	450
Wheaton's Address	20	453

Recent American Novels (C)	21	78
Travels in Colombia	21	153
Long's Second Expedition (C)	21	178
Brainard's Poems	21	217
Wayland's Discourses on the Duties of an American Citizen	21	360
Gold and Silver in Mexico	21	429

Critical Notices.

Colonization Society	21	230
Burton's Essays	21	232
Hoyt's Antiquarian Researches	21	234
Lindsley's Address	21	237
Lectures on Geology	21	240
Memoirs of General Harrison	21	248
Say's Entomology	21	251
Palfrey's Historical Discourse	21	444
History of the Late War	21	449
Mercantile Penmanship	21	451
Summary View of America	21	453
Beacon's Plea for Africa	21	462
Polyglot Grammar	21	464

1826.

American Philosophical Transactions	22	1
Alliance of the Southern Republics	22	162
Sandwich Islands	22	334
Shaler's Sketches of Algiers	22	400

Critical Notices.

Ingersoll's Discourse	22	212
Adams' Annals of Portsmouth (P)	22	215
History of the United States	22	219
Gadsden's Discourse	22	222
Register of Debates	22	224
Sewell's Lecture	22	225
Miller's Discourse	22	226
Staples' Spanish Grammar	22	227
Cubi's Traductor Español	22	451
Claims on Denmark	22	456
Ohio Canals (P)	22	459
Blunt's Historical Sketch	22	460
Mexico	22	461
Bunker Hill Battle (P)	22	465
Materials for American History	23	275
Judge Johnson and Count Pulaski	23	414

Critical Notices.

Public Works of Georgia	23	211
Hunter's Oration	23	453
Gazetteer of Ohio	23	458

Principles of Political Economy	23	465
Map of New England	23	466
An Indian's Address to the Whites	23	470
Navarrete's Columbus	23	484

1827.

Wilson's and Bonaparte's Ornithology	24	110
La Plata and Chile	24	295

Critical Notices.

Bryant's Poetical Address	24	212
History of New York	24	214
New Ideas on Population	24	218
Education in Tennessee	24	219
Books for Schools	24	225
Form of Government in Buenos Ayres (Sparks & F. Sales)		
(P)	24	236
Internal Improvement in Georgia	24	466
Godman's Natural History	24	467
North Carolina	24	468

Conventions for adopting the Federal Constitution	25	249
Bowring's Servian Popular Poetry	25	352

1828.¹

Captain Hall's Voyage to the Eastern Seas	26	514
Riedesel's Letters and Memoirs	26	224

1829.

Marbois' History of the Louisiana Treaty	28	389
Holmes' American Annals	29	428

1830.²

Pitkin's History of the United States	30	1
Early Diplomatic History of the United States	30	454
Marbois' History of Louisiana (P)	30	551

¹ Mr. Sparks sailed for Europe in April, 1828, and returned in May, 1829. During that period he wrote nothing for the "Review." While Mr. Sparks was absent, it was in the charge of Mr. Palfrey.

² On the 13th of March, 1830, Mr. Sparks sold the "North American Review" to Alexander H. Everett, who had been the American Minister to Spain. Mr. Everett was editor of the "Review" from 1830 to 1836.

1841.

McKenney & Hall's History of the North American Indians (Sparks & Felton) (P)	47	134
Harris' Memorials of Oglethorpe (C)	53	448

1843.

Treaty of Washington	56	452
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PART II.

ARTICLES IN THE "UNITARIAN MISCELLANY."

The following list is taken from a manuscript statement by Jared Sparks, the founder and editor of the "Miscellany," which was published in Baltimore from January, 1821, to 1824. Mr. Sparks edited the first three volumes, embracing the years 1821 and 1822. Mr. Greenwood then became editor.

Vol. I.

January, 1821.

- Introductory Observations.
- Abstract of Unitarian Belief.
- Obstacles to be encountered in extending Liberal and Just Views of Religion.
- Christ and the Father One.
- Review of Dr. Ware's Ordination Sermon.
- Progress of Reformation in the Swiss and French Protestant Churches.
- Young Men's Bible Society of Baltimore.
- Baltimore Unitarian Society for the Distribution of Books.

February.

- Enemies of the Gospel.
- Unitarianism in England.
- Unitarian Christians in India.
- Practical Comment on Toleration.
- Notice of "Remarks on Letters to Dr. Wyatt."

March.

- Remarks on a Reply to the Abstract of Unitarian Belief.
- First letter to Dr. Miller on his Charges against Unitarians.
- Hackney College.

April.

Doctrine of Original Sin.
 Dr. Chalmers and Sir Isaac Newton.
 The Established Church of England.
 Presbyterian Magazine.

May.

Remarks on Dr. Miller's Letter to the Editor.
 On the Names Unitarian and Socinian.
 Review of Dr. Channing's Discourse on the Evidences of Revealed
 Religion.
 Second Letter to Dr. Miller.

June.

Remarks on a Review.
 Memoirs of the Rev. Anthony Forster.
 Third Letter to Dr. Miller.
 Wisdom of a Certain Periodical Work.

July.

Unitarianism of Chillingworth.
 Exposition of the Introduction to the Gospel of John.
 Modified Infidelity.

August.

Doctrine of the Trinity not derived from Scripture.
 Summary of the Christian Religion as drawn up by Socinus.
 Fourth Letter to Dr. Miller.

Vol. II.

September.

Causes of Early Errors in Religion.
 Review of Campbell's Address.
 Fifth Letter to Dr. Miller.

October.

Original Language of St. Matthew's Gospel.
 Remarks on the Evangelical Magazine.
 Sixth Letter to Dr. Miller.

November.

Brief History of Unitarianism in England.

December.

Professor Lindsley's Apology.
 Seventh Letter to Dr. Miller.

January, 1822.

Sentiments of Locke.
 Covenant of Redemption.
 Notice of Mr. Gilman's Sermon.

February.

Religious Controversy in India.
 Form of Baptism.
 Eighth Letter to Dr. Miller.
 Spirit of Orthodoxy.

March.

Independent Church.
 Letters on the Episcopal Church noticed.
 Ninth Letter to Dr. Miller.
 Chaplain in Congress.

April.

Exclamation of Thomas to our Lord.
 Review of Dr. Ware's Ordination Sermon.
 Spirit of Orthodoxy.

Vol. III.

May.

On the Danger of Error.
 Thoughts on Life and Death.
 Tenth Letter to Dr. Miller.
 Three Important Questions answered.
 Spirit of Orthodoxy.

June.

A New Plan proposed.
 Review of a Discourse on Religious Liberty.— On the Name Emanuel.

July.

Preaching of the Apostles.
 Eleventh Letter to Dr. Miller.
 Notice of Wright's Sermon.

August.

The Apostolic Benediction.
 Twelfth Letter to Dr. Miller.
 Unitarianism of William Penn, being Remarks on a Letter.

September.

Sentiments of Locke and Limborch.
 Thirteenth Letter to Dr. Miller.
 Spirit of Orthodoxy.

October.

Christ a Mediator.
 Notice of Stuart's Letters to Dr. Miller.
 Theological Collection.

November.

Fourteenth Letter to Dr. Miller.
 Review of Kohlmann's Reply to Sparks' Letters.

December.

Unitarian Controversy in Kentucky.
 Fifteenth Letter to Dr. Miller.¹

Vol. IV.

February, 1823.

Dialogue on Unitarianism.
 Spirit of Orthodoxy.

March.

Dialogue on Atonement.
 Wolzogen on the Mystery of the Trinity.

May.

Controversy between the Bramuns and Missionaries.
 Bramunical Argument against the Trinity.

July.

Correspondence between J. Sparks and the First Independent Church of Baltimore.

¹ The Letters to Dr. Miller were afterward published in a separate volume entitled "An Inquiry into the Comparative Moral Tendency of Trinitarian and Unitarian Doctrines."

PART III.

ESSAYS AND TRACTS IN THEOLOGY.

Biographical notices of the authors whose names are mentioned below, and from whose works the collection was made, were written by Jared Sparks. These notices represent, in his literary career, the transition from theology to biography. Materials for the collection were obtained by Mr. Sparks from European sources. He owned at one time an excellent library of historical theology, but sold the entire collection after his removal from Baltimore to Boston.

	<i>Vol. I., 1823.</i>
Preface.	
John Alphonsus Turretin.	
Firman Abauzit.	
Francis Blackburne.	
Benjamin Hoadly.	
	<i>Vol. II., 1823.</i>
Daniel Whitby.	
Francis Hare.	
Sir Isaac Newton.	
	<i>Vol. III., 1824.</i>
Robert Robinson.	
Thomas Cogan.	
	<i>Vol. IV., 1824.</i>
William Penn.	
Arthur Ashley Sykes.	
George Benson.	
Thomas Emlyn.	
	<i>Vol. V., 1825.</i>
John Hales.	
James Foster.	
	<i>Vol. VI., 1826.</i>
Jeremy Taylor.	
Robert Clayton.	

In the above series there are also selections from the writings of Mrs. Barbauld, John Locke, Isaac Watts, and John Le Clerc.

PART IV.

LIBRARY OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY.¹

In this collection are to be found some of Mr. Sparks' best contributions to American history. The library consists of two series of duodecimo volumes. The first series of ten volumes was published during the years 1834-38, and embraces twenty-six lives. The second series, containing fifteen volumes, was issued during the years 1844-47, and includes thirty-four lives. Of the entire number of sixty lives, eight were written by Jared Sparks:—

- Life of Ethan Allen, published in vol. i.
- Life and Treason of Benedict Arnold, published as vol. iii.
- Life of Marquette, published in vol. x.
- Life of La Salle, published in vol. xi.
- Life of Count Pulaski, published in vol. xiv.
- Life of John Ribault, published in vol. xvii.
- Life of Charles Lee, published in vol. xviii.
- Life of John Ledyard, published as vol. xxiv.

¹ An appreciative notice of the first volume of the Library of American Biography was written for the "North American Review," vol. xxxviii. p. 466, by O. W. B. Peabody, who also noticed vol. xi. of Mr. Sparks' biographical work in the "North American Review," vol. lix. p. 96. In this magazine, vol. lxiv. p. 217, Francis Bowen said: "Mr. Sparks' 'Library of American Biography,' now extending to twenty-one volumes, is about the largest, as it is certainly one of the most valuable, of the collateral aids for the study of American history which have yet been published." Many references to literary notices of various volumes in the above collection may be found in Dr. W. F. Poole's "Index to Periodical Literature," and in Allibone's Dictionary. Three volumes of selections from Sparks' "American Biography" appeared under the title of "Lives of Eminent Individuals celebrated in American History," in the so-called "School Library," published under the sanction of the Massachusetts State Board of Education. Boston, 1839. See "North American Review," vol. l. p. 513.

PART V.

BOOKS AND MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS.

In the preparation of the following list the editor has derived many useful suggestions from Allibone's Dictionary of authors. Allibone was a correspondent of Jared Sparks, and consulted him upon doubtful points. Allibone was materially aided by the "Bibliotheca Americana Nova" of Obadiah Rich, who was also one of Mr. Sparks' correspondents. The present editor has succeeded in adding some new titles, a few annotations, and certain points of bibliographical interest.

Letters on the Ministry, Ritual, and Doctrines of the Protestant Episcopal Church; addressed to the Rev. William E. Wyatt, D. D., in reply to a Sermon. Baltimore, 1820, 8vo. Second edition, Boston, 1844, 12mo.

In "Blackwood's Magazine," vol. xvii. p. 202, in his series of articles on "American Writers," John Neal called this work "powerful, clear, cold," and Mr. Sparks "a very able theologian, a good scholar, and a strong, plain writer." See also John Neal in "Blackwood's Magazine," vol. xviii. p. 332, on Mr. Sparks and the "North American Review."

Sermon preached in the Hall of the House of Representatives, March 3, 1822, on the Death of William Pinkney. Washington, 1822, 8vo, pp. 15. Second edition, 1822.

An Inquiry into the Comparative Moral Tendency of the Trinitarian and Unitarian Doctrines, in a Series of Letters to the Rev. Dr. Miller, of Princeton. Boston, 1823, 8vo.

This work was a revision and expansion of articles originally printed in the "Unitarian Miscellany" from March, 1821, to December, 1822.

An Account of the Manuscript Papers of George Washington, which were left by him at Mount Vernon with a Plan for their Publication. 1827, 8vo, pp. 24.

This account consisted of a republication of two letters to Judge Story, published originally in the "National Intelligencer," May 19 and 22, 1827, and also in "Niles' Register," May 26, 1827. The two letters, copied from the "National Intelligencer," appear as chapter xxi. of the present volume, pp. 236-264.

Memoirs of the Life and Travels of John Ledyard, from his Journals and Correspondence. Cambridge, 1828, 8vo. Second edition, 1829.

This work was republished in London in 1828. A second English edition appeared anonymously in 1834. A German translation by Dr. Michaelis was issued in 12mo, in Leipzig, in 1829. The American work was republished in the "Library of American Biography," second series, vol. xiv. Boston, 1847. Sparks' "Ledyard" was reviewed in the "American Quarterly Review," vol. iii. p. 88 (1828); "North American Review," vol. xxvii. p. 360 (1828); "Quarterly Review," vol. xxxviii. p. 85 (1828). Regarding his "Ledyard" Sparks wrote in his journal, December 10, 1827: "The copyright I have sold for \$325, which is all I expect to receive for the work. This will hardly pay the expenses I have incurred, and much less remunerate me for my labor. As a money concern nothing could have been more unprofitable. But I did not engage in it with a view to profit, and if my efforts shall contribute to perpetuate the fame of a man worthy of remembrance by his countrymen, I shall be satisfied."

The Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution; being the Letters of Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, John Adams, John Jay, Arthur Lee, William Lee, Ralph Izard, Francis Dana, William Carmichael, Henry Laurens, John Laurens, M. Dumas, and others, concerning the Foreign Relations of the United States during the whole Revolution; together with the Letters in reply from the Secret Committee of Congress, and the Secretary of Foreign Affairs; also the entire Correspondence of the French Ministers Gerard and Luzerne with Congress: Published, under the Direction of the President of the United States, from the Original Manuscripts in the Department of State, conformably to a Resolution of Congress of March 27, 1818. Boston, 1829-30, 12 vols. 8vo; redated, 1854.

Mr. Sparks' edition of the Diplomatic Correspondence was favorably reviewed by Edward Everett in the "North American Review," October, 1831, vol. xxxiii. pp. 449-484; see, also, vol. xxxix. p. 302. This work was also reviewed in the "American Quarterly Review," vol. x. p. 417. See, also, Ben: Perley Poore's "Descriptive Catalogue of Government Publications," Nos. 3, 698, 746, and John Adams' Works, vol. vii. pp. 4, 190. See references to Jared Sparks in Justin Winsor's "America," vol. vii. p. 606.

The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge. Vol. i. 1830, 12mo.

This work is described at length in the "Life and Writings of Jared Sparks," vol. ii. pp. 181-185.

Life of Gouverneur Morris, with Selections from his Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers. Boston, 1832, 3 vols. 8vo.

This work was reviewed by O. W. B. Peabody in the "North American Review," vol. xxxiv. p. 465. A French "Mémorial de Gouverneur Morris, par J. Sparks, avec Annotations par A. Gandais," was published in Paris in 2 vols. in 1841. A full account of the "Life of Gouverneur Morris" and of Mr. Sparks' relation to Lafayette and Gandais appears in the present volume, chapter xviii. pp. 161-180.

A Collection of the Familiar Letters and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Franklin. Now for the first time published. Boston, Charles Bowen, 1833, 1 vol. 12mo, pp. xvi, 295. London, 1833.

The Life and Writings of George Washington ; being his Correspondence, Addresses, Messages, and other Papers, Official and Private, selected and published from the Original Manuscripts ; with a Life of the Author, Notes and Illustrations. 1834-37, 12 vols. 8vo ; redated, 1842.

The first volume of this work contains Sparks' Life of Washington, and was published last in the series in 1837. A full account of the origin, progress, and completion of Sparks' edition of the writings of Washington may be found in the present work, chapters xiv., xv., xxi., and xxii. The history of the European edition of Sparks' Washington is given in chapter xxiii. Mr. Sparks' work was reviewed by A. H. Everett in the "North American Review," vol. xxxix. p. 467, and by Edward Everett in vol. xlvi. p. 318 ; also by George Bancroft in vol. xli. p. 483, to which notice was added some account of Bancroft's own work by J. G. Palfrey. There are other notices in the "North American Review," vol. li. p. 490, and vol. lv. p. 257 ; one by George Washington Greene, vol. lxxxvi. p. 335. For further references, see Allibone on Sparks, p. 2192.

The Works of Benjamin Franklin ; with Notes, and a Life of the Author, Boston, 1836-40, 10 vols. 8vo ; redated, 1850 ; new edition, 1856 ; Philadelphia, p. 1858.

The first volume, containing Franklin's Autobiography, with Notes and a Continuation by Mr. Sparks, was published in separate editions in 1844, 1856, 1859. Notices of Sparks' Franklin were written by Francis Bowen, "North American Review," vol. lix. p. 446, and by H. T. Tuckerman, "North American Review," vol. lxxxiii. p. 402. For other notices of Sparks' Franklin, see Allibone, p. 2192. "Mr. Sparks has performed a service to the community, in his edition of Franklin's writings with a biography prefixed, second only to that which he has rendered in the preparation of his noble edition of the life and writings of Washington." — Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Addresses from 1852 to 1867, p. 126.

An Article on "American History," published in the "Boston Book," for 1837.

Personal Memoirs, Diaries of George Washington, Commander-

in-Chief of the American Armies, and First President of the United States. London, 1839, 2 vols. 8vo ; redated, 1842.

This was a pirated edition issued by Colburn, an English publisher, without the approval or knowledge of Mr. Sparks.

Leben und Briefwechsel Georg Washingtons, nach dem Englischen des Jared Sparks bearbeitet. Leipzig, 1839, herausgegeben von F. von Raumer, 2 bde. 8vo.

An Article on "History" in the "American Museum of Literature and Arts" for March, 1839.

Lives of Eminent Individuals, celebrated in American History. [Selected from Library of American Biography.] Boston [1839], 3 vols. 12mo.

The Life of George Washington. Boston, Ferdinand Andrews, 1839.

The contents are essentially the same as those of the volume prefixed to the Writings of Washington. Some additions, however, were made in order to enhance the value of this separate publication. Mr. Sparks wrote to Harper & Brothers, July 27, 1847: "The first volume of the Writings has never been printed separately. There is another and a different set of stereotype plates for the Life, which is considerably changed from that contained in the first volume of the Writings, and somewhat enlarged. I am unwilling, therefore, that this volume should be published as the 'Life of Washington,' and I hope you will not do it." Later editions of Sparks' "Life of Washington" appeared in 1853, 1854, and 1855.

Vie, Correspondance, et Écrits de Washington, publiés d'après l'Édition Américaine, et précédés d'une Introduction sur l'Influence et le Caractère de Washington dans la Révolution des États-Unis de l'Amérique. Par M. Guizot, Membre de l'Institut. Paris, Gosselin, 1839-40, 6 vols. 8vo, with an atlas in quarto, 22 plates.

Papers of James Madison, purchased by order of Congress ; being his Correspondence and Reports of Debates during the Congress of Confederation, and his Reports of Debates in the Federal Convention, published under the superintendence of Henry D. Gilpin. Washington, 1840.

Historical notes and references to these papers were prepared by Jared Sparks at the request of Mr. Gilpin, the editor.

Smyth's Lectures on Modern History. With Additions including a Preface and a List of Books on American History. Boston, 1841. 2 vols. 8vo.

Mr. Sparks' relation to this work is described in the present volume, p. 429. The American edition of Smyth's lectures on "Modern

History" proved of great service in the development of historical studies in this country. The work passed through several editions and was highly successful. It was recommended by Francis Bowen in the "North American Review" for October, 1849.

Life of George Washington. Abridged by the Author. Boston, 1842, 2 vols. 12mo.

"When asked how long a time would be required by him to make an abridgment of his 'Life of Washington' while he was still busy with his 'Franklin,' his reply was, 'No time.' And the printer never waited for him a moment, so keen and clear were his decision and sense of proportion."—Brantz Mayer.

Illustrations of the Principal Events in the Life of Washington. Edited by Jared Sparks. No. 1. 1843, Royal quarto.

This work was to be completed in twelve numbers and illustrated with engravings; but the great cost of obtaining the latter discouraged the publisher and prevented the execution of the plan. The first number only was published. Edward Everett acknowledged the receipt of a copy December, 1847, and said, "It is a pity that it should not have been continued." A letter of inquiry, May 26, 1862, from Allibone concerning the above work, was found among the Sparks papers.

Chalmers' Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the American Colonies. Boston, 1845, 2 vols. in one, 8vo.

Extract from Sparks' journal, December, 1844: "Wrote a preface to Chalmers' 'Introduction to the Revolt of the American Colonies,' in which I have endeavored to state the character of Chalmers' writings on the Colonies, and the principles and points which he aims to establish." Chalmers' work was noticed in the "North American Review," vol. lx. p. 368.

France and the United States during the American Revolution. A series of three articles in the "National Intelligencer," August 28, 31, and September 7, 1847.

Mecklenburg Declaration. "National Intelligencer," February 15, 1849.

In this article Mr. Sparks explains the confusion which has arisen between the supposed Declaration and the actual Resolutions adopted May 31, 1775.

Regent's Office and Duties in Harvard College. April 10, 1849, 2 pp.

Inaugural Address. Published in "Addresses at the Inauguration of Jared Sparks, LL. D., as President of Harvard College, Wednesday, June 20, 1849."

Annual Reports of President Sparks, Harvard College, 1850, 1851, 1852.

A Memorial concerning the Recent History and the Constitutional Rights and Privileges of Harvard College, presented by the President and Fellows to the Legislature, January 17, 1851. Cambridge, 1851.

Concerning Mr. Sparks' relation to this historical memorial, see the present volume, pp. 447, 448. Among the facts recorded by him is the following: In 1685 the Overseers, Corporation, President, and students of Harvard College were summoned before the General Court, and were dismissed with the following vote: "That, if the college should be found in the same languishing condition at the next session, the President should be dismissed without further hearing." In 1685 Harvard College was in extreme poverty and depended upon annual grants from the Legislature for support.

Correspondence of the American Revolution; being Letters of Eminent Men to George Washington, from the Time of his taking Command of the Army to the End of his Presidency. Edited from the Original Manuscripts. Boston, 1853, 4 vols. 8vo.

This work is briefly described in the present volume, pp. 306-310. Mr. Sparks' editorial labors upon this collection of Revolutionary correspondence were noticed at some length by Dr. J. G. Palfrey in the "North American Review," vol. lxxvii. pp. 80-105.

The Sparks-Mahon Controversy.

It has been thought best to include references to Lord Mahon's writings which called forth Mr. Sparks' replies:

(1) Mahon's History of England from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Versailles, 1836-53. 7 vols. 8vo.

In the appendix to vol. vi. of this work may be found the original charges against Mr. Sparks which led to the entire controversy. The subject has been fully treated in the present volume, chapter xxx., on "Lord Mahon and the Reed Letters," pp. 479-506.

(2) A Reply to the Strictures of Lord Mahon and Others on the Mode of editing the Writings of Washington. By Jared Sparks. Cambridge, 1852.

(3) A Letter from Lord Mahon to Mr. Sparks, being a Rejoinder to his "Reply to the Strictures of Lord Mahon and Others on the Mode of editing the Writings of Washington." London, 1852.

(4) Letter to Lord Mahon, being an Answer to his "Letter Addressed to the Editor of Washington's Writings." By Jared Sparks. Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1852.

(5) A Reprint of the Original Letters of Washington to Joseph Reed during the American Revolution, referred to in the Pamphlets of Lord Mahon and Mr. Sparks. [By W. B. Reed.] Philadelphia, 1852.

(6) Remarks on a "Reprint of the Original Letters from Washington to Joseph Reed, during the American Revolution, referred to in the Pamphlets of Lord Mahon and Jared Sparks." By Jared Sparks. Boston, Little, Brown & Co. 1853.

For numerous references to the Sparks-Mahon Controversy, see Duyekinek's "Cyclopædia of American Literature," vol. i. p. 186; Allibone, under the titles "Mahon" and "Sparks;" and Justin Winsor's "America," vol. viii. p. 418. For further mention of the Sparks-Mahon Controversy and for an account of Lord Mahon, see the addresses of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop.

PART VI.

MEMOIRS AND BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF JARED SPARKS.

"Jared Sparks." "London Quarterly," 1835, p. 818.

In his "Sketches of the Literature of the United States," published in the above "Review," the Rev. Timothy Flint gave a brief account of the work of Jared Sparks.

George Baneroff on Jared Sparks. "North American Review," April, 1838, "The Documentary History of the American Revolution."

"The great merit of Mr. Sparks, giving him the first rank among the critical students of our history, consists in his candor and his completeness. In the selection of documents he appears ever to have been guided by the highest reverence for historic truth. But more than all, he perceived clearly that the history of our Revolution, the life and character and influence of Washington, could not be derived from American sources alone; and with a wide grasp, which proves his mind to be enlarged not less than accurate, he has sought materials in England and on the continent of Europe. He saw clearly the momentous importance of the diplomatic connections of our country, and would not rest satisfied till, at a vast expense of time and fortune, he had culled the most interesting memoirs from the archives of London and Paris, and, through friends, from the papers of the Spanish court. And he has in consequence been able to accomplish a great work. He has published such an edition of Washington's works as is never likely to be excelled; thus winning a claim to regard by his zealous care for the remains of our greatest benefactor, and permanently connecting himself with a name that will never perish."

The Living Authors of America. By Thomas Powell. First series. New York, 1850.

This little volume contains a short sketch of Jared Sparks, whom Powell calls "the American Plutarch."

"Jared Sparks." A Biographical Sketch published in "The National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans." Philadelphia, Rice & Hart, circa 1853, pp. 77.

An engraving of Sully's portrait of Jared Sparks is the frontispiece to this excellent biographical sketch, which was recognized as authentic in Mr. Sparks' lifetime.

Sidney Willard's Memories of Youth and Manhood. Cambridge, 1855.

This work contains interesting statements regarding the "North American Review" and Mr. Sparks' relation to it. See, also, on this subject, John Neal, in "Blackwood's Magazine," vol. xviii. p. 332.

Appleton's American Cyclopædia.

This contains a good sketch of Mr. Sparks, prepared by George S. Hillard, who applied to his friend for facts, September 27, 1861.

Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, March, 1866.

These Proceedings contain appreciative notices of Mr. Sparks by members of the Society who knew him well. Mr. Sparks was Corresponding Secretary of the American Antiquarian Society.

"Jared Sparks." An article in the "Christian Register," March 17, 1866.

A Discourse occasioned by the Death of Jared Sparks, LL. D. Delivered March 18, 1866, before the First Parish in Cambridge. By William Newell, Minister of the First Church in Cambridge. Sever & Francis, 1866.

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, April 3, 1866.

These Proceedings contain interesting memorials of Mr. Sparks from fellow-members of the Society, — the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Mr. John C. Gray, Professor Theophilus Parsons, the Hon. Charles G. Loring, and Colonel Aspinwall.

Memoir of Jared Sparks, LL. D. By W. R. Deane. The "Historical Magazine," May, 1866, vol. x. pp. 146-156. Cf. Letter on "Jared Sparks," July, 1866, vol. x. p. 222.

Thirty copies of this valuable article were reprinted by Henry B.

Dawson, a friend and correspondent of Mr. Sparks, in an elegant duodecimo edition of thirty copies, pp. 32. See "Historical Magazine," June, 1866, vol. x. p. 196.

Proceedings of the American Academy of Sciences, May 29, 1866, pp. 103-107.

The obituary notice of Jared Sparks in the above Proceedings was written by Dr. A. P. Peabody.

"Jared Sparks." An article in the "New York Ledger," June 23, 1866.

Memoir of Jared Sparks, LL. D. By Brantz Mayer, President of the Maryland Historical Society, read before its Annual Meeting, February 7, 1867. Baltimore, John Murphy, 1867.

Memoir of Jared Sparks, LL. D. By George E. Ellis. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for May, 1868. Cambridge, John Wilson & Son, 1869.

"Jared Sparks." An article by Professor George Washington Greene in "The Cornell Era," November 17, 1871.

"Jared Sparks. From the Carpenter's Bench to the Presidency of Harvard College." By James Parton, in "Triumphs of Enterprise, Ingenuity, and Public Spirit," pp. 131-137. Hartford, 1871.

"The Pioneer Work of Jared Sparks." By Herbert B. Adams. "Magazine of American History," July, 1888.

"Jared Sparks." An article in the "New York Evening Post," May 10, 1889, by Max Cohen, of the Maimonides Library, New York City.

This article was prepared for publication on the occasion of the one hundredth anniversary of the birthday of Jared Sparks.

Biographie des Gens de Lettres et des Artistes.

This work contains a "Notice sur M. Sparks, Homme de Lettres."

Dictionnaire Universel des Contemporains, par G. Vapereau. "Jared Sparks."

Dictionary of American Biography. By Francis S. Drake. "Jared Sparks."

Griswold, Rufus Wilmot. Prose Writers of America. With a Survey of the Intellectual History, Condition, and Prospects of the Country. "Jared Sparks."

Duyckinek's Cyclopædia of American Literature.

This contains a biographical sketch of Jared Sparks, based on the article in "The National Portrait Gallery," but gives an erroneous date for his birth, 1794 for 1789.

Allibone's Dictionary of Authors.

Allibone, like Duyckinek, gives an erroneous date, 1794, for the birth of Jared Sparks, 1789. The article is based in part upon the sketch in "The National Portrait Gallery," but excels all other notices in the bibliographical record of the various writings of Mr. Sparks.

Stedman's Library of American Literature.

Volume v. contains Mr. Sparks' views of history, and his observations on our "Indian Policy in 1763," originally published in his edition of the Works of Franklin.

Cyclopædia of American Biography. Edited by James Grant Wilson.

This work contains one of the best short notices of Mr. Sparks, and it is based on Dr. Ellis' memoir of him.

Edward Everett's Orations.

In the index there are frequent references to the historical labors of Jared Sparks. In vol. iv. pp. 214-216, Mr. Sparks' relation to the Red-Line Map is discussed.

Robert C. Winthrop's Addresses.

In the index there are valuable references to the writings and historical services of Mr. Sparks.

Catalogue of the Library of Jared Sparks.

Mr. Sparks left certain lists and memoranda concerning his private library and historical collections. From such data the beginnings of a catalogue were made under the supervision of Dr. Cogswell and others. These materials were put into final shape for the press by Mr. Charles A. Cutter, librarian of the Athenæum, and were printed under his direction at Cambridge in 1871. This catalogue has a certain biographical value, for it contains selections from Mr. Sparks' journals and correspondence. There is an appendix containing some account of the numerous historical manuscripts and special collections of papers, left by Mr. Sparks' will to his son, William E. Sparks, and, after his decease, to Harvard University, where they now are. Mr. Sparks' private library and his collection of maps were purchased by Cornell University, where they form a valuable part of the library of American history.

Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America.

See numerous references to "Jared Sparks" in the indices to

various volumes, and in the general index to vol. viii. Especially valuable to students are the accounts of the Sparks Collection of Manuscripts, see vol. vii. pp. 73, 74, and of the "Manuscript Sources of the History of the United States of America, with particular reference to the American Revolution," vol. viii. pp. 413-468. See, also, "Printed Authorities on United States History" for references to Mr. Sparks' works and for mention of his library and manuscripts, vol. viii. p. 475. "The contributions of Jared Sparks to the history of the Revolution are the most considerable that any one has made, and the personal associations of no other historian are so closely linked with the name and fame of Washington."—Vol. viii. p. 416.

Winsor's Calendar of the Sparks Manuscripts in Harvard College Library. Bibliographical Contributions, No. 22. Cambridge, 1889.

From this Calendar (cf. vol. ii. p. 555 of the present work) students of American history will see what extensive and valuable collections of manuscript materials were left by Mr. Sparks. They have been helpful to many writers and investigators in our time, and will continue to contribute to historical knowledge, as will the published writings of that devoted scholar and biographical historian, whose name is established by his honest work and unselfish life.



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