

THE RESULTS OF COLUMBUS'S DISCOVERY.

BY EDWARD E. HALE.

FOR the eightieth time our Society celebrates to-day the discovery of America as made by Columbus in 1492. Four centuries ago, on this morning, he landed on one of the most insignificant islands on the coast of this continent. So insignificant is the island that it cannot now be identified with certainty. But the event was too important for doubt or mistake, and is rightly taken as the date for the celebration of the discovery of this Hemisphere to Europe.

The enthusiasm with which the people of the United States are commemorating this event makes us look with a certain curiosity to see what interest attached to it in other times,—and also to ask again what real or substantial advantage the discovery of Columbus has brought to the world. It is to be observed that to-day, the real interest in the event appears chiefly in America, perhaps in the United States, and in Spain. The attention paid to it, in other places or regions, seems quite artificial. And it is worth note, I think, that a hundred years ago, any interest which the centennial anniversary brought with it was wholly American.

I can find mention of only two celebrations of the anniversary in 1792. One was on the twelfth of October, in the city of New York, by our sister Society of Tammany, or the “Columbian Order.” A monumental obelisk was exhibited by the Society at their great wigwam, and an animated oration on the “great nautical hero” was deliv-

ered by Mr. John B. Johnson. He was an orator who seems to have been a faithful member of that Society. His name is not so much as mentioned by the faithful Allibone. But in our own library we have his "Eulogy on Washington," delivered at Albany in 1800. The Library of the Historical Society has his oration on "Union," delivered on the anniversary of the Tammany Society, May 12, 1794.¹

On the 23d of October, 1792, by a mistaken allowance of twelve days for the difference of style, the Massachusetts Historical Society celebrated the anniversary in Boston. Dr. Belknap delivered a scholarly and interesting address at Brattle-street Meeting-house²; Dr. Thacher, the minister of the Brattle-street Church, led the assembly in prayer, in language of which it is said that it was "peculiarly adapted to the occasion." An ode was sung, by a choir of men led by Mr. Rea, to music composed by him. As a Boston composer, Mr. George W. Chadwick, is at this moment leading the musical performances at Chicago, we Boston people are pleased with the coincidence, in which a Boston composer a hundred years ago was appointed, by the law of selection, to voice in music the enthusiasm of the world. Our associate, Dr. Samuel A. Green, has suggested almost with certainty that the author of the ode was Hon. James Sullivan, afterwards Governor of Massachusetts, who was a member of the Society and of the committee for this celebration.³

The ode is so good, that it is worth recurring to to-day. The method is the stately method of the timé, but one sees worse poetry often.

¹ Also Mitchell's oration, 1795.

² It appears from the Belknap correspondence that the "Century Sermon," as he calls it, was printed and published the last week in November. The edition seems to have been 1500 copies. They cost 2s. 6d. each.

³ The descendants of Gov. Sullivan share the opinion of Dr. Green. E. E. H.

ODE.

For the 23d of October, 1792.

SUNG AFTER THE DISCOURSE, BY MR. REA, AND A SELECT CHOIR ACCOMPANIED BY THE ORGAN.

When formed by GOD'S creating hand,
 This beauteous fabric first appeared;
 Eternal Wisdom gave command,
 All Nature with attention heard.

“ Here, *Ocean*, roll thy swelling tide;
 Here spread thy vast Atlantic main;
 From European eyes to hide
 That Western World, which bounds thy reign.”

While *Ocean* kept his sacred charge,
 And fair COLUMBIA lay concealed;
 Through Europe. *Discord* roam'd at large,
 Till *War* had crimson'd every field.

Black *Superstition's* dismal night
 Extinguished *Reason's* golden ray;
 And *Science*, driven from the light,
 Beneath Monastic rubbish lay.

The *Crown* and *Mitre*, close ally'd,
 Trampled whole nations to the dust;
 While FREEDOM, wandering far and wide,
 And pure RELIGION, quite were lost.

Then, guided by th' Almighty Hand,
 COLUMBUS spread his daring sail;
Ocean receiv'd a new command,
 And *Zephyrs* breath'd a gentle gale.

The Western World appear'd to view,
 Her friendly arms extended wide;
 Then FREEDOM o'er th' Atlantic flew,
 With pure RELIGION by her side.

Tyrants with mortal hate pursued;
 In vain their forces they employ;
 In vain the Serpent pours his flood,*
 Those heaven-born Exiles to destroy.

* Rev. XII., 15.

“No weapon form'd against my flock
 Shall prosper,” saith th' Almighty Lord;
 “Their proudest threatenings thou shalt mock,
 For I will be thy shield and sword.

“Sweet peace and heavenly truth shall shine
 On fair COLUMBIA'S happy ground;
 There FREEDOM and RELIGION join,
 And spread their influence all around.”

CHORUS.

Hail GREAT COLUMBIA! favor'd soil;
 Thy fields with plenty crown thy toil;
 Thy shore, the seat of growing wealth;
 Thy clime the source of balmy health.

From thee proceeds the virtuous plan
 To vindicate the *Rights of Man*.
 Thy fame shall spread from pole to pole,
 While everlasting ages roll.

There is never any need for apology for work of Dr. Belknap. He had the genuine historic interest, and brings careful good sense to bear wherever he is concerned.

Dr. Belknap calls the address his century sermon. It is, perhaps, an indication of the habit of the time that he should have done so, and should have selected a text for it; he may have been induced to do so by the simple circumstance that the discourse was delivered in a church. The title is: “A Discourse intended to commemorate the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus; delivered at the request of the Historical Society in Massachusetts, on the 23d day of October, 1792, being the completion of the third century since that memorable event. To which are added four dissertations connected with various parts of the discourse, viz.: 1. On the circumnavigation of Africa by the ancients. 2. An examination of the pretensions of Martin Behaim to a discovery of America prior to that of Columbus, with a chronological detail of all the discoveries made in the 15th century. 3. On the question whether the honey-bee is a native of America? 4. On the colour of

the native Americans and the *recent* population of this continent. By Jeremy Belknap, D.D. Printed at the Apollo Press in Boston, by Belknap and Hall, State Street, MDCCXCII." And as a motto he gives the familiar passage from Seneca's "Medea" with regard to the Ultima Thule. The text of the sermon is from Daniel: "Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased."

After an opening on the effect of the evangelical mission of the time of the apostles, he says, There was no remarkable event which might be called another instance of the prophecy until the middle of the fifteenth century. He supposes Columbus to have been born in 1447, taking the date from Ferdinand's life,—a later date than most of us now assign to it. He follows the narrative of Columbus's life with care, but not without illustrations from his own wide reading. Of the first voyage he gives quite a full account; he abridges the others in the following words: "After this he made three other voyages to America, in one of which he discovered the continent, and in a succeeding voyage he endeavored to find a passage through it to India, but in vain; that desirable country he never saw." With an allusion to the misfortunes of Columbus's closing days, and to endeavors "not wanting, both formerly and lately, to rob him of the merit of originating this capital discovery," he says: "In the pages of impartial history he will always be celebrated as a man of genius and science; as a prudent, skilful, intrepid navigator, as having first reasoned out the probability, and then demonstrated the certainty of the existence of this continent."

More than half of the address is this personal reference to Columbus. He then takes a view of the connection of the discovery of America with the advancement of science. This view covers the science of geography, the science of navigation, the science of natural history, and comes out at much greater length on the contribution made by the discovery of America when it opens "an important page in the

history of man." "It is both amusing and instructive to see what imperfect ideas we had on these subjects, derived by tradition from our European ancestors. Like them we boasted of English liberty, as if Englishmen had some exclusive rights beyond any other people on the face of the earth"; and he goes on, in a broad and truly noble statement of what the American idea of liberty is. He closes in the spirit of these words: "From our example of a government founded on the principle of representation, excluding all family pretensions and titles of nobility, other nations are beginning to look into their natural and original rights as men, and to assert and maintain them against the claims of despotism." And after this very interesting statement of the value which the world may derive from the political principles of which even then he understood that America was the origin, Dr. Belknap goes on to the question, which interested men in his time so much, Whence was America peopled? He passes then to a bold invective against the commerce in slaves, which, as the Society will remember, he steadily and always opposed.

Another question which does not so much interest the student to-day is the question why the gospel was not brought by the apostles to America, as well as propagated in the several regions on the old continent. This gives him an opportunity to close his address in forms more analogous to those of the sermon of his time, in a view,—regarded at the time, apparently, as broad beyond what people expected of the pulpit,—as to what religion is, and what its propagation is. Of this admirable dissertation the pith may be stated in the following epigram: "If the truths of our holy religion are to be propagated among the savages, it will become us to consider whether we had not better first agree among ourselves what these truths are?" He is not hopeless as to this; he thinks that the time will come when "speculative truth will be reduced to practice, and men will

be led to a devout enjoyment of the only true God and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, evidenced by a careful obedience to the laws of virtue and righteousness. Then will 'the earth be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.'"

As an appendix to the discourse, Dr. Belknap prints his careful dissertation, not yet forgotten, on the circumnavigation of Africa by the ancients, and he thinks he proves the reality of the voyage of Necho. Modern critics are not so confident. But it is due to Belknap to say that, from the materials in his hand, the dissertation is thoroughly well wrought out. A second dissertation is on the pretensions of Martin Behaim, as a discoverer of America; in an appendix he publishes Toscanelli's letters to Columbus, showing that he saw the value of those critical documents. He then discusses, in opposition to Mr. Jefferson, the question whether the honey-bee is a native of America. A fourth dissertation is on the color of the native American, and recent emigration to this country. As a whole, the little volume was well worthy of the Massachusetts Historical Society and its distinguished founder.

So far as I can find, these two celebrations—one in New York on the 11th of October, and one at Boston on the 23d—make up the sum total of the formal recognition which the world of 1792 chose to make of the great discovery. Spain was in no position to exult about anything, or to celebrate anything. France had just dethroned her king, and was waiting before she cut off his head. England was in no mood to thank God or anyone else for the discovery of America. Only the people of the new-born nation of the United States had reason for thankfulness. In the modest way I have described, they expressed their gratitude.

I was in England this last summer, when they were celebrating the centennial of the poet Shelley's birth. He was born on the 4th of August, 1792, exactly three centuries

after Columbus sailed from Palos. The celebrations of his birthday this year, and of Columbus's sailing, were held on the same day. Now Shelley was pre-eminently a poet of New Worlds. Hardly a lyric in the language is finer than his description of what a Puritan would call the Kingdom of Heaven.

" We will name it for the plan
Of the New World of Man."

But I cannot find, in Shelley's rather free correspondence, that he ever knew, or in any way cared, that he was born on the centennial birthday of a continent.

But, though the world did not celebrate the anniversary of the discovery, it need not be said that it took a great interest in America at that very time. The great European wars of the century had been fought, in many instances, in disputes which grew out of colonial questions. The finances of Europe were in chronic disturbance since Cortez and Pizarro began to send home gold and silver. The slave trade of Europe was a trade which had an American market. And the recent independence of this nation had especially stimulated the interest in America which was felt in England, France, Spain, and Holland. In France, more perhaps than in England, this interest extended within the lines of philosophical research. The Economists of the Turgot and Dupont school were interested in the study of virgin fields and forests. Brissot de Warville's journey of 1788 was prompted by a wish to select a place fit for a colony of enthusiasts of his stamp. And he is but one such explorer among a hundred. The Encyclopedists and their friends, who liked to study the theories of government, were eagerly drawn to inquiry about a nation where the *Contrat Social* could be seen almost visibly. The early constitutions of our States were translated and read with eager enthusiasm, and commented on with care and in detail, which such papers would not now expect, I might say, anywhere. The best society of France heard the travellers'

stories of officers who had served in the allied army under Rochambeau. Such men as Rochambeau himself, Chastellux, and St. Simon, contributed anecdote or suggestion for the change of feudal institutions, such as they borrowed from experiences in a land which was curiously un-feudal. For all these reasons, French literature, fashion, speculation, and real philosophy had a great deal to say about America, and upon its influence on Europe.

There are three books in the wide range of such speculation and suggestion, which are specially devoted to the question whether America were of any use to mankind at large, and how the injuries it had inflicted were to be remedied. These are Raynal's Philosophical History, and Chastellux's and Genty's essays on the subject of America, for which Raynal offered a prize.

The Abbé Raynal¹ had in theory devoted his cumbrous

¹ The following memoranda from different dictionaries, may be of service to other inquirers.

E. E. H.

William Frederick Thomas Raynal was born in St. Geniez, Guienne, March, 1711; died in Paris, March 6, 1796. Educated in a Jesuit College, in 1747 he went to Paris, as assistant clergyman at St. Sulpice. His provincial accent was an insuperable obstacle to his success. Disappointed, he became the director of the *Mercure de France*. The first edition of the "Philosophical History" was in seven volumes, nominally at Amsterdam, but really at Paris also, in 1770 and 1771. It circulated freely for ten years without being noticed as objectionable. It is in the second and larger edition, that the attacks on religion and government are so open that the work was interdicted, on the 19th of December, 1779, when the Geneva edition appeared under his name, ten volumes octavo and five volumes quarto. In 1780 a warrant was issued for his arrest, and the Parliament ordered his book to be burned by the hand of the executioner, May, 1781. He had, however, in the same period, been cordially welcomed by Frederick the Great and in England. His nephew was a prisoner of war in England, and was released, as an act of courtesy to the philosopher. In 1781 he published "*Tableau et Révolutions des Colonies Anglaises dans l'Amérique septentrionale,*" which was immediately translated into English. Its errors were pointed out in a pamphlet by Paine. For several years he wandered in foreign countries, but was finally permitted to return home. He was elected a deputy to the States General by the city of Marseilles, but declined on account of his age. His friend Malouet, who was chosen in his place, succeeded in having the sentence against the history reversed the next year. Raynal addressed to the president of the Assembly an eloquent letter, recanting his former opinions, and insisting upon the necessity of investing the king with more ample powers. There is a French edition of his book in eleven volumes, Paris, Kempt, 1783, and another dated 1798.

and many-authored treatise to this subject. Its first publication dates back to 1770. Various enlargements in new editions made it eventually a book of sixteen volumes. The latest edition seems to have been published in 1780. In the next year the Parliament of Paris ordered that it should be burned. The last volume professes to be wholly devoted to the inquiry whether America had been of more good or harm to mankind. It is, really, a rambling criticism on government as it existed in various lands. It seems to have been understood at the time that the book was a hotch-potch of twenty authors, and that any one who chose to be audacious might contribute. Diderot has the credit of large parts of it. Grimm says that Diderot gave two years to it, and wrote nearly one-third of it all. The New Biographical Dictionary names nine other authors as important, besides Diderot, and says that Raynal had only to arrange their contributions. But this is an over statement. Raynal was exiled for writing the book, and remained in Switzerland, Germany, England and Holland, until 1787, when his friends procured his recall.

It was then that he suggested to the Academy of Lyons a prize on the questions :

“Has the discovery of America been injurious or useful to mankind?”

“If injurious, how can the disadvantages be remedied?”

“If useful, how can the advantages be increased?”

In point of fact, the Academy of Lyons never gave the prize to any one. I have even doubted whether Raynal ever gave them the money for it, for he was an impecunious person, and died in a few years without any money at all. But the announcement of the subject excited great interest in America, in England, and in France, and by one or another writer of the time it is spoken of as if the real award had been made. Chastellux published an essay, which he pretended was written in competition for the prize; and much more important was the essay of Abbé

Genty, who says, however, specifically that he did not present his in competition.¹

Chastellux, with the affectation of preserving an anonymous character for an essay, says that it is by M. P., vice-consul at E., and pretends that E. is in America. But his name was at once made known. In the Grimm-Diderot correspondence he is announced as the author, as soon as the address is published. It is simply a rhetorical harangue on the advantages of commerce, and adds hardly anything to our knowledge of the real relations between the continents at that time. Commerce is in itself a good thing. America has created a great deal of commerce. Therefore America has been an advantage to the world. This is the simple argument.

More to the point than these two books is the study of the Abbé Genty, on the same subject. The title of his book is *L'Influence de la Découverte de l'Amérique sur le Bonheur du Genre-Humain*. The name of this poor Abbé seems to be now entirely forgotten. I find it in no biographical dictionary of our time, nor have I succeeded in making any list of his other works. He was, however, in 1788, when he wrote this book, at the head of the French censorship, and this would seem to imply a distinct recog-

¹ Our associate, Mr. Charles C. Smith, calls my attention to two notes in the Belknap correspondence, as to Mr. Mather's essay, and what he hoped from it.

1. A letter from John Eliot to Jeremy Belknap, Feb. 1, 1782.—“Have you seen the late work of the Abbé Reynal? I will send it by the first opportunity. There is a question which I desire may employ your *cogitabundity*. Whether it has been an advantage or otherwise that the continent of America was discovered? A prize of 50 Louis d'ors for the best piece written upon the subject is offered by the Academy of Lyons. I know of no American so deserving of it as yourself. Dr. Mather tells me that he shall employ his pen upon the subject. He seems to be so assured of the reward that he has desired the Academy to give the guineas to five poor scholars. The prize will be adjudged in 1783.”

2. Letter from Eliot to Belknap, June 17.—“I am much pleased with the MS. you put into my hands. It is very different from the disquisition of the learned Dr. M. which he has forwarded to the Academy of Lyons, styled ‘*An Detectio Regionum Americanorum sit noxia humano generi!*’”

Both letters are in 6 Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. IV.

dition of literary ability. He had, some years before, taken a prize for an essay on the influence of commerce, where the prize was awarded by one of the provincial academies of France. The book contains one or two scraps of rather curious information, which would be of value if he ever gave any authority.

The Abbé Genty thinks he establishes six points: First, that the discovery might have been a great advantage to the natives of America; second, that it was a great disadvantage; third, that it might have been a great advantage to the Spaniards; fourth, that it was a great disadvantage to them; fifth, that it might have been a great advantage to the world; sixth, that it was a great disadvantage. Here is one of his pessimistic pieces of eloquence in the conclusion of his essay:

“Such were the principal effects of the conquest of the New World on Europe in general. It was an inexhaustible source of calamity; it influenced more or less directly all the plagues which ravaged this part of the world. It prolonged the empire of destructive prejudices, and held back, for two centuries perhaps, knowledge which was truly useful to mankind. It should have softened the manners of Europeans and led them to beneficence. It did make them more cruel and pitiless. It should have raised the dignity of mankind, and taught him the grandeur of his origin. All that it did was to inflame the hearts of a few despots, and furnish them with new means for oppressing and degrading the human species. It should have enriched Europe. It did cover her with mourning, and in a deeper way made her a desert and wretched.”

It is interesting, however, and pathetic, to see that all the hope which he had come from us and our affairs. At the very end of his gloomy picture, in two or three pages, which come in like a ray of evening sunset under the dark clouds of a thunder storm, he says that the hope of the world is in the thirteen States just made independent:

“The independence of the Anglo-Americans is the event most likely to accelerate the revolution which is to renew

wars of a century. There was, besides, the black and the happiness of the world. In the bosom of the new world are the true treasures which are to enrich the world. America will become the asylum of the persecuted European, the oppressed Indian, the fugitive Negro. After the population of the United States has covered her own immense domains, she will give a new population to the plains which have been made desert by avarice. She will quicken by rivalry the other colonies of the New World. Her virtues will revive in the new hemisphere the laws of nature which have been for centuries forgotten. The Anglo-Americans may not conquer by arms as the Incas of Peru did, but they will be the rulers of all America at least by their example, by the ascendancy of wisdom and its benefits, and they will lead the other States of America to prosperity by the most powerful and most durable control."

He goes on to prophesy the end of gold and silver mining, because the Indians will refuse to work in the mines, the emancipation of the blacks and the end of the slave-trade, the end of European thirst for conquest, the true dignity of commerce, the end of war, and the conversion of the world to Christianity. All this is to spring from the virtues of three millions of Anglo-Americans, and he finds nothing else in America for it to spring from.

As to the Abbé Raynal's book, which eventually grew to be sixteen volumes, it is as useless a pile as anything can now be. As has been said, he permitted anybody to furnish a chapter or a paragraph, and put them in print, as they came to him, and nearly twenty authors are now named as sharing with him the credit or discredit of the volumes. There are statements, interesting and curious, hidden in with the mass. But they are wholly without historical value, because no authority is ever given for any statement. And as for Raynal himself, all he cared for was a certain smartness which might make the book entertaining or amusing.

You never know, on any page, whether you are going to read a piece of statistics, or the *motif* for an opera. He does

not seem himself much to care whether the information which he prints is drawn from the reports of statesmen, or whether he has picked it up in conversation at a dinner party, or perhaps has evolved it from his own interior consciousness. In a very extravagant passage in the first volume, he says: "Oh holy Truth, thou hast been the sole object of my search. If in after years this work should still be read, it is my wish that, while my readers perceive how much I am divested of passion and prejudice, they should be ignorant of the kingdom which gave me birth, of the government under which I lived, of the profession I followed, and of the religious faith I professed. It is my wish that they should only consider me as their fellow-citizen and their friend." Raynal need not have troubled himself much about posterity's reading his book. I am disposed to think that I am the only person who has read it in the last ten years. As to men's ignorance of him, time has done what he wished. It is but fair to say, however, that this garrulous book, and the personal characteristics of Raynal did much to interest men of letters in America. Mr. Morley has called attention to this result of its publication.

I have taken more time in speaking of these three books than they would be worth, but that they illustrate what was probably the general feeling of intelligent persons in Europe at the end of the last century. In considering that general opinion, we are to remember that to France and the rest of the Continent in those days, America meant chiefly the silver and gold, or in general, the trade of Mexico, the West Indies and South America. From the new-born United States they had their masts, their fish, their furs and their tobacco, articles of commerce hardly alluded to as these writers balance their accounts. We must remember also, that their colonies had involved these nations in exhausting wars. Nootka Sound, Falkland Islands, Canada, and the English colonies were responsible for the

hateful history of the slave-trade, which was beginning to disclose its horrors. Beginning with such an awful catalogue as the conquests of Cortez and the Pizarros gave, there was a history of blood, of cruelty and injustice, and in most regards of failure, for three hundred years. The compensation had been gold and silver.

But whom do gold and silver help? To you or me, to whom some one pays a gold eagle or a silver dollar, it is the sign of value with which we can buy what we want. But for that use, its value depends wholly on the supposition that there is about so much of these metals in the world, and that the miners will supply just what is lost in daily use. Find an immense new supply, however, such as Cortez and Pizarro found, and as poor Columbus did not find, and you simply lower the value of what you had before. For you can neither eat your silver and gold nor drink them. You cannot make clothes nor houses of them. Their use in the arts does not approach that of iron or lead, or zinc, or of the more common metals. All this was beginning to be known a hundred years ago. People saw that the galleons of Spain, bringing every year the millions on millions of the precious metals, merely lowered the value of the gold and silver which they had. Good for Spain, perhaps? That would have to be proved. To all the rest of the world of commerce this steady dilution of the currency of the world was an unmixed evil.

And for Spain, be the cause what it might, this was sure, that from the Emperor Charles the Fifth's period of glory, when Cortez gave him a new Spain, down to the reign of King Charles the Fourth, who did not know how he could build a ship, or buy a musket, and had not energy to do either, for three hundred years there had been one history of decline. Spain had been the first power in Europe; she was now the last. And all she had to show was America.

Given such observations as these, one does not wonder that such writers as I name came to their conclusions. To

say the truth, such conclusions had nothing to do with us or our affairs. For the future they have different hopes and prophecies. But as to the past, of three hundred years up to 1790, the verdict of all three is that, with only the most petty exceptions, the continent, and its people, and its history, and its productions, had steadily worked ill to mankind.¹ America furnished little or no cotton to Europe; at that time they did not care for our coffee; they say that they could have got their sugar elsewhere, and that the wars of the century for the sugar islands far outweighed all their sweetness and all other value. Of tobacco, oddly enough, no one of these three speaks, as having much to do with commerce or life. Indeed, there is one passage where the vanilla bean seems to be more important than indigo, tobacco, cotton, or sugar. The ignorance of all the writers as to the real commercial relations of the two worlds is perhaps the most extraordinary feature of all the books.²

Much is heard in all these discussions about the large population which had been drawn from Europe into America. America is spoken of as if she had to a certain extent, drained Europe. This impression is entirely fictitious. As is well-known to those who hear me, the

¹ The chief of the exceptions is Jesuit's bark, as they then called cinchona, from which we make quinine. All three refer to the benefits of this drug.

² I would gladly avoid reference to a very disagreeable subject, to which all of these writers refer, as if it were of considerable importance. They all suppose that the disease of Syphilis was an American disease, imported into Europe from the West Indies, and not known before. On this heavy charge, I am permitted by high medical authority to say, that the disease certainly belonged to the very earliest times, and is possibly of an origin among the apes, before the appearance of men upon the planet. "All ancient history is full of it. The Leprosy of the Bible represented four diseases, one of which was Syphilis. Owing to circumstances, it has been, as it is now, epidemic at certain periods of history, and nations have always been ready to saddle it upon their neighbors. But increasing knowledge shows that these stories have been born of ignorance. The *fons et origo mali* is entirely unknown. The disease dates back to the Serpent in Eden, or it may have been Lilith. The oldest collections of bones show signs of probable Syphilis." I copy these words from a note from Dr. Edward Wigglesworth, who is so kind as to answer my inquiries on the subject.

emigration to New England before 1643 did not exceed 21,200.¹ At no time afterwards was there any immigration so considerable as to amount to an appreciable fraction of one per cent. of the population of Europe. To this moment, the population of Mexico, Peru, Chili, Brazil or the Argentine Republic, does not consist in any large proportion of persons of Spanish or Portuguese blood. All that line of remark may be fairly set out of the way, in any consideration of the advantages or disadvantages of America in the civilization of the world.

The writer of this paper is glad to leave to our distinguished associate, the historian of the economic arts of New England, a full study of the commercial relations between the two hemispheres, as they followed on the discovery of Columbus. It is enough for our present purpose to observe that the French writers, misled, as all careless observers are, by the glamour of precious metals, do not at all apprehend the worth, to the world or to the owners, of shiploads of masts, barrel staves, tobacco, salt fish, furs, whale oil and potash, and similar unsavory and unsentimental articles. But the annual value of these, to those who handled them at the time when our revolution broke out, was far greater than that of the annual Spanish fleet of galleons, loaded with gold and silver. The export of tobacco alone, made a trade in which North and South America, the West Indies and Mexico all shared, varying for each region according to the particular colonial policy of the mother-country, or what was called such. It is curious now to observe the comparative indifference with which the three Frenchmen whom I have cited pass it by. But men of more practice in affairs than they, were more observant. There is a very instructive and interesting correspondence which Lafayette and Jefferson, on one side, maintained with the French foreign ministers on the other, between

¹These are Johnson's figures in the *Wonder-Working Providence*. After that time, he said, more returned to England than came from England.

1783 and 1789, as to the tobacco trade between America and France. People who have fallen into the habit of speaking contemptuously of Lafayette, ought to read the masterly state papers in which he addresses himself to the business of promoting direct trade between America, which he is so fond of calling his own country, and France. The burden of the proposals which Lafayette and Jefferson make to the government of France, is that tobacco shall no longer be a royal monopoly, but shall be purchasable by any merchant, and the government shall itself charge and collect an import duty upon it. They show how, under such regulations, the tobacco of almost all Europe could and would pass through the ports of France. They seem to show that the French revenue would be very largely increased by such a plan, if the government itself received the revenue, without the intervention of the Farmers General.

In some of the last of Mr. Jefferson's letters, he points out that the very deficiency of revenue, which compelled the King to call together the States General in 1787, would be met by the duties which he suggested on American tobacco. But, alas for Louis XVI., the Treasury was at that time humbled before the Farmers General. The government was too much in need of their convenient advances at certain times, to be able to break up their monopoly, and to dispense with their intervention. The States General were summoned and the Revolution followed.

The export of ships had been for a great part of the century an important factor in New England commerce, and from the beginning of the 18th century, the export of naval stores and spars. Lord Bellomont, writing home in 1699 and 1700, expresses his surprise that so little American timber is used in the English dock-yards, and, not long after, the systematic trade took large proportions. I could wish that this subject might be carefully studied by an expert. I think it will prove, that in all the naval

battles between England on the one side, and France, Spain and the United States on the other, from 1777 to 1783, the masts and spars of all the vessels, of all the nations, were in large measure the growth of New Hampshire, of Vermont, then unnamed, and of the province of Maine. The ship of the line, *America*, which Congress gave to Louis XVI. in 1782, was not the first war ship of that name built in New Hampshire. The frigate *America* had been built in New Hampshire for the English navy, nearly fifty years before. Her name remained in the English service, so that when, at Toulon, this ship of the line "l'Amérique" was captured by the English, they changed her name to "l'Impetueux." With this name she became the favorite flagship of Lord Exmouth.

So far as the world of politics, or the study of the history of two hundred years went, the speculative writers could urge and they did urge the evils of the wars between the European powers, which either started from American complications, like the war for the valley of the Ohio, or were embittered and perhaps prolonged by contests in American waters, or sometimes on American soil. The speculative writers do not very frankly acknowledge that the European nations would have been at war all the same, had there never been any Columbus or any America. But they pass to the disadvantage of the new hemisphere, all the bloodshed, and, much more, all the debt which sprang from conquests or defeats which bore an American name.

If then, a hundred years ago, some of the shrewdest people in Europe considered it as an open question whether America had or had not brought more of evil than good to civilization, they had good grounds for their indecision. This, at least, is certain; that the great physical advantages which America now contributes to the world were then nearly unknown.

The American colonies occasionally sent cargoes of wheat or other breadstuffs to Europe, but these supplies

were insignificant compared with the immense supplies which we forward now with every year. So little cotton was grown in the United States that, as is well known, at the time of Jay's Treaty, neither he nor the English negotiators knew that any cotton could be exported from the Southern States to England. That cotton was raised for home use is well known, and Brissot, in his travels in 1788, speaks of seeing it as far north as Maryland and even Pennsylvania. So little cotton was manufactured, in any part of the world, except India, that cotton was in no sort a matter of importance in the world's commerce.

We, who are assembled here, read such speculations with special interest and curiosity, because they show that the immense advantages which the world now is willing to admit that it receives from the great discovery, are advantages which began with the birth of the nation called the United States. Each one of the three writers, more or less vaguely, and with a certain optimistic habit which belonged to the *philosophe* of France, refers as to a possibility, to the use which the United States may serve. The passage from Genty, which I have cited, is indeed the most remarkable of these timid prophecies. In point of fact, the United States has been the teacher of Europe, which has borrowed from her even the methods of constitutional government. She has received from Europe, and is receiving, immense numbers of people, for whom Europe seems to have no use at home, who sooner or later become useful citizens, or the fathers and mothers of useful citizens. The United States supplies Europe with almost all the material for her cotton mills, which have now so much to do with the clothing of Europe and of the world. It is perhaps fair to say that the United States is more and more a factor in international government, not so much by interference in the affairs of Europe, as because she is a constant object lesson suggesting what might be.

America was also to teach to Europe the great lesson, not

yet wholly learned, that land is as worthless as water, unless it have men upon it. To a beggarly adventurer in Europe, the idea that he could have as much land as a Baron or Landgrave had was very attractive, and, for centuries, sovereigns supposed they gave something when to court favorites they gave land. It was reserved for America to invent the word "Land-poor," and to teach the world what it meant.¹

Such states as Massachusetts Bay, such proprietors as Penn, soon found out that if they could induce men to live on the land they held by whatever grant, those lands assumed a value. "If not, not." And the value was greater according to the grade of the men and women. If the men brought their women with them, and burned their ships behind them, and knew every morning that they must do something before night for the glory of God; given such settlers as these, and your land is valuable. Given on the other hand the lazy sweepings of the streets of Seville, looking for gold wherever the earth is turned, and your land is not worth the parchment on which your title is written. In the course of history it has proved that America was to bless mankind by teaching the world new lessons, as to the worth of men; shall I say as to the manufacture of men and women? She has had to show the value of a system of open promotion. She had to show how a nation can offer the best education to every child born within its borders. She had to show what is the physical product of a nation, which permits without restriction, every form of industry not actually injurious to the common weal.

For these lessons it does not appear that the empire of the Montezumas or of the Incas has furnished more than some curious illustrations. That these lessons might be

¹ When I was acting as President of the New England Aid Company in 1866, we had occasion to send a few thousand emigrants into Florida. Hearing of this, the parties who owned a considerable part of that State, offered it to us at a very low price, so low that I observed it was less than De Soto in fact, paid to obtain from the Emperor Charles the grant of the same property. E. E. H.

truly taught, it was necessary rather that there should be an empty land, than a land struggling in the shackles of any half-civilization. This empty land was found in North America. At the time when the Pilgrims landed, there were not so many people in New England as live in one ward of the city which is my own home. When La Salle sailed down the Mississippi River, weeks passed without his seeing a single Indian, and the desolateness of the land filled his companions with terror. When Coronado left the Seven Cities in 1541, he and his troop of brave cavaliers rode east for months, till they struck either the Missouri or the Mississippi—we do not know which—and they returned to the point from which they started without having seen a single human being except themselves. The desolation of those empty plains and prairies was a terror to them. At that period, as I suppose, the whole population of what we now call the United States was not 300,000 persons, not so many as were living in the city of London at that time. This part of America was therefore an empty land.¹

Here was the opportunity, then, for trying the experiments of the new Christian order, which was so soon to break upon the world; trying experiments which had been impossible, and were impossible in Europe, nay, which have been impossible in Europe to this hour. The geologists say that this continent itself contains the oldest ridge of land which looked up through hissing waters to a clouded sky, when the earth rose above the sea. But all the same, to this old hemisphere was it given to try the religious, political and social experiment of a new order, of a New World.

Europe now owes to America every day no small portion of her daily bread. She owes to America much of the material of her clothing, much of the silver and gold which are the basis of her currency. She does her best to find a substitute for the sugar of America, but cannot keep it

¹ An etymology of the name of Canada, not generally approved, refers it to some Spanish explorer, who cried: "*Aca nada*!" "Nothing here."

from her markets. She no longer waits, as in Gosnold's time, for cargoes of sassafras, but her financiers would be aghast, and her men of leisure and of work would be wretched, without their American tobacco. In the arts of destruction, she finds she can use no copper but that of America in her cartridges used in weapons of precision. In her fevers she still seeks the respite given by cinchona. And for her mackintoshes she relies on Para and Pernambuco for her India-rubber.

But these are not the gifts for which Europe has to be truly grateful to America. The experiments of freedom which have wakened every nation of Europe, were impossible there but for their success in America. Constitutional government, as we understand it to-day, secured by written constitutions, is an American invention. So is freedom of religion. And such is the invention, greatest of all, which the United States of Europe have yet to try, which the United States of America has wrought out successfully. It is the establishment of a Permanent Tribunal, of dignity and power sufficient to adjust the differences of States and of nations, and to silence their war-cries.

Give me white paper!

This which you use is black and rough with smears
Of sweat and grime and fraud and blood and tears,
Crossed with the story of men's sins and fears,
Of battle and of famine all these years

When all God's children have forgot their birth,
And drudged and fought and died like beasts of earth.

Give me white paper!

One storm-trained seaman listened to the word;
What no man saw he saw; He heard what no man heard;
In answer he compelled the sea

To eager man to tell

The secret she had kept so well.

Left blood and guilt and tyranny behind,
Sailing still west the hidden shore to find;

For all mankind that unstained scroll unfurled,
Where God might write anew the story of the World.

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