

THE
PRINCETON REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1865.

No. I.

ART. I.—*Are James the son of Alphæus and James the brother of the Lord identical?*

IN approaching, not without diffidence and hesitation, this difficult and interesting question, the author desires to occupy the position of an inquirer after truth, and not to speak *ex cathedra*. He proposes calmly, and without any *a priori* leaning to either side of the question, to consider the arguments, and sift the evidence produced on either side; and after due regard has been paid to the golden rule of all discussion, "*audiatur et altera pars*," to state the conclusion which his investigations have led him to reach.

The disentanglement of the question will probably be much facilitated by adhering to the literal nomenclature of the Greek, because doubtless much of the existing confusion is due to the departure from this rule.

The following table of all the persons bearing the name of Ἰάκωβος, mentioned in the New Testament, will be found convenient for reference:

1. Ἰακώβ, the father of Joseph, the husband of Mary the mother of Jesus. Matt. i. 15, 16.
2. Ἰάκωβος ὁ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου, Matt. iv. 21, x. 2, xvii. 1, xx. 20, 21, xxvi. 37; Mark iii. 17, v. 37; Luke v. 10, ix. 54;

know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him." Ask, then, and it shall be given you.

How wonderful the condescension, grace, and wisdom of our God, who employs such means and uses such assiduities to win us back from our apostasy from him, and persuade us to return to the communings of his heart and the bosom of his love; making his eternal Son, in his two natures, the exemplar and bond of union, and the way, and his Spirit the guide, into his presence, the inspirer of our utterances there, and interpreter to us of the Father's words of grace, accepting our low concerns as the theme of converse; and, with all the treasures of infinite power and goodness, adequate to every want and more than heart can conceive, held forth in his hands, suspends the bestowal of all on the one condition that we will talk with and believe in him as our Friend! Ask, believe, persevere, and ye shall receive.

ART. IV.—*Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. 4. 1853.

A Chapter from "*The Monongahela of Old*," &c., by the Hon. JAMES VEECH, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1857.

ONE hundred years ago, this last autumn, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon 'commenced to run from East to West the parallel of latitude which forms the Southern boundary of Pennsylvania, and still bears their names, with so much celebrity. No line of demarcation, drawn by human survey, was ever so remarkable, in the geographical divisions of our globe. It is perfectly artificial. Neither desert, nor mountain, nor water, the three diversities of boundary which nature gives to States, can be found to guide or help its continuity; not even a circle of the sphere that geography would draw, without fractions, in one of its regular measures from the equator; and yet no other limit on earth was ever so conspicuous, in the

course of a single century, for the delineation it makes in the history of man. The opposite tendencies, the moral contrasts, the political antagonisms, the convulsions, and bloody strife, which have been marshalled along this viewless track of the surveyors' chain, have made it a "breach wide as the sea;" marked and deepened, as if the continent had yawned along its way, and left a gulph, as memorable and desolate as that which lies "in the vale of Siddim."

Almost a century of confusion and strife had preceded the running of this line. The royal Stuarts of Great Britain, doomed, alike in their pleasure and their spite, to entail trouble from their hands, had granted originally the whole territory, it divides. In 1606, James I. gave eleven degrees of latitude on the Atlantic, reaching from 34° to 45° N. to two incorporated companies; one called the Plymouth, and the other the London Company. From 38° to 41° the territory was to be considered common ground betwixt them, only that latitude 40° N. was understood to be the limit more precisely between North and South. The whole territory had had the common name of Virginia, in honour of Queen Elizabeth's virginity, and was now to be called North Virginia, and South Virginia. But soon afterwards, in 1614, the northern was called by Captain John Smith, or rather Prince Charles, at his suggestion, New England; and the southern only retained the name Virginia. The jealous and inconstant monarch, however, instigated by Gonde-mar, the Spanish ambassador at his court, and disgusted with the spirit of popular freedom, already alive and bounding in those wastes, revoked these charters in less than twenty years after they were granted, and left the vast domain to be parcelled anew, by despotic sons and successors.

Captain John Smith was the original surveyor of the coast; the first to make a map of English America; by which the authorities in England were guided, for half a century, in the distribution of grants and charters. This great adventurer, while founding the colony at Jamestown, would often leave it, even in critical circumstances, for the strange pleasure of exploring and mapping the wild borders of bays and rivers, as well as the ocean. The whole Chesapeake Bay was traced by him, with wonderful accuracy; and so was the coast of New

England, subsequently, from the Penobscot to Cape Cod. It is not the least marvel in his romantic life, that, without an education, and with such a passion for extremities of peril, in fighting or governing men, he could be so patient and exact in topographical observation. Most of his rude charts have been substantially verified, by the best results of modern science and art. The greatest blunder, and the only serious one, made in his mapping, was the misplacement of latitude 40° , which seems to have been always the dividing line between North and South, in the original schemes of high contracting parties, at Hampton Court and Whitehall. We shall soon see what confusion followed from this error; and how much the destiny of States depended on the eye and chain of that original surveyor.

While the Stuarts, with characteristic whimsy and arrogance, were busy creating and dissolving land corporations, giving and taking again the territories of a hemisphere, Holland became mistress of the seas; and Englishmen who coveted renown upon the ocean went over to man her fleets, and guide her discoveries. Sir Henry Hudson was one of these. In the service of the Dutch East India Company, he made his third voyage in search of the north-west passage; the two first adventures having been made in the interest of England. But his crew this time, accustomed to traverse latitudes of the south, could not bear the cold, and constrained him to sail backwards along the English-American coast, as far as the Chesapeake Bay, where he had the maps of Captain Smith to direct him. His own object, however, being discovery, the charts in his hand were used only to show him a starting point on the wonderful coast; and he turned northward again, entering first the Delaware Bay. This was in the year 1609. It was a year later that Lord Delaware, Governor of Virginia, made his entrance, and gave to the bay and river his name. It ought to have been called Hudson Bay and Hudson River. But the Dutch mariners thought its shores were too much like the Netherlands, low and flat. They were intent on finding territories new to them, in every aspect; and they turned out again for the north, without having even landed on the shores which they were the first of Europeans to see. Coasting along the sands of New Jersey, they soon turned round to anchor

within Sandy Hook. Here Hudson and his crew were delighted with the forests and slopes of the Nevesink Hills. He passed the Narrows, touched on Manhattan Island, ascended the river, carefully sounding it beyond the Highlands, and in a boat went on beyond the site of Albany.

But Hudson was not the first to discover this bay and river. Almost a century before him *John Venazzani*, exploring for France, and sent out on the errand by Francis I., had entered the same channel; and only the battle of Pavia, in which the French monarch lost everything, even his personal liberty, hindered that Florentine adventurer from returning, with French colonization, and his own name, for the magnificent bay and river he was the first to explore. The Delaware and the Hudson were each named in honour of the second explorer. But in consequence of the incident now related of that original expedition to the New World, from their own Texel, entering the Delaware first, and the Hudson second, the Dutch themselves called the one South River, and the other North River.

They determined to hold both. Immediately, on the return of Hudson, the Dutch West India Company decided to avail themselves of his discoveries for the advantage of trade; and while John Smith was actually tracing the shores of New England above them, they took possession of Manhattan Island, and founded New Amsterdam; from which, with wonderful convenience they could enrich Old Amsterdam, at once with the spoils of Spanish commerce and the furs of North American trapping. Their agents eagerly ascended the North River to New France, and planted posts of traffic from Staten Island to Canada, and from the Connecticut river to the Delaware. At Gloucester Point, a little below Philadelphia, on the New Jersey side, they had their outpost and principal fortress, called Fort Nassau. But it was not till 1629 that they regularly attempted to establish themselves as cultivators of the American soil. For this purpose they went as far south as they could, without intruding on the colony at Jamestown. Nearly opposite the southern extremity of New Jersey, where one of their own admirals, Cornelius May, had divided his name between the two capes at the entrance of Delaware Bay, they purchased from the natives, by the agency of Godyn, a tract

of land, extending on the western shore of this bay, from the headland on Fenwick's Island, which was called Cape Henlopen, at first, more than thirty miles. In 1631, De Vries brought over from Texel, in Holland, his colony of thirty persons, with cattle and implements of husbandry, established them near the present Lewes, Delaware, remained with them a year, and left them, at his return to Holland, happy and prosperous, far beyond any other beginning, at Roanoke, Jamestown, Manhattan, or Plymouth. The next year he came back, anticipating hospitable welcome, and the first fruits of wheat, tobacco, and furs, which were to reward the corporation at home for its enterprise. It was the Swaanendael, which the whole island of Texel talked of for two years, giving the colony this name, and fondly hoping that this daughter would soon excel the mother, and spread their industry, and especially their Protestant faith, far and wide on the great continent they now held, with a good footing in its genial and exuberant latitudes. But, to his grief and horror, he found only charred remains of huts, and scattered bones of adults and children. They had all been massacred by the neighbouring savages. Yet, from the ashes of this handful, which Holland cast upon the wilderness, the sly dexterity of a Quaker, half a century afterwards, managed to extract a commonwealth.

The Swedes, meanwhile, came on about the year 1638, to land nearly at the same spot, and purchase of the same treacherous natives, the whole coast, from the smouldering Swaanendael, up to the falls of the South river at Trenton. They were the first of Europeans to dwell on the soil of Pennsylvania, and a little below Philadelphia is the spot of their Tinicum, where Prinz, their governor, fixed the capital of New Sweden. The Dutch would not acknowledge this neighbour. Even the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus could not be suffered to begin a dominion on their claim in the wilds of America. Fort Casimir was built at New Castle, to resist the occupancy of Sweden; and after various conflicts, and owing mainly to the rapid degeneracy of Sweden under the government of her apostate queen, Christina, the Dutch entirely triumphed; and humanely incorporated the Swedes and Finns, already numerous settled, under their own jurisdiction. Although this

adverse occupancy of Swedish rule lasted only seventeen years, and was overthrown by the Hollanders themselves, we shall see how it availed also to carve a State out of Maryland, and mingle in the complications, out of which issued the celebrated line of division, that now shapes, on the south, the Keystone of our American arch.

Our subject, indeed, is but a line; and that is "length without breadth." Yet so many factors are concerned with the beginning of this line, that we are compelled to make, out of colonial cairns, the broadest base, perhaps, that ever sustained the adjustment of a territorial line. The main parties of the ultimate dispute are now to appear.

George Calvert, descended from an ancient family of Flanders, a native of England, educated at Oxford, early brought to the court as a secretary of Cecil, and ingratiated as a favourite of king James, who successively knighted him, made him a Secretary of State, and elevated him to an Irish peerage, with the title of Lord Baltimore, was probably the most popular and sagacious man in England, on the side of cavalier aristocracy and kingly prerogative. He seems to have set his heart early on colonization in America; and for the same reason that Robinson and Brewster longed to lead the Pilgrims hither, to obtain the unmolested establishment of his religious faith. But he was a Roman Catholic. The current tradition has it, that he was a convert to Popery, through disgust at the dissensions among Protestants, with which England was tossed at the time. So the Papists themselves have uniformly affirmed; and historians have generally believed them. But facts outweigh assertions. Three years at least before he is said to have resigned his offices at court, because he had become a Catholic, he obtained a charter for Newfoundland, with the express design of preparing there an asylum for the poor and persecuted Papists, with whom avowedly he was to cast in his own lot. And we know, that James always leaned with indulgence towards native and adhering Catholics, while he treated with vehement antipathy such as changed their faith to either side. Changeling himself, he would not allow others to change, in any other way than to forsake Presbyterianism. Besides, Calvert never showed the intolerant zeal of a convert; but

always the moderate and fair spoken temper of one whose religious convictions are cautious and apologetic, with life-long habit. As soon as he found it would be no offence to his sovereign, he openly professed to be what James had known him to be; and then, because the laws of the realm required it, he retired from office, to become a baron in Ireland, and a feudatory of princely domain in America.

He first attempted to colonize Newfoundland, and expended his fortune largely in settling Catholic citizens, and building baronial accommodations for himself. But finding the climate too severe, he determined to seek a settlement farther south; and having been himself a member of the Old Virginia London or South Company, he concluded to sail for Old Point Comfort; which was considered the central point of the Virginia coast. While the Swedes were entering the Delaware in 1629, Calvert and his fleet of Roman Catholic adventurers entered the Chesapeake, and became delighted with its genial climate, luxuriant forests, noble rivers, and beautiful birds. The sight of the oriole, it is said, captivated him beyond measure, and determined him to make that region his own. He first applied to the colony at Jamestown for a community of possession and privilege with them. But they required the oath of supremacy, by which the King, and not the Pope, was to be acknowledged head of the church, and this he refused. Knowing however, that the old charters of Virginia had been revoked, and that any prescription could easily be voided by a Stuart on the throne, he returned to England, to get from the monarch, whose headship he spurned in the wilderness, the grant of domain in this coveted country.

Charles I. was now king, and married to Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV. of France. An avowed Roman Catholic was no unwelcome suitor at his court. And it was easy to excite his jealousy, and hasten his liberality, by representing how much the Swedes and the Dutch were aiming to occupy these lands, and how much a prior and actual occupation would prejudice the claims of England, according to the law of nations.

In 1632, Charles granted unto his "trusty and well beloved subject, Cecilius Calvert," now Lord Baltimore, all that George his father asked for, and had described in a charter drawn up

by his own hand: though he died, before it could pass under the seals of state. The territory granted was to begin at a line across the mouth of the Potomac supposed to be latitude 38° , "unto that part of Delaware Bay, on the north, which lieth under the fortieth degree of north latitude, where New England terminates; and all that tract of land from the aforesaid Bay of Delaware, in a right line, by the degree aforesaid to the true meridian of the first fountain of the river Potomac, and from thence tending towards the south to the further bank of said river, and following the west and south side of it to a certain place, &c., to the beginning." *Crescentia* was the name which George Calvert had intended for the territory; but Cecilius readily accepted what the ambitious Henrietta Maria proposed, and it was named in honour of herself, *Maryland*.

Lord Baltimore did not know, that already the Dutch had broken the soil in cultivation, on the frontlet of this inheritance, and he allowed the preamble to recite, that all the region granted him was "*hactenus terra inculta*." It was in February 1634, that the Pilgrims of Maryland reached Point Comfort; and in March following, that the sacrifice of the mass was offered, and the appropriate ceremonies of seizin were performed, in the bosom of Maryland. For some reason, Lord Baltimore did not emigrate himself, but committed the colonization to his brother Leonard. This settlement was of slow growth. Their ideas were intensely feudal, at war with the civil and social as well as religious heart of the home from which they expected support and accession. Puritan power advanced in Great Britain. The royal grantor himself was beheaded in fifteen years after that livery of seizin. Clayborne of Virginia, who was there before them, in the island of Kent, resisted their claims and defied their power. * Cromwell and the Commonwealth, a terror to kingdoms of Popery in Europe, was of course a terror to this handful of papists in English America. Pressed by the Puritan ascendancy in England, and the cavalier dislike in Virginia, Lord Baltimore was in no condition to ascertain the limits of his claim, and still less to contend on its borders. A struggle for its existence was all he could maintain. And so it continued till the restoration of Charles II., in 1660; five years after Gov. Stuyvesant,

by conquering the Swedes, had vindicated the occupation of Holland, from the original Swaanendael to the falls of the Delaware. Then, it was too late to claim the western margin of Delaware as "terra inculta."

But England had always ignored the rights of New Netherlands. Even her offcast pilgrims in New England regarded with envious challenge the spread of Dutch civilization, Calvinistic and republican as it was, in this wilderness. They crowded them out of the Connecticut valley, and almost entirely off the lands of Long Island. And when a charter was obtained for Connecticut, no recognition was inserted of this noble Christian people beside them. It called for territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. Charles II., soon after his accession, was painted in Holland, with a strumpet hanging on each arm, and courtiers behind him picking his pockets. The caricature was transported to London. And this creation of the *Batavian Punch*, more than all the rival glories of her commerce and religion, stirred him to hatred of Holland. For once he was warlike, in the midst of debauchery, and the mean persecution of his own people. He struck Holland, first in New Guinea, and next in New Netherlands. He gave over the latter to his brother, the Duke of York, to conquer and hold; which was easily done by reason of intestine division. New Amsterdam became New York; and Niewer Amstel became New Castle. All the demesne rights of the Dutch passed into the hands of this victor; and the Catholic Baltimores might now expect the utmost facility, in spreading their charter as they pleased, under the disposal of this bigoted papist. Who could have thought, that anything, thrown up in the heavings of the Commonwealth, and especially anything fanatical, and still more especially, anything fanatically round—round-head or round-coat—could come between York and Baltimore now, or between Baltimore and his Delaware coast? But the Duke of York, with all his faults, was warmly attached to the friends of his youth. Admiral Penn had been his tutor in naval affairs, of which he was passionately fond; and as his captain commander, in serving under him had won the only credit that ever made him popular in England.

William Penn is the next and last original factor, to be carefully scanned before we begin the running of our line. All history hardly furnishes a greater puzzle than the analysis of his character. Born of a Dutch mother, to whom he owed the traits which made him so renowned for virtue, and the mediation that often saved him from the wrath of his own father, he yet regarded every thing Dutch with aversion, to the end of his days. Converted to Quakerism when a boy at Oxford, he was expelled from college for tearing off the gowns from his fellow-students, which he doffed and hated as relics of superstition; and yet, in a little time afterwards, he was conformed to the fashions of Paris itself, and returned to England so modish in costume and port as to be called "a fine gentleman," even by Pepys, the courtly diarist of Charles II. Now a student of theology at Saumur, and sitting fondly at the feet of Moses Amyraut, the great Calvinistic doctor; and not long afterwards a prisoner in the Tower, for assailing as a "sandy foundation," the doctrine of the Trinity, the satisfaction of Christ, and the imputation of his merits in the justification of men. Again so fanatical a Quaker as to be turned out of doors by his own father, for refusing to take off his hat in the presence of the admiral, the Duke of York, and even King Charles himself; and yet that same father, at the same time, could send him to Ireland, with full confidence that he would manage a large estate there with tact and pliancy, and the highest degree of good common sense. Now a street preacher in London, so turbulent and heedless of statutes as to be fined and imprisoned with common vagabonds in Newgate; and anon, so high in favour at the court of James II., that noblemen were his clients, and so expert in guiding the conscience of that monarch that he was taken for a Jesuit in disguise, and had to rebut the charge by writing a book. So modest a man at one time, that he offered the secretary who made out his proprietary patent, twenty guineas, if he would not prefix "Penn" to "Sylvania," in giving name to the grant; and yet at another time so anxious to be restored to the government of the colony, from which he had been deposed for the malversation and corruption of his agents, that he would set the kingdom in commotion, and employ every influence, Locke and Tillotson, with the

Duke of Buckingham, to secure a reinstatement in the coveted honour. A treaty-maker, so illustrious for integrity that his covenants with the Indian became a proverb of unchangeable faith, "the only treaty never sworn to and never broken;" yet, as we shall now see, a border litigant, so bent without scruple on getting a "back port" for Pennsylvania on the Chesapeake, that all vested rights and parchments to the contrary, with the great seal of state upon them, were treated as nullities.

In consideration of services rendered by his father, Admiral Penn, he petitioned in 1680, for a grant of lands in America; where only, north of Virginia, he knew they remained yet to be granted—west of the Delaware and north of Maryland. He drafted the charter for himself with his own hand, and had Calvert's before him for a model, and, therefore, knew the boundaries of Maryland. Never did passive importunity obtain a richer prize. Never did a man's religious faith more perfectly coincide with his worldly fortune. He well knew that he could obtain nothing in that court, without the utmost conciliation and concession; and in Penn these gentle graces were never known to be dull or napping.

He had to meet the agents of Lord Baltimore and the Duke of York, before the Lords of Trade and Plantations. He had petitioned for five degrees of latitude, leaving it carefully undefined whether these degrees were to be invisible and indivisible lines through and touching his boundaries, or belts of $69\frac{1}{2}$ statute miles, every one of them; that is, whether he meant a breadth of 278, or $347\frac{1}{2}$ statute miles. He was now present to watch, not to urge, much less contend for his petition. Baltimore objected, that he had received only two degrees, from 38° to 40° . "Mr. Penn," said the President of the Board, "will not *three* degrees serve your turn?" "I submit," answered Penn, "both the *what* and the *how* to the honourable Board." It was then agreed that he also should have what Calvert obtained, two belts; and the *three* degrees mentioned should be inclusive only, between the first and the third of these indivisible lines. That is, he should have from the northern verge of 40° to the southern verge of 43° degrees, considering the degrees as $69\frac{1}{2}$ statute miles broad. Longitude

seems to have been thrown in by the Board, very much as Penn happened to name it. His original petition seems evidently to have designed a square territory, five degrees each way; but it came from the Board of Plantations a parallelogram five in length only, with which the meek petitioner seemed perfectly content; but which he and his descendants were always intent on widening.

As for the Duke of York, his commissioner was careful only to reserve all that was valuable in the Swedo-Dutch acquisition, he had made by conquest, on the Delaware. First, he insisted that Penn's boundary should not come nearer than twenty miles of New Castle. The Lords of Trade, however, guided by the map of Captain John Smith, alleged that if the southern boundary of the proposed grant should be pushed up so far, it would leave a narrow and unappropriated strip between this line and latitude 40° , at which the territory of Maryland was bounded. It was therefore agreed, that it should begin twelve miles from New Castle, on a circle, the radius of which measured from this point would be sure to cut the line of 40° ; and keep the possessions of York, northward and westward, safe from the intrusion of this new grant. After nine months of scrutinizing care and scruple, by not only this Board of Plantations, but the Bishop of London also, and Lord Chief Justice North, to see that no "undue liberties," to use their own expression, such as had been granted to Massachusetts and Maryland, should pass to this petitioner, the charter was issued on the 4th of March, 1681, under all the seals of state. The whole description of metes and bounds is precisely in these words, viz., "All that tract or part of land in America, with the islands therein contained, as the same is bounded on the east by Delaware River, from twelve miles northward of New Castle town, unto the three-and-fortieth degree of north latitude, if said river doth extend so far northward; but if not, then by a meridian line from the head of said river to said forty-third degree. The said land to extend westward five degrees of longitude, to be computed from said eastern bounds. And the said lands to be bounded on the north by the *beginning* of the three-and-fortieth degree of northern latitude, and on the south by a circle drawn at twelve miles distance from New

Castle northward and westward unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of northern latitude, and then by a straight line westward to the limits of longitude above mentioned."

The first and main question to be decided, in pursuance of this grant, as between Baltimore and Penn, was, where is line 40° north, at which Maryland was to end and Pennsylvania to begin. According to Smith's map, which the authorities had followed implicitly, the transit of this line across the Delaware was fixed a little below New Castle; and they were all sure, that the radius of twelve miles from that town would touch it, before the circumference could turn visibly from west to east. The southern boundary of Maryland had been correctly fixed at Watkin's Point, and Baltimore must measure up northward two belts to this line of 40° .

Markham, the kinsman and zealous partizan of Penn, landed with the first emigrant party of Quakers at Upland, now Chester; and according to his instructions made it one of his first concerns to confer with Lord Baltimore, on the interesting question of boundary. In the spring of 1682, the parties met, a careful astronomical observation was made, and to the astonishment of all concerned, this line of 40° was up far beyond the reach of that radius from New Castle, above Upland, above the mouth of the Schuylkill; a line, which, passing exactly over Bedford, Pennsylvania, and almost touching Lancaster, would put Chambersburgh, Gettysburgh, York, and Philadelphia itself into Maryland! Markham was confounded, and Lord Baltimore thanked the stars and the Virgin, for this heavenly extension of his charter.

Soon as the waves and the winds could waft him to London, Markham hastened to tell the proprietor what astronomy had done to his border, in spite of Captain Smith's authority. Penn's equanimity was greatly disturbed. Some of his partizans at court urged him to claim the whole belt, whose northern line was 40° —thus, beginning at 39° , which would have thrown the site of Baltimore City far up into Pennsylvania—absurdly overlooking even his own charter, which compelled that radius of twelve miles from New Castle to touch the southern line of his domain. But the proprietor himself, more astute, if not more generous, hit upon another expedient. The Duke of York was his friend. Those Dela-

ware dependencies which had been wrested from the Dutch were vested in him, by royal grant, and the right of conquest. And these, extending from the head of Fenwick's beach to the mouth of Christiana Creek, would give to Penn all he wanted—outlet to the ocean, free from ice, not only by the Delaware Bay, but, as he supposed, by the Chesapeake also. Money, importunity, and intrigue, as well as friendship secured from the Duke this coveted possession; and by two deeds, in August of 1682, all that Holland and Sweden and England herself had done, to carve out of Calvert's "hactenus terra inculta" grant, was now firmly vested in the founder of Philadelphia.

Thus, forehanded with charters and assignments, William Penn made his first visit to America, with twenty-six sail of colonists, landing in the autumn of 1682. After taking livery of seizin, and receiving the homage of 3000 people, already planted in the "lower counties," as this recent acquisition was called, and paying due respect to the Duke's governor at New York, he sought an interview with Charles, Lord Baltimore. Historians say, it was "friendly, but formal." Of course, it would be *friendly*, on the part of one who has been so renowned for benevolence and philanthropy, and who had just brought some twenty-six ship-loads of friends to settle brotherly love in savage America. But no friend, intent on removing the landmarks of his neighbour, could have brought a more ungracious lot of disclosures, for the information of a competitor.

He began by informing Lord Baltimore, that 60 miles instead of $69\frac{1}{2}$ was to be the breadth of geographical degrees for Maryland. And next, that the Delaware coast had not been *terra inculta* in 1632, when his grandfather, George Calvert, had obtained his patent; that the Christian people of Holland had subdued the shore, first from the wilderness, and then from the Swedes, and that all this culture and habitation had passed over to the Duke of York, by whose grace the whole possession had in due form been conveyed to him, William Penn. Lord Baltimore, starting with "anger, and bewildered by these unexpected meshes, which the Quaker had woven, exclaimed, "I stand on my patent!" Subsequently, in another interview, held at New Castle, Penn proposed to give up the literal advantage his charter he had got from the blun-

dering of Captain Smith, and allow the breadth of Maryland to touch on 40° , provided, Baltimore would sell to him, at "a gentlemanly price," a sweep of acres around the head of Chesapeake Bay. But his lordship replied, he would do so, if Penn would throw in the "three lower counties," all that is now the State of Delaware, into the bargain. "This," said Penn, "he knew I would not do—I did not prize the thing I desired at such a rate."

Here negotiations ended for half a century. Lord Baltimore determined to hold at all hazard the claim of his fathers. At once he made forcible entry on the territories of Penn, and appealed to the king at St. James'. Pending the trial of his cause, Charles II. died, and the Duke of York ascended the throne. Of course, the cause of William Penn, being virtually that of James II. himself, would be decided against Baltimore. The Lords of Trade and Plantations, to whom the matter had had been referred, would not however touch the difficult problem of line 40° ; but only decided the question about the peninsula, between the Delaware and the Chesapeake, in which alone his Majesty was personally involved. They ordered this to be divided—all of it, between Cape Henlopen and 40° by a right line, into two equal parts; "the eastern half to go to his Majesty," (and of course to Penn), and the western half to Lord Baltimore, as comprised in his charter. Thus the State of Delaware began, and the art and influence of William Penn reared a commonwealth from the ashes of Swaanendacl, at the expense of Catholic Maryland.

The Greek painters, we are told, represented their Nemesis as a virgin goddess, looking on in thoughtful attitude, with a bridle in the one hand, and a sword or scourge in the other. All his renown for meekness, and equity, and benevolence, could not screen the owner of both Delaware and Pennsylvania from a visible retribution. Before the decision in his favour could be enforced, the Revolution rolled Penn out of court; and even an order of Queen Anne, as late as 1708, proved ineffectual to separate his territories from the jurisdiction of Maryland. Harassed by debt, with mortgages to remorseless money-lenders, compelling him to sell the half of all to the Queen, and, at the same time, persecuted, both for his faith and his fondness

for the Stuarts, he died in 1718; bequeathing contention to his heirs, among themselves, as well as vast incumbrances, and unsettled boundaries, to his magnificent demesne.

Passing over many incidents of romantic interest, which resulted from the spirit of angry border feud, we come to the year 1732; when Richard Penn, the youngest of the three sons, became of age. The title of Baltimore had also descended another generation, and now vested in Charles Calvert, the second of that name, and great-grandson of the original proprietor. Both parties were now alike out of court. A Protestant succession on the throne was not to be won easily in favour of the Catholic Calverts: and a Hanoverian House remembered not the Penns, whose political partialities might still be sighing for the exiled Pretender. Besides the colonial peace was greatly disturbed. The notorious Colonel Cresap, squatting on the banks of the Susquehanna, had armed desperate men, and furious women also, to resist the Penns in the bosom of their own commonwealth. A little below where Wrightsville now stands, opposite Columbia, he kept a ferry and built a fort, and filled it with "border ruffians," who stigmatized the colonists of Penn with the name of "quaking cowards," while these, in turn, called the Marylanders, many of whom were transported convicts, "hominny gentry." Arrested at length on the charge of murder, and brought by the sheriff of Lancaster to the prison in Philadelphia, Cresap exclaimed, as he entered the city with an air of taunting defiance—"This is a pretty Maryland town."

Wearied on both sides with troubles like these, and obtaining at length an accurate map of all the localities, the parties entered into a memorable compromise on the 10th of May in that year, 1732; which adopted the order in council of 1685, dividing the peninsula into two equal parts; and superseded all reference to line 40°, substituting, for the true observation, fixed and familiar landmarks, already mentioned in the charter, settling, as far as could be done without actual survey, the boundaries as they are at this day.

On the margin of this agreement was drawn a map of the work, with directions how to pursue it. They were to begin at New Castle, and run the radius of twelve miles from that point,

northward and westward. Then to go down to Cape Henlopen, "which lieth south of Cape Cornelius," and from its ocean point, to measure a due west line to Chesapeake Bay; find the middle point of that line, and plant a corner there. From said middle point run a line northward, up the peninsula, so as to be a tangent line to the periphery of the circle, at or near its western verge, and mark the tangent point. From said tangent point, to run a line due north, until it comes to a point fifteen English statute miles south of the latitude of the most southern part of the city of Philadelphia. From that fifteen-mile point, run a line due west, across the Susquehanna, &c., to the utmost longitude of Pennsylvania.

The patience and persistence of the Penns always triumphed, over the hasty and turbulent spirit of the Baltimores; and what they called compromise invariably proved to be every jot and tittle of their own claim. This compromise, found out very soon by Lord Baltimore to be all on one side, began at every step of the practical adjustment to be evaded. Commissioners to run the line met and parted, in fruitless contention. Baltimore's representatives insisted that the circle which we now see at the head of Delaware State, should stretch its periphery, instead of its radius, to the southernmost line of Pennsylvania; and again, that the Cape Henlopen, from which Delaware was to be measured on the south, should be the upper one, opposite Cape May, called Cape Cornelius then, instead of Fenwick's beach or island; and that the east and west line from which the north line to divide the peninsula would start, should run from the Atlantic to a channel bounding Taylor's Island, instead of the Chesapeake itself, and run upon the ground instead of horizontal admeasurement, so as to narrow the Delaware counties. On every one of these pretences, the court of Chancery in England had to decide; and always decided in favour of the Penns. Baltimore in a rage threw up his charter, and asked George II. to give him a confirmation of what a king had given in 1632. This was refused; and the king in council had to dictate an arbitrary line, until the surveys could be completed; which was reluctantly accepted.

At length, after another tissue of troubles, arising out of this expedient also, the high litigant parties, in another generation,

did, on the 4th of July, 1760, enter into that agreement which remains ratified and acknowledged, without disturbance, to this day. And a more remarkable document, it is said by eminent lawyers, is not to be found among all the great models of old English conveyancing; remarkable for length, consisting of thirty-four pages closely printed octavo; and also for legal precision, and perspicuity; putting at rest for ever the most vexing question, according to Lord Hardwicke, that ever engaged the Councils and Chanceries of England.

The only remaining trouble was the execution of the surveys. Seven commissioners for each proprietary, three of whom should be a quorum to act, began the work in November 1760; but had to begin with the north and south dividing line on the peninsula, between Delaware and Maryland, in order to have a tangent for that circle of twelve miles radius about New Castle; on which tangent line, at a distance of fifteen miles from Cedar Street in Philadelphia, the great western line was to begin. Delaware, indeed, being also as much the property of the Penns as Pennsylvania itself; and called, as we have seen, "the three lower counties," New Castle, Kent, and Sussex; while Philadelphia, Bucks and Chester, the whole of Pennsylvania, were called "the three upper counties." But that one line, the western boundary of Delaware, took the joint Commissioners of the survey three years to locate, run, and mark. Tired with this long delay, and fearing that still another generation would pass before the important line of latitude could be traced, the proprietors about London decided to supersede American surveyors altogether, and send Mason and Dixon, astronomers of rising fame at London. They had been at the Cape of Good Hope together, to make observations of an eclipse of the sun. And it was resolved to constitute them a joint commission for this important business. And they represented well the composition of two tempers, that, after the jarring of three generations, joined their hands in final reconciliation. Mason represented the Quaker element, and Dixon the Chevalier. The former was "cool, deliberate, painstaking, never in a hurry," the latter was "active, impatient, and nervous" in temperament. Yet both worked on in harmony to the end of their task. They began it late in the fall of 1763;

and spent the remainder of that year and much of the next, in preparatory observations and work, which had been done already by the slow American surveyors. And these they were compelled to verify. With all their advantage of science and experience, and the most perfect instruments which art could furnish—a four feet zenith sector, among others, brought with them from London, they confessed that the rude sightings and chainings of their predecessors were so exact, that they could not make the tangent line pass one inch eastward or westward. In 1764, they began to run west from their celebrated corner, and traced their line to the Susquehanna, a parallel of $39^{\circ} 43' 32''$, instead of the round simplicity of 40° as evidently intended at the original granting. Next year, 1765, they began to lay open vistas in the forests, which had never yet been explored by civilization, and now their main work needed the fortitude of American, more than the skill of London surveyors. But for the four brothers McClean, soon after distinguished in the provincial history of Pennsylvania, the privations and dangers of the survey would have been too much for Mason and Dixon. Nearly two years transpired before they reached the Allegheny mountain. The line had measured only 160 miles, when the Indians interfered, to forbid the axe and the chain; until a grand convocation of the "Six Nations," procured at a great expense by the Governors of Pennsylvania and Maryland, gave them leave to proceed. Nearly a whole year more was consumed in this negotiation. In 1767, the western limit of Maryland—"the meridian of the first fountain of the Potomac" was reached. Why they went on as a joint commission beyond this point, cannot be well ascertained. But the Penns, who always had their own way, were eager to measure out five degrees of longitude; and the company went on at the expense of Maryland as well as Pennsylvania. At the crossing of Braddock's Road, however, the savage warriors, who had been at hand ever since they descended into the valley of the Ohio, became sullen and reserved. The Mohawk chief, who had been a consenting agent for the Six Nations, left them suddenly and silently. The Shawnese and Delawares made terrific demonstrations. And at length, as soon as their line touched the old Catawba war path, peremptory

commands from the savage chiefs compelled them to desist. There the line had to stop for fifteen years. Mason and Dixon did not finish it. They returned to mark in a permanent manner what they had measured, setting up every mile a stone, with M. on the one side, and P. on the other; and every five miles, a stone brought from England, with the proprietary coats of arms engraved on each side. They made their final report to the proprietaries on the 9th of November, 1768, five years after they had arrived in Philadelphia to begin their work.

The work was well done. But, after all, it remained to be perfected by American surveyors. In 1849, the three States which meet together at the celebrated bend in the Northwestern corner of Delaware, employed Colonel James D. Graham, of the United States Corps of Topographical Engineers, to retrace the lines, especially of that notch and circle, so much the concern of little Delaware; and replace the missing monuments of Mason and Dixon. The great corner-stone, from which their parallel began, had been made a chimney-piece by a neighbouring farmer, and a post of wood put into its place. The radius of twelve miles which keeps Pennsylvania and Maryland at arm's length from Newcastle, was found two feet and four inches too short, but on the periphery and the tangent line some of the miles were found to be too long by a few feet. And these minute corrections deprived a legislator of his seat, turned over the old Christiana church to another commonwealth, and obliged Maryland to yield one acre and three quarters of territory to Delaware.

It would be a history of greater interest to pursue the line, from the war path of the Indians to the southwest corner of Pennsylvania, as it was run between Pennsylvania and Virginia when they became sovereign States; and to record how marvellously again the meek persistency of Quaker claims triumphed over the cavalier and choleric demands of the Old Dominion; how the rich wool-growing hills of Allegheny, Fayette, Washington, and Greene counties in Pennsylvania, were identified at the first with Virginia law and custom, its early settlers preferring these to the government of the Penns; and how even the "Whiskey Insurrection" originated very much from this feeling, and hostility to the federal excise law,

because it resembled so much an odious measure of the kind which had claimed their submission from the authority of the Penns. It would be also an interesting history to go round about the whole territory of that magnificent parallelogram, and see how Pennsylvania got the "Erie triangle," as it was called, by holding on to her north boundary the beginning of latitude 43° , notwithstanding that widening on the south of nineteen miles, taken from Maryland by virtue of John Smith's blunder in the map. She was chartered originally for two degrees only, inclusive, but won, as we have seen, by artifice and perseverance a strip besides which comes within a mile of cutting Maryland in twain. Still more, we might glean a triumph of the same kind over Yankee push and aggression, in the memorable defeat of the Connecticut claim to the valley of the Wyoming, awarded by arbitrators sitting at Trenton in 1782.

Never did the Keystone fail to hold successfully at last everything adhering to her sides, as well as inhering in her bosom: and may we not well construe this geographical tenacity, as an augury of hope, that she will hold the whole arch, that is her own to bind, by a charter infinitely fairer than the parchment by which Maryland was cleft, on the line of Mason and Dixon?

And although we cannot justify the greed and finesse of the Penns, in the light of impartial history, and have glanced already at some of the retributions with which they were punished, we may well rejoice that the nineteen miles of her southern border, in the providence of God, fell to Pennsylvania, and not to Maryland; and consequently escaped the blight and curse of American slavery, ever since that woe began to tell upon the industry and morals of the people. Look at that border during the whole period of the dispute between the Penns and the Baltimores. It was the most illuminated strip of land on the whole continent of America.

It included all Philadelphia, the chief city of North America then, and for half a century afterwards. It included the great school district of American Presbyterianism—the New London and New Londonderry, or Fagg's Manor, the Pequea, and the Nottingham schools—all of them so renowned for the Blairs,

the Smiths, the Allisons, Finley, Davies, Ewing, and many others who founded and adorned our church in the century that is past; not to speak of James Smith, James Ross, Hugh H. Breckinridge, John Rowan, Thomas McKean, Hugh Williamson, David Ramsey, Robert Fulton, and a host of others, men of the first magnitude among statesmen, historians, and inventors, who sprung of Scotch-Irish parentage, were formed for greatness in the schools of this conterminous ground; which had, of right and royal intent, originally belonged to Maryland. Who can estimate the different influence upon the destiny of this nation if that narrow strip of nineteen miles had been ridden from that day to this, by the arrogance of slave-power! It is not too much to say, perhaps, that if William Penn had not obtained by the mistake of a rude survey, and his own pertinacious will to make the most of it, a slice from the charter of Calvert, this American Union had not have been arched at all, or had tumbled to ruins, in the hour that Missouri knocked for admission as a sovereign State. The population which spread from east to west, along the parallel surveyed by Mason and Dixon, has been the most adhesive element in our whole Republic. Until recently it was mainly Scotch-Irish. As it passed over the Kittatinny or Cumberland valley, it was almost an unmingled element of this kind for a hundred years. That beautiful garden valley of the United States, from Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to Lexington, Virginia, was thrown across the great dividing line, to be filled with a massive band of steel, in order to continue, what the Allegheny itself could not hold together for a day, diverse civilizations in one harmonious brotherhood. Another clasp of the kind fastened the western extremities of Pennsylvania and Virginia together.

But, alas! these bands of steel are now broken to pieces; and in proportion to the tenacity with which it held the Union together, is the repulsion with which the same element refuses to be welded again. The last link that was broken will be the last one to yield, in the pressure which would join us in a reconstruction. Border Presbyterianism, of such a type, once divided, will come far behind political compromises, and other forms of ecclesiastical reunions, to join hands, with anything like the original earnest. Their feuds have always been of dif-

ficult and slow reconciliation. It may be well, therefore, that an element of such stern love and hatred has been passing away from that border line, for a whole generation; that the descendants of German immigration, from the Palatinate and elsewhere, have been gradually superseding the Scotch-Irish people, who would have met the rebel raiders, as their fathers met the murderous Indians, in the gaps of their mountains, when the government of Penn would give them no protection, with a rifle and a rock, for every man, woman, and child, in defence of their homes. Their successors, of a different spirit, for the most part quiet, passive, money-loving, can be moulded far more easily in forms of reconstruction. Thus, what we have often mourned over, along that line, the decadence of old Presbyterian churches and schools, may prove to be a national blessing in the good providence of God. Removed from the fissure into which it would have fallen by the quarrel, as an element of stubborn disintegration, the seed of that sturdy race, and that mighty faith, has gone to make the corners of the land flourish on every side, until the receding latitudes, north and south, shall become worthy of each other again, and seek to be tied again in constitutional bonds which cannot be easily broken.

And then, again, Maryland is free, and West Virginia is free. The slave line is pushed down to their feet. The conspicuity of Mason and Dixon's line goes out, in the radiance that sheds an equal light of liberty on each side of this ancient boundary; and thus let it be obliterated; let its main demarcation, for which it has been distinguished so long in the memory of this generation, sink from the sight of man, a fossil, harder to be found than the armorial carvings, long since buried or carried away, with which the London surveyors were so proud to mark every five miles of their progress.