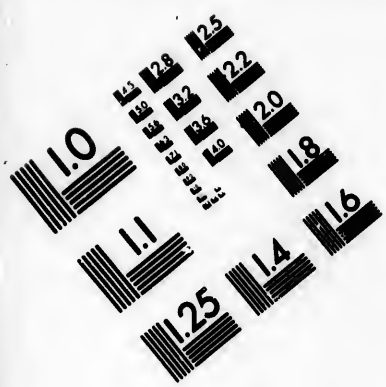

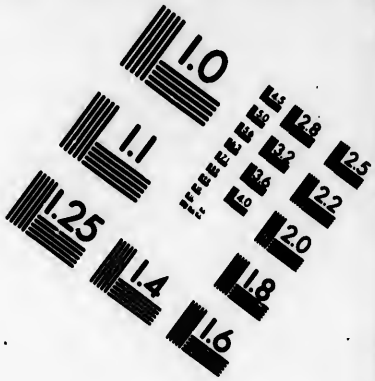

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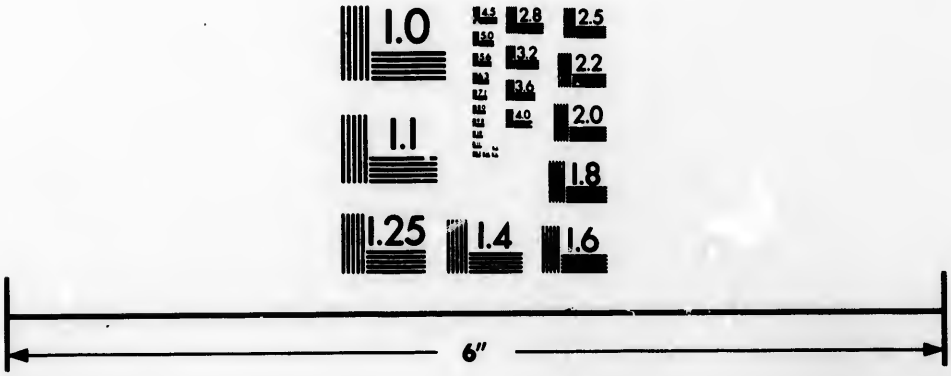

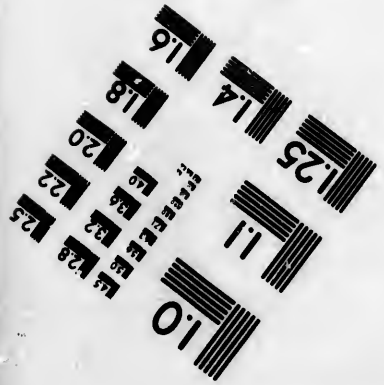

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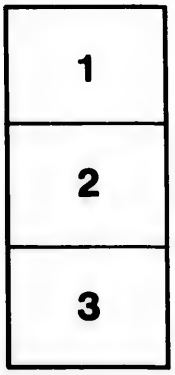

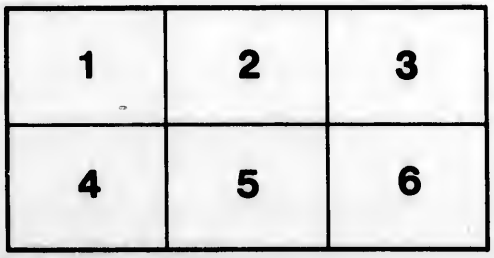

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PRIN
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MEMOIRS

OF

AN AMERICAN LADY:

WITH SKETCHES OF

MANNERS AND SCENERY
IN AMERICA,

AS THEY EXISTED PREVIOUS TO THE REVOLUTION.

BY THE AUTHOR OF
"LETTERS FROM THE MOUNTAINS," &c. &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, AND ORME, PATERNOSTER-ROW; AND MRS. H. COOK, JERMYN-STREET.
1808.

Strahan and Preston,
Printers-Street, London.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR WILLIAM GRANT, KNT.

MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

SIR,

IT is very probable that the friends, by whoſe ſolicitations I was induced to arrange in the following pages my early recollections, ſtudied more the amuſement I ſhould derive from executing this taſk, than any pleaſure they could expect from its completion.

The principal object of this work is to record the few incidents, and the many virtues which diverſified and

diſtinguiſhed the life of a moſt valued friend. Though no manners could be more ſimple, no notions more primitive than thoſe which prevailed among her aſſociates, the ſtamp of originality with which they were marked, and the peculiar circumſtances in which they ſtood, both with regard to my friend, and the infant ſociety to which they belonged, will, I flatter myſelf, give an intereſt with reflecting minds, even to this deſultory narrative; and the miſcellany of deſcription, obſervation, and detail, which it involves.

If truth, both of feeling and narration, which are its only merits, prove a ſufficient counterbalance to

care-

careleſſneſs, laxity, and incoherence of ſtyle, its prominent faults, I may venture to invite you, when you unbend from the uſeful and honourable labours to which your valuable time is devoted, to trace this feeble delineation of an excellent, though unembelliſhed character; and of the rapid pace with which an infant ſociety has urged on its progreſs from virtuous ſimplicity, to the dangerous "knowledge of good and evil:" from tremulous imbecility to ſelf-ſufficient independence.

To be faithful, a delineation muſt neceſſarily be minute. Yet if this ſketch, with all its imperfections, be honoured by your indulgent peruſal,

ſuch condeſcenſion of time and talent muſt certainly be admired, and may perhaps be imitated by others.

I am, SIR, very reſpectfully,

Your faithful humble ſervant,

THE AUTHOR.

LONDON,
October, 1808.

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INTRO-

INTRODUCTION.

TO ———.

DEAR SIR,

OTHERS as well as you have expreſſed a wiſh to ſee a memoir of my earlieſt and moſt valuable friend.

To gratify you and them I feel many inducements, and ſee many objections.

To comply with any wiſh of your's is one ſtrong inducement.

To pleaſe myſelf with the recollection of paſt happineſs and departed worth is another; and to benefit thoſe into whoſe hands this imperfect ſketch may fall, is a third. For the authentic record of an exemplary life, though delivered in the moſt

unadorned manner, or even degraded by poverty of ſtyle, or uncouthneſs of narration, has an attraction for the uncorrupted mind.

It is the rare lot of ſome exalted characters, by the united power of virtues and of talents, to ſoar above their fellow-mortals, and leave a luminous track behind, on which ſucceſſive ages gaze with wonder and delight.

But the ſweet influence of theſe benign ſtars that now and then enlighten the page of hiſtory, is partial and unfrequent.

They to whom the moſt important parts on the ſtage of life are allotted, if poſſeſſed of abilities undirected by virtue, are too often

"Wiſe, to no purpoſe, artful to no end,"

that is really good and deſirable.

They, again, where virtue is not ſupported by wiſdom, are often, with the beſt intentions, made ſubſervient to the ſhort-ſighted craft of the artful and deſigning. Hence, though we may be at times dazzled with the blaze of heroic atchievement, or

contem-

contemplate with a purer ſatisfaction thoſe "Awful fathers of mankind," by whom nations were civilized, equitable dominion eſtabliſhed, or liberty reſtored. Yet, after all, the crimes and miſeries of mankind form ſuch prominent features of the hiſtory of every country, that humanity ſickens at the retroſpect, and miſanthropy finds an excuſe amidſt the laurels of the hero, and the deep-laid ſchemes of the politician:

> "And yet this partial view of things
> "Is ſurely not the beſt." BURNS.

Where ſhall we ſeek the antidote to this chilling gloom left on the mind by theſe buſtling intricate ſcenes, where the beſt characters, goaded on by furious factions or dire neceſſity, become involved in crimes that their ſouls abhor?

It is the contemplation of the peaceful virtues in the genial atmoſphere of private life, that can beſt reconcile us to our nature, and quiet the turbulent emotions excited by

> "The madneſs of the crowd."

But vice, folly, and vanity are ſo noiſy, ſo reſtleſs, ſo ready to ruſh into public view, and ſo adapted to afford food for malevolent curioſity, that the ſmall ſtill voice of virtue, active in its own ſphere, but unwilling to quit it, is drowned in their tumult. This is a remedy, however,

"Not obvious, not obtruſive."

If we would counteract the baleful influence of public vice by the contemplation of private worth, we muſt penetrate into its retreats, and not be deterred from attending to its ſimple details by the want of that glare and buſtle with which a fictitious or artificial character is generally ſurrounded.

But in this wide field of ſpeculation one might wander out of ſight of the original ſubject. Let me then reſume it, and return to my objections. Of theſe the firſt and greateſt is the dread of being inaccurate. Embelliſhed facts, a mixture of truth and fiction, or what we ſometimes meet with,

with, a fictitious ſuperſtructure built on a foundation of reality, would be deteſtable on the ſcore of bad taſte, though no moral ſenſe were concerned or conſulted. 'Tis walking on a river half frozen that betrays your footing every moment. By theſe repulſive artifices no perſon of real diſcernment is for a moment impoſed upon. You do not know exactly which part of the narrative is falſe; but you are ſure it is not all true, and therefore diſtruſt what is genuine, where it occurs. For this reaſon a fiction, happily told, takes a greater hold of the mind than a narrative of facts, evidently embelliſhed and interwoven with inventions.

I do not mean to diſcredit my own veracity. I certainly have no intention to relate any thing that is not true. Yet in the dim diſtance of near forty years, unaſſiſted by written memorials, ſhall I not miſtake dates, miſplace facts, and omit circumſtances that form eſſential links in the chain of narration? Thirty years ſince, when I expreſſed a wiſh to do what I am now about to at-

tempt, how differently ſhould I have executed it. A warm heart, a vivid imagination, and a tenacious memory, were then all filled with a theme which I could not touch without kindling into an enthuſiaſm, ſacred at once to virtue and to friendſhip. Venerated friend of my youth, my guide, and my inſtructreſs, are then the dregs of an enfeebled mind, the worn affections of a wounded heart, the imperfect efforts of a decaying memory, all that remain to conſecrate thy remembrance, to make known thy worth, and to lay on thy tomb the offering of gratitude?

My friend's life, beſides being moſtly paſſed in unruffled peace and proſperity, affords few of thoſe viciſſitudes which aſtoniſh and amuſe. It is from her relations, to thoſe with whom her active benevolence connected her, that the chief intereſt of her ſtory (if ſtory it may be called) ariſes. This includes that of many perſons, obſcure indeed but for the light which her regard and beneficence reflected upon them. Yet without thoſe ſubordinate perſons in the

drama,

drama, the action of human life, especially such a life as her's, cannot be carried on. Those can neither appear with grace, nor be omitted with propriety. Then, remote and retired as her situation was, the variety of nations and characters, of tongues and of complexions, with which her public spirit and private benevolence connected her, might appear wonderful to those unacquainted with the country and the times in which she lived; without a pretty distinct view of which my narrative would be unintelligible. I must be excused too for dwelling, at times, on the recollection of a state of society so peculiar, so utterly dissimilar to any other that I have heard or read of, that it exhibits human nature in a new aspect, and is so far an object of rational curiosity, as well as a kind of phænomenon in the history of colonization. I forewarn the reader not to look for lucid order in the narration, or intimate connection between its parts. I have no authorities to refer to, no coeval witnesses of facts to consult. In regard to the companions of my youth, I sit like the

"Voice of Cona" alone on the heath; and, like him too, muſt muſe in ſilence, till at intervals the "Light of my ſoul ariſes," before I can call attention to "A tale of other times," in which ſeveral particulars relative to my friend's anceſtry muſt neceſſarily be included.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

Province of New York —Origin of the Settlement at Albany. —Singular Poſſeſſion held by the Patron. —Account of his Tenants.

It is well known that the province of New York, anciently called Munhattoes by the Indians, was originally ſettled by a Dutch colony, which came from Holland, I think, in the time of Charles the Second. Finding the country to their liking, they were followed by others more wealthy and better informed. Indeed ſome of the early emigrants appear to have been people reſpectable both from their family and character. Of theſe the principal were the Cuylers, the Schuylers, the Renſelaers, the Delancys, the Cortlandts, the Tinbrooks, and the Beckmans, who have all of them been ſince diſtinguiſhed in the late civil wars, either as perſecuted loyaliſts or trium-

phant patriots. I do not precisely recollect the motives assigned for the voluntary exile of persons who were evidently in circumstances that might admit of their living in comfort at home, but am apt to think that the early settlers were those who adhered to the interest of the Stadtholder's family, a party which, during the minority of King William, was almost persecuted by the high republicans. They who came over at a later period probably belonged to the party which opposed the Stadtholder, and which was then in its turn depressed. These persons afterwards distinguished themselves by an aversion, almost amounting to antipathy, to the British army, and indeed to all the British colonists. Their notions were mean and contracted; their manners blunt and austere; and their habits sordid and parsimonious: as the settlement began to extend they retired, and formed new establishments, afterwards called Firkkill, Esopus, &c.

To the Schuylers, Cuylers, Delancys, Cortlandts, and a few others, this description

tion did by no means apply. Yet they too bore about them the tokens of former affluence and respectability, such as family plate, portraits of their ancestors executed in a superior style, and great numbers of original paintings, some of which were much admired by acknowleged judges. Of these the subjects were generally taken from sacred history.

I do not recollect the exact time, but think it was during the last years of Charles the Second, that a settlement we then possessed at Surinam was exchanged for the extensive (indeed at that time boundless) province of Munhattoes, which, in compliment to the then heir apparent, was called New York. Of the part of that country then explored, the most fertile and beautiful was situated far inland, on the banks of the Hudson's River. This copious and majestic [illegible] is navigable 170 miles from its mou[illegible] vessels of 60 or 70 tons burthen. Ne[illegible] head of it, as a kind of barrier agai[illegible] the natives, and a central resort for trade[illegible], the foundation

was laid of a town called Oranienburgh, and afterwards by the Britiſh, Albany.

After the neceſſary precaution of erecting a ſmall ſtockaded fort for ſecurity, a church was built in the centre of the intended town, which ſerved in different reſpects as a kind of land-mark. A gentleman of the name of Renzelaer was conſidered as in a manner lord paramount of this city. A pre-eminence which his ſucceſſor ſtill enjoys, both with regard to the town and the lands adjacent. The original proprietor having obtained from the high and mighty ſtates a grant of lands, which, beginning at the church, extended twelve miles in every direction, forming a manor twenty-four Dutch miles in length, the ſame in breadth, including lands not only of the beſt quality of any in the province, but the moſt happily ſituated both for the purpoſes of commerce and agriculture. This great proprie[illegible] looked up to as much as republican [illegible] new country could be ſuppoſed to loo[illegible]p to any one. He was called the Patroon, a deſignation tan-

tamount to lord of the manor. Yet, in the diſtribution of theſe lands, the ſturdy Belgian ſpirit of independence ſet limits to the power and profits of this lord of the foreſts, as he might then be called. None of theſe lands were either ſold or alienated. The more wealthy ſettlers, as the Schuylers, Cuylers, &c. took very extenſive leaſes of the fertile plains along the river, with boundleſs liberty of woods and paſturage, to the weſtward. The terms were, that the leaſe ſhould hold while water runs and graſs grows, and the landlord to receive the tenth ſheaf of every kind of grain the ground produces. Thus ever accommodating the rent to the fertility of the ſoil, and changes of the ſeaſons, you may ſuppoſe the tenants did not greatly fear a landlord, who could neither remove them, nor heighten their rents. Thus, without the pride of property, they had all the independence of proprietors. They were like German princes, who, after furniſhing their contingent to the Emperor, might make war on him when they choſe. Beſides the profits (yearly augmenting)

augmenting) which the patroon drew from his ample poſſeſſions, he held in his own hands an extenſive and fruitful demeſne. Yet preſerving in a great meaſure the ſimple and frugal habits of his anceſtors, his wealth was not an object of envy, nor a ſource of corruption to his fellow-citizens. To the northward of theſe bounds, and at the ſouthern extremity alſo, the Schuylers and Cuylers held lands of their own. But the only other great landholders I remember, holding their land by thoſe original tenures, were Philips and Cortlandt; their lands lay alſo on the Hudſon's River, half way down to New York, and were denominated Philips' and Cortlandt's manors. At the time of the firſt ſettling of the country the Indians were numerous and powerful along all the river; but they conſiſted of wandering families, who, though they affixed ſome ſort of local boundaries for diſtinguiſhing the hunting grounds of each tribe, could not be ſaid to inhabit any place. The cool and crafty Dutch governors being unable to cope with them in arms, purchaſed from them

them the moſt valuable tracts for ſome petty conſideration. They affected great friendſhip for them; and, while conſcious of their own weakneſs, were careful not to provoke hoſtilities; and they, ſilently and inſenſibly, eſtabliſhed themſelves to the weſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Account of the Five Nations, or Mohawk Indians.—Building of the Fort at Albany.—John and Philip Schuyler.

On the Mohawk River, about forty miles diſtant from Albany, there ſubſiſted a confederacy of Indian tribes, of a very different character from thoſe mentioned in the preceding chapter; too ſagacious to be deceived, and too powerful to be eradicated. Theſe were the once renowned five nations, whom any one, who remembers them while they were a people, will heſitate to call ſavages. Were *they* ſavages who had fixed habitations; who cultivated rich fields; who built caſtles, (for ſo they called their not incommodious wooden houſes, ſurrounded with paliſadoes;) who planted maize and beans, and ſhewed conſiderable ingenuity in conſtructing and adorning their canoes,

canoes, arms, and clothing? They who had wiſe though unwritten laws, and conducted their wars, treaties, and alliances with deep and ſound policy; they whoſe eloquence was bold, nervous, and animated; whoſe language was ſonorous, muſical, and expreſſive; who poſſeſſed generous and elevated ſentiments, heroic fortitude, and unſtained probity: Were theſe indeed ſavages? The difference

"Of ſcent the headlong lioneſs between
"And hound ſagacious, on the tainted green,"

is not greater than that of the Mohawks in point of civility and capacity, from other American tribes, among whom, indeed, exiſted a far greater diverſity of character, language, &c. than Europeans ſeem to be aware of. This little tribute to the memory of a people who have been, while it ſoothes the penſive recollections of the writer, is not ſo foreign to the ſubject as it may at firſt appear. So much of the peace and ſafety of this infant community depended on the friendſhip and alliance of

theſe

theſe generous tribes; and to conciliate and retain their affections ſo much addreſs was neceſſary, that common characters were unequal to the taſk. Minds liberal and upright, like thoſe I am about to deſcribe, could alone excite that eſteem, and preſerve that confidence, which were eſſential towards retaining the friendſhip of thoſe valuable allies.

From the time of the great rebellion, ſo many Engliſh refugees frequented Holland, that the language and manners of our country became familiar at the Hague, particularly among the Stadtholder's party. When the province of New York fell under the Britiſh dominion, it became neceſſary that every body ſhould learn our language, as all public buſineſs was carried on in the Engliſh tongue, which they did the more willingly, as, after the revolution, the acceſſion of the Stadtholder to the Engliſh crown very much reconciled them to our government Still, however, the Engliſh was a kind of court language; little ſpoken, and imperfectly underſtood in the interior.

terior. Thoſe who brought with them the French and Engliſh languages ſoon acquired a ſway over their leſs enlightened fellow ſettlers. Of this number were the Schuylers and Cuylers, two families among whom intellect of the ſuperior kind ſeemed an inheritance, and whoſe intelligence and liberality of mind, fortified by well-grounded principle, carried them far beyond the petty and narrow views of the reſt. Habituated at home to centre all wiſdom and all happineſs in commercial advantages, they would have been very ill calculated to lay the foundation of an infant ſtate in a country that afforded plenty and content, as the reward of induſtry, but where the very nature of the territory, as well as the ſtate of ſociety, precluded great pecuniary acquiſitions. Their object here was taming ſavage nature, and making the boundleſs wild ſubſervient to agricultural purpoſes. Commercial purſuits were a diſtant proſpect; and before they became of conſequence, rural habits had greatly changed the character of theſe republicans. But the commercial

ſpirit,

ſpirit, inherent in all true Batavians, only ſlept to wake again, when the avidity of gain was called forth by the temptation of bartering for any lucrative commodity. The furs of the Indians gave this occaſion, and were too ſoon made the object of the avidity of petty traders. To the infant ſettlement at Albany the conſequences of this ſhort-ſighted policy might have proved fatal, had not theſe patriotic leaders, by their example and influence, checked for a while ſuch illiberal and dangerous practices. It is a fact ſingular and worth attending to, from the leſſon it exhibits, that in all our diſtant colonies there is no other inſtance where a conſiderable town and proſperous ſettlement has ariſen and flouriſhed, in peace and ſafety, in the midſt of nations diſpoſed and often provoked to hoſtility; at a diſtance from the protection of ſhips, and from the only fortified city, which, always weakly garriſoned, was little fitted to awe and protect the whole province. Let it be remembered that the diſtance from New York to Albany is 170 miles; and that in the intermediate

termediate ſpace, at the period of which I ſpeak, there was not one town or fortified place. The ſhadow of a paliſadoed fort *, which then exiſted at Albany, was occupied by a ſingle independent company, who did duty, but were diſperſed through the town, working at various trades; ſo ſcarce indeed were artizans in this community, that a tradeſman might in theſe days aſk any wages he choſe.

To return to this ſettlement, which evidently owed its ſecurity to the wiſdom of its leaders, who always acted on the ſimple maxim that honeſty is the beſt policy; ſeveral miles north from Albany a conſiderable poſſeſſion, called the Flats, was inhabited by Colonel Philip Schuyler, one of the moſt enlightened men in the province. This being a frontier, he would have found it a very dangerous ſituation had he not

* It may be worth noting, that Captain Maſſey, who commanded this non-effective company for many years, was the father of Mrs. Lennox, an eſtimable character, well known for her literary productions, and for being the friend and protegée of Doctor Johnſon.

been

been a perſon of ſingular worth, fortitude, and wiſdom. Were I not afraid of tiring my reader with a detail of occurrences which, taking place before the birth of my friend, might ſeem irrelevant to the preſent purpoſe, I could relate many inſtances almoſt incredible, of the power of mind diſplayed by this gentleman in governing the uninſtructed without coercion or legal right. He poſſeſſed this ſpecies of power in no common degree; his influence, with that of his brother John Schuyler, was exerted to conciliate the wandering tribes of Indians; and by fair traffic, for he too was a trader, and by fair liberal dealing, they attained their object. They alſo ſtrengthened the league already formed with the five Mohawk nations, by procuring for them ſome aſſiſtance againſt their enemies, the Onondagoes of the Lakes.

Queen Anne had by this time ſucceeded to the Stadtholder. The gigantic ambition of Lewis the Fourteenth actuated the remoteſt parts of his extenſive dominions; and the encroaching ſpirit of this reſtleſs

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nation began to diſcover itſelf in hoſtilities to the infant colony. A motive for which could ſcarce be diſcovered, poſſeſſing, as they did, already much more territory than they were able to occupy, the limits of which were undefined. But the province of New York was a frontier; and, as ſuch, a kind of barrier to the ſouthern colonies. It began alſo to compete for a ſhare of the fur trade, then very conſiderable, before the beavers were driven back from their original haunts. In ſhort, the province daily roſe in importance; and being in a great meaſure protected by the Mohawk tribes, the policy of courting their alliance, and impreſſing their minds with an exalted idea of the power and grandeur of the Britiſh empire, became obvious. I cannot recollect the name of the governor at this time; but whoever he was, he, as well as the ſucceeding ones, viſited the ſettlement at Albany, to obſerve its wiſe regulations, and growing proſperity, and to learn maxims of ſound policy from thoſe whoſe intereſts and happineſs were daily promoted by the practice of it.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Colonel Schuyler perſuades four Sachemes to accompany him to England.—Their Reception and Return.

It was thought adviſeable to bring over ſome of the heads of tribes to England to attach them to that country: but to perſuade the chiefs of a free and happy people, who were intelligent, ſagacious, and aware of all probable dangers; who were ſtrangers to all the maritime concerns, and had never beheld the ocean; to perſuade ſuch independent and high-minded warriors to forſake the ſafety and enjoyments of their own country, to encounter the perils of a long voyage, and truſt themſelves among entire ſtrangers, and this merely to bind cloſer an alliance with the ſovereign of a diſtant country — a female ſovereign too; a mode of government hat muſt have appeared to them very incongruous.

congruous; this was no common undertaking, nor was it eaſy to induce theſe chiefs to accede to the propoſal. The principal motive for urging it was to counteract the machinations of the French, whoſe emiſſaries in theſe wild regions had even then begun to ſtyle us, in effect, a nation of ſhopkeepers; and to impreſs the tribes dwelling in their boundaries with vaſt ideas of the power and ſplendour of their Grand Monarque, while our ſovereign, they ſaid, ruled over a petty iſland, and was himſelf a trader. To counterwork thoſe ſuggeſtions, it was thought requiſite to give the leaders of the nation (who then in fact protected our people) an adequate idea of our power, and the magnificence of our court. The chiefs at length conſented, on this only condition, that their brother Philip, who never told a lie, or ſpoke without thinking, ſhould accompany them. However this gentleman's wiſdom and integrity might qualify him for this employment, it by no means ſuited his placid temper, ſimple manners, and habits of life,

at once paſtoral and patriarchal, to travel over ſeas, viſit courts, and mingle in the buſtle of a world, the cuſtoms of which were become foreign to thoſe primitive inhabitants of new and remote regions. The adventure, however, ſucceeded beyond his expectation; the chiefs were pleaſed with the attention paid them, and with the mild and gracious manners of the queen, who at different times admitted them to her preſence. With the good Philip ſhe had many converſations, and made him ſome valuable preſents, among which, I think, was her picture; but this with many others was loſt, in a manner which will appear hereafter. Colonel Schuyler too was much delighted with the courteous affability of this princeſs; ſhe offered to knight him, which he reſpectfully, but poſitively refuſed: and being preſſed to aſſign his reaſons, he ſaid he had brothers and near relations in humble circumſtances, who, already his inferiors in property, would ſeem as it were depreſſed by his elevation: and though it ſhould have

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no ſuch effect on her mind, it might be the means of awakening pride or vanity in the female part of his family. He returned, however, in triumph, having completely ſucceeded in his miſſion. The kings, as they were called in England, came back in full health, deeply impreſſed with eſteem and attachment for a country which to them appeared the centre of arts, intelligence, and wiſdom; where they were treated with kindneſs and reſpect; and neither made the objects of perpetual exhibition, nor hurried about to be continually diſtracted with a ſucceſſion of ſplendid, and to them incomprehenſible ſights, the quick ſhifting of which rather tends to haraſs minds which have enough of native ſtrength to reflect on what they ſee, without knowledge ſufficient to comprehend it. It is to this childiſh and injudicious mode of treating thoſe uncivilized beings, this mode of rather extorting from them a tribute to our vanity, than taking the neceſſary pains to inform and improve them, that the ill ſucceſs of all ſuch experiments ſince have

been owing. Inſtead of endeavouring to conciliate them by genuine kindneſs, and by gradually and gently unfolding to them ſimple and uſeful truths, our manner of treating them ſeems calculated to dazzle, oppreſs, and degrade them with a diſplay of our ſuperior luxuries and refinements: which, by the elevated and ſelf-denied Mohawk, would be regarded as unmanly and frivolous objects, and which the voluptuous and low minded Otaheitean would ſo far reliſh, that the privation would ſeem intolerable, when he returned to his hogs and his cocoas. Except ſuch as have been previouſly inoculated, (a precaution which voyagers have rarely had the prudence or humanity to take,) there is ſcarcely an inſtance of ſavages brought to Europe that have not died of the ſmall pox; induced either by the infection to which they are expoſed from the indiſcriminate crowds drawn about them, or the alteration in their blood, which unuſual diet, liquors, cloſe air, and heated rooms, muſt neceſſarily produce.

The preſents made to theſe adventurous war-

warriors were judiciouſly adapted to their taſte and cuſtoms. They conſiſted of ſhewy habits, of which all theſe people are very fond, and arms made purpoſely in the form of thoſe uſed in their own country. It was the fortune of the writer of theſe memoirs, more than thirty years after, to ſee that great warrior and faithful ally of the Britiſh crown the redoubted King Hendrick, then ſovereign of the five nations, ſplendidly arrayed in a ſuit of light blue, made in an antique mode, and trimmed with broad ſilver lace; which was probably an heir-loom, in the family, preſented to his father by his good ally, and ſiſter, the female king of England.

I cannot exactly ſay how long Mr. Schuyler and his companions ſtaid in England, but think they were nearly a year abſent. In thoſe primeval days of the ſettlement, when our preſent rapid modes of tranſmitting intelligence were unknown, in a country ſo detached and inland as that at Albany, the return of theſe intereſting travellers was like the firſt lighting of lamps in a city.

CHAP. IV.

Return of Colonel Schuyler and the Sachems to the interior.—Literary Acquisitions.—Distinguishes and instructs his favourite Niece.—Manners of the Settlers.

THIS sagacious and intelligent patriot thus brought to the foot of the British throne the high spirited rulers of the boundless wild, who, alike heedless of the power and splendour of distant monarchs, were accustomed to say with Fingal, "sufficient for me is the desart, with all deer and woods." It may easily be supposed that such a mind as Philip's was equally fitted to acquire and communicate intelligence. He who had conversed with Addison, Marlborough, and Godolphin, who had gratified the curiosity of Oxford and Bolingbroke, of Arbuthnot and of Gay, with accounts of nature in her pristine garb, and of her children in their primitive simplicity; he who could

could do all this, no doubt received ample returns of various information from those best qualified to give it, and was besides a diligent observer. Here he improved a taste for literature, native to him, for it had not yet taken root in this uncultivated soil. He brought home the Spectator and the tragedy of Cato, Windsor Forest, Young's poem on the Last Day, and in short all the works then published of that constellation of wits which distinguished the last female reign. Nay more, and better, he brought Paradise Lost; which in after-times afforded such delight to some branches of his family, that to them

"Paradise (indeed) seemed opened in the wild."

But to return to our Sachems, from whom we have too long digressed: when they arrived at Albany, they did not, as might be expected, hasten home to communicate their discoveries, or display their acquisitions. They summoned a congress there, not only of the elders of their own nation, but the chiefs of all those with

whom they were in alliance. This ſolemn meeting was held in the Dutch church. In the preſent depreſſed and diminiſhed ſtate of theſe once powerful tribes, ſo few traces of their wonted energy remain, that it could ſcarce be credited, were I able to relate with what bold and flowing eloquence they clothed their conceptions; powerful reaſoning, emphatic language, and graceful action, added force to their arguments; while they perſuaded their adherents to renounce all connexion with the tribes under the French influence; and form a laſting league, offenſive and defenſive, with that great queen, whoſe mild majeſty had ſo deeply impreſſed them: and the mighty people whoſe kindneſs had gratified, and whoſe power had aſtoniſhed them, whoſe populous cities ſwarmed with arts and commerce, and in whoſe floating caſtles they had rode ſafely over the ocean. I have ſeen a volume of the ſpeeches of theſe Mohawks preſerved by Colonel Schuyler; they were literally tranſlated, ſo that the native idiom was preſerved; which, inſtead of appearing un-

uncouth, ſeemed to add to their ſtrength and ſublimity.

When Mr. Schuyler returned from England, about the year 1709, his niece Catalina, the ſubject of this narrative, was about ſeven years old; he had a daughter and ſons, yet this child was early diſtinguiſhed above the reſt for docility, a great deſire of knowledge, and an even and pleaſing temper; this her uncle early obſerved. It was at that time very difficult to procure the means of inſtruction in thoſe inland diſtricts; female education of conſequence was conducted on a very limited ſcale; girls learnt needle work (in which they were indeed both ſkilful and ingenious) from their mothers and aunts; they were taught too at that period to read, in Dutch, the bible and a few Calviniſt tracts of the devotional kind. But in the infancy of the ſettlement few girls read Engliſh; when they did, they were thought accompliſhed; they generally ſpoke it, however imperfectly, and few were taught writing. This confined education precluded elegance; yet, though

there was no poliſh, there was no vulgarity. The dregs of the people, who ſubſide to the bottom of the maſs, are not only degraded by abject poverty, but ſo utterly ſhut out from intercourſe with the more enlightened, and ſo rankled with envy at feeling themſelves ſo, that a ſenſe of their condition gradually debaſes their minds; and this degradation communicates to their manners, the vulgarity of which we complain. This more particularly applies to the lower claſs in towns; for mere ſimplicity, or even a ruſtic bluntneſs, I would by no means call vulgarity. At the ſame time theſe unembelliſhed females had more comprehenſion of mind, more variety of ideas, more in ſhort of what may be called original thinking, than could eaſily be imagined. Their thoughts were not like thoſe of other illiterate women, occupied by the ordinary details of the day, and the goſſiping tattle of the neighbourhood. The life of new ſettlers, in a ſituation like this, where the very foundations of ſociety were to be laid, was a life of exigencies. Every individual took

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an interest in the general welfare, and contributed their respective shares of intelligence and sagacity to aid plans that embraced important objects relative to the common good. Every day called forth some new expedient, in which the *comfort* or *advantage* of the whole was implicated; for there were no degrees but those assigned to worth and intellect. This singular community seemed to have a common stock, not only of sufferings and enjoyments, but of information and ideas; some pre-eminence, in point of knowledge and abilities, there certainly was, yet those who possessed it seemed scarcely conscious of their superiority; the daily occasions which called forth the exertions of mind, sharpened sagacity, and strengthened character; avarice and vanity were there confined to very narrow limits; of money there was little; and dress was, though in some instances valuable, very plain, and not subject to the caprice of fashion. The wolves, the bears, and the enraged or intoxicated savages, that always hung threatening on their boundaries, made them more and more endeared

to each other. In this calm infancy of ſociety, the rigours of law ſlept, becauſe the fury of turbulent paſſions had not awakened it. Faſhion, that capricious tyrant over adult communities, had not erected her ſtandard; that ſtandard, to which the looks, the language, the very opinions of her ſubjects muſt be adjuſted. Yet no perſon appeared uncouth, or ill bred, becauſe there was no accompliſhed ſtandard of compariſon. They viewed no ſuperior with fear or envy; and treated no inferior with contempt or cruelty; ſervility and inſolence were thus equally unknown: perhaps they were leſs ſolicitous either to pleaſe or to ſhine than the members of more poliſhed ſocieties; becauſe, in the firſt place, they had no motive either to dazzle or deceive; and in the next, had they attempted it, they felt there was no aſſuming a character with ſucceſs, where their native one was ſo well known. Their manners, if not elegant and poliſhed, were at leaſt eaſy and independent: the conſtant efforts neceſſary to extend their commercial and agricultural poſſeſſions, prevented indolence; and in-

induſtry was the certain path to plenty. Surrounded on all ſides by thoſe whom the leaſt inſtance of fraud, inſolence, or graſping meanneſs, would have rendered irreconcileable enemies, they were at firſt obliged to "affume a virtue if they had it not;" and every circumſtance that renders virtue habitual, may be accounted a happy one. I may be told that the virtues I deſcribe were chiefly thoſe of ſituation. I acknowledge it. It is no more to be expected that this equality, ſimplicity, and moderation, ſhould continue in a more advanced ſtate of ſociety, than that the ſublime tranquillity, and dewy freſhneſs, which adds a nameleſs charm to the face of nature, in the dawn of a ſummer morning, ſhould continue all day. Before increaſed wealth and extended territory; theſe "waſſel days" quickly receded; yet it is pleaſing to indulge the remembrance of a ſpot, where peace and felicity, the reſult of moral excellence, dwelt undiſturbed, for, alas! hardly for a century.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

State of Religion among the Settlers.—Inſtruction of Children devolved on Females—to whom the Charge of Gardening, &c. was alſo committed.—Sketch of the State of the Society at New York.

I MUST finiſh this general outline, by ſaying ſomething of that religion which gave ſtability and effect to the virtues of this infant ſociety. Their religion, then, like their original national character, had in it little of fervour or enthuſiaſm: their manner of performing religious duties was regular and decent, but calm, and to more ardent imaginations might appear mechanical. None ever doubted of the great truths of revelation, yet few ſeemed to dwell on the reſult with that lively delight which devotion produces in minds of keener ſenſibility. If their piety, however, was without enthuſiaſm, it was alſo without bigotry: they wiſhed others to think as

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they did, without ſhewing rancour or contempt towards thoſe who did not. In many individuals, whoſe lives ſeemed governed by the principles of religion, the ſpirit of devotion ſeemed to be quieſcent in the heart, and to break forth in exigencies; yet that monſter in nature, an impious woman, was never heard of among them.

Indeed it was on the females that the taſk of religious inſtruction generally devolved; and in all caſes where the heart is intereſted, whoever teaches, at the ſame time learns.

Before I quit this ſubject, I muſt obſerve a ſingular coincidence; not only the training of children, but of plants, ſuch as needed peculiar care or ſkill to rear them, was the female province. Every one in town or country had a garden; but all the more hardy plants grew in the field, in rows, amidſt the hills, as they were called, of Indian corn. Theſe lofty plants ſheltered them from the ſun, while the ſame hoeing ſerved for both: there cabbages, potatoes, and other eſculent roots, with variety of gourds,

gourds, grew to a great ſize, and were of an excellent quality. Kidney-beans, aſparagus, celery, great variety of ſallads and ſweet herbs, cucumbers, &c., were only admitted into the garden, into which no foot of man intruded, after it was dug in ſpring. Here were no trees, thoſe grew in the orchard in high perfection; in theſe ſtrawberries and many high flavoured wild fruits of the ſhrub kind abounded ſo much in the woods, that they did not think of cultivating them in their gardens, which were extremely neat, but ſmall, and not by any means calculated for walking in. I think I yet ſee what I have ſo often beheld both in town and country, a reſpectable miſtreſs of a family going out to her garden, in an April morning, with her great calaſh, her little painted baſket of ſeeds, and her rake over her ſhoulder, to her garden labours. Theſe were by no means figurative,

"From morn till noon, from noon till dewy eve."

A woman, in very eaſy circumſtances, and abun-

abundantly gentle in form and manners, would ſow, and plant, and rake, inceſſantly. Theſe fair gardeners too were great floriſts: their emulation and ſolicitude in this pleaſing employment, did indeed produce "flowers worthy of Paradiſe." Theſe, though not ſet in "curious knots," were arranged in beds, the varieties of each kind by themſelves; this, if not varied and elegant, was at leaſt rich and gay. To the Schuylers this deſcription did not apply; they had gardeners, and their gardens were laid out in the European manner.

Perhaps I ſhould reſerve my deſcription of the manner of living in that country for that period, when by the exertions of a few humane and enlightened individuals it aſſumed a more regular and determinate form. Yet as the ſame outline was preſerved through all the ſtages of its progreſſion, I know not but that it may be beſt to ſketch it entirely, before I go further; that the few and ſimple facts which my narrative affords may not be clogged by explanations relative to the cuſtoms, or any other pecu-

peculiarities which can only be underſtood by a previous acquaintance with the nature of the country, its political relations, and the manners of the people: my recollection all this while has been merely confined to Albany, and its precincts. At New York there was always a governor, a few troops, and a kind of little court kept; there too was a mixed, and in ſome degree, poliſhed ſociety. To this the acceſſion of many families of French hugonots, rather above the middling rank, contributed not a little: thoſe conſcientious exiles had more knowledge and piety than any other claſs of the inhabitants; their religion ſeemed indeed endeared to them, by what they had ſuffered for adhering to it. Their number and wealth was ſuch, as enabled them to build not only a ſtreet, but a very reſpectable church in the new city. In this place of worſhip ſervice continued to be celebrated in the French language within my recollection, though the original congregation was by that time much blended in the maſs of general ſociety. It was the cuſtom of

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the inhabitants of the upper ſettlement, who had any pretenſions to ſuperior culture or poliſh, among which number Mr. Schuyler ſtood foremoſt, to go once in a year to New York, where all the law-courts were held, and all the important buſineſs of the province transacted, here too they ſent their children occaſionally to reſide with their relations, and to learn the more poliſhed manners and language of the capital. The inhabitants of that city, on the other hand, delighted in a ſummer excurſion to Albany. The beautiful, and in ſome places highly ſingular banks of the river, rendering a voyage to its ſource both amuſing and intereſting, while the primitive manners of the inhabitants diverted the gay and idle, and pleaſed the thoughtful and ſpeculative.

Let me now be indulged in drawing a picture of the abode of my childhood juſt as, at this time, it preſents itſelf to my mind.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Defcription of Albany.— Manner of living there.— Hermitage, &c.

THE city of Albany was ftretched along the banks of Hudfon; one very wide and long ftreet lay parallel to the river, the intermediate fpace between it and the fhore being occupied by gardens. A fmall, but fteep hill rofe above the centre of the town, on which ftood a fort, intended (but very ill adapted) for the defence of the place, and of the neighbouring country. From the foot of this hill, another ftreet was built, floping pretty rapidly down till it joined the one before mentioned that ran along the river. This ftreet was ftill wider than the other; it was only paved on each fide, the middle being occupied by public edifices. Thefe confifted of a market-place, or guard-houfe, a town hall, and the Eng-

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liſh and Dutch churches. The Engliſh church, belonging to the epiſcopal perſuaſion, and in the dioceſe of the biſhop of London, ſtood at the foot of the hill, at the upper end of the ſtreet. The Dutch church was ſituated at the bottom of the deſcent where the ſtreet terminated; two irregular ſtreets, not ſo broad, but equally long, ran parallel to thoſe, and a few even ones opened between them. The town, in proportion to its population, occupied a great ſpace of ground. This city, in ſhort, was a kind of ſemi-rural eſtabliſhment; every houſe had its garden, well, and a little green behind; before every door a tree was planted, rendered intereſting by being coeval with ſome beloved member of the family; many of their trees were of a prodigious ſize and extraordinary beauty, but without regularity, every one planting the kind that beſt pleaſed him, or which he thought would afford the moſt agreeable ſhade to the open portico at his door, which was ſurrounded by ſeats, and aſcended by a

few

few ſteps. It was in theſe that each domeſtic group was ſeated in ſummer evenings to enjoy the balmy twilight, or ſerenely clear moonlight. Each family had a cow, fed in a common paſture at the end of the town. In the evening they returned all together, of their own accord, with their tinkling bells hung at their necks, along the wide and graſſy ſtreet, to their wonted ſheltering trees, to be milked at their maſter's doors. Nothing could be more pleaſing to a ſimple and benevolent mind than to ſee thus, at one view, all the inhabitants of a town, which contained not one very rich or very poor, very knowing or very ignorant, very rude or very poliſhed individual; to ſee all theſe children of nature enjoying in eaſy indolence, or ſocial intercourſe,

"The cool, the fragrant, and the *duſky* hour,"

clothed in the plaineſt habits, and with minds as undiſguiſed and artleſs. Theſe primitive beings were diſperſed in porches grouped according to ſimilarity of years and in-

inclinations. At one door young matrons, at another the elders of the people, at a third the youths and maidens, gaily chatting or ſinging together, while the children play'd round the trees, or waited by the cows, for the chief ingredient of their frugal ſupper, which they generally ate ſitting on the ſteps in the open air. This picture, ſo familiar to my imagination, has led me away from my purpoſe, which was to deſcribe the rural œconomy, and modes of living in this patriarchal city. At one end of the town, as I obſerved before, was a common paſture where all the cattle belonging to the inhabitants grazed together. A never-failing inſtinct guided each home to her maſter's door in the evening, where, being treated with a few vegetables and a little ſat, which is indiſpenſably neceſſary for cattle in this country, they patiently waited the night; and after being milked in the morning, they went off in ſlow and regular proceſſion to their paſture. At the other end of the town was a fertile plain

along the river, three miles in length, and near a mile broad. This was all divided into lots, where every inhabitant raiſed Indian corn ſufficient for the food of two or three ſlaves, (the greateſt number that each family ever poſſeſſed,) and for his horſes, pigs, and poultry: their flour and other grain they purchaſed from farmers in the vicinity. Above the town, a long ſtretch to the weſtward was occupied firſt by ſandy hills, on which grew bilberries of uncommon ſize and flavour in prodigious quantities; beyond, riſe heights of a poor hungry ſoil, thinly covered with ſtunted pines, or dwarf oak. Yet in this comparatively barren tract, there were ſeveral wild and pictureſque ſpots, where ſmall brooks, running in deep and rich bottoms, nouriſhed on their banks every vegetable beauty; there ſome of the moſt induſtrious early ſettlers had cleared the luxuriant wood from theſe charming little glens, and built neat cottages for their ſlaves, ſurrounded with little gardens and orchards, ſheltered from

every blaſt, wildly pictureſque, and richly productive. Thoſe ſmall ſequeſtered vales had an attraction that I know not how to deſcribe, and which probably reſulted from the air of deep repoſe that reigned there, and the ſtrong contraſt which they exhibited to the ſurrounding ſterility. One of theſe was in my time inhabited by a hermit. He was a Frenchman, and did not ſeem to inſpire much veneration among the Albanians. They imagined, or had heard, that he retired to that ſolitude in remorſe for ſome fatal duel in which he had been engaged; and conſidered him as an idolater becauſe he had an image of the Virgin in his hut. I think he retired to Canada at laſt; but I remember being ready to worſhip him for the ſanctity with which my imagination 'nveſted him, and being cruelly diſappointed becauſe I was not permitted to viſit him. Theſe cottages were in ſummer occupied by ſome of the negroes who cultivated the grounds about them, and ſerved as a place of joyful liberty to the children

of the family on holidays, and a nurſery for the young negroes, whom it was the cuſtom to rear very tenderly, and inſtruct very carefully.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Gentle Treatment of Slaves among the Albanians.—Consequent Attachment of Domestics.—Reflections on Servitude.

In the society I am describing, even the dark aspect of slavery was softened into a smile. And I must, in justice to the best possible masters, say, that a great deal of that tranquillity and comfort, to call it by no higher name, which distinguished this society from all others, was owing to the relation between master and servant being better understood here than in any other place. Let me not be detested as an advocate for slavery when I say that I think I have never seen people so happy in servitude as the domestics of the Albanians. One reason was, (for I do not now speak of the virtues of their masters,) that each family had few of them, and that there were no field negroes. They would remind one of

Abraham's ſervants, who were all born in the houſe, which was exactly their caſe. They were baptiſed too, and ſhared the ſame religious inſtruction with the children of the family; and, for the firſt years, there was little or no difference with regard to food or clothing between their children and thoſe of their maſters.

When a negroe-woman's child attained the age of three years, the firſt New Year's Day after it was ſolemnly preſented to a ſon or daughter, or other young relative of the family, who was of the ſame ſex with the child ſo preſented. The child to whom the young negroe was given immediately preſented it with ſome piece of money and a pair of ſhoes; and from that day the ſtrongeſt attachment ſubſiſted between the domeſtic and the deſtined owner. I have no where met with inſtances of friendſhip more tender and generous than that which here ſubſiſted between the ſlaves and their maſters and miſtreſſes. Extraordinary proofs of them have been often given in the courſe of hunting or Indian trading, when

when a young man and his ſlave have gone to the trackleſs woods together, in the caſe of fits of the ague, loſs of a canoe, and other caſualties happening near hoſtile Indians. The ſlave has been known, at the imminent riſk of his life, to carry his diſabled maſter through trackleſs woods with labour and fidelity ſcarce credible; and the maſter has been equally tender on ſimilar occaſions of the humble friend who ſtuck cloſer than a brother; who was baptiſed with the ſame baptiſm, nurtured under the ſame roof, and often rocked in the ſame cradle with himſelf. Theſe gifts of domeſtics to the younger members of the family were not irrevocable: yet they were very rarely withdrawn. If the kitchen family did not increaſe in proportion to that of the maſter, young children were purchaſed from ſome family where they abounded, to furniſh thoſe attached ſervants to the riſing progeny. They were never ſold without conſulting their mother, who, if expert and ſagacious, had a great deal to ſay in the family, and would not

allow her child to go into any family with whose domestics she was not acquainted. These negroe-women piqued themselves on teaching their children to be excellent servants, well knowing servitude to be their lot for life, and that it could only be sweetened by making themselves particularly useful, and excelling in their department. If they did their work well, it is astonishing, when I recollect it, what liberty of speech was allowed to those active and prudent mothers. They would chide, reprove, and expostulate in a manner that we would not endure from our hired servants; and sometimes exert fully as much authority over the children of the family as the parents, conscious that they were entirely in their power. They did not crush freedom of speech and opinion in those by whom they knew they were beloved, and who watched with incessant care over their interest and comfort. Affectionate and faithful as these home-bred servants were in general, there were some instances (but very few) of those who, through levity of mind, or a love of liquor

or

finery, betrayed their truſt, or habitually neglected ther duty. In theſe caſes, after every means had been uſed to reform them, no ſevere puniſhments were inflicted at home. But the terrible ſentence, which they dreaded worſe than death, was paſt—they were ſold to Jamaica. The neceſſity of doing this was bewailed by the whole family as a moſt dreadful calamity, and the culprit was carefully watched on his way to New York, leſt he ſhould evade the ſentence by ſelf-deſtruction.

One muſt have lived among thoſe placid and humane people to be ſenſible that ſervitude, hopeleſs, endleſs ſervitude, could exiſt with ſo little ſervility and fear on the one ſide, and ſo little harſhneſs or even ſternneſs of authority in the other. In Europe, the footing on which ſervice is placed in conſequence of the corruptions of ſociety, hardens the heart, deſtroys confidence, and embitters life. The deceit and venality of ſervants not abſolutely diſhoneſt, puts it out of one's power to love or truſt them. And if in hopes of having people attached

to

to us, who will neither betray our confidence, nor corrupt our children, we are at pains to rear them from childhood, and give them a religious and moral education; after all our labour, others of their own claſs ſeduce them away to thoſe who can afford to pay higher for their ſervices. This is not the caſe in a few remote diſtricts, where ſurrounding mountains ſeem to exclude the contagion of the world, ſome traces of fidelity and affection among domeſtics ſtill remain. But it muſt be remarked that, in thoſe very diſtricts, it is uſual to treat inferiors with courteſy and kindneſs, and to conſider thoſe domeſtics who marry out of the family as holding a kind of relation to it, and ſtill claiming protection. In ſhort, the corruption of that claſs of people is, doubtleſs, to be attributed to the example of their ſuperiors. But how ſeverely are thoſe ſuperiors puniſhed? Why this general indifference about home; why are the houſehold gods, why is the ſacred hearth ſo wantonly abandoned? Alas! the charm of home is deſtroyed, ſince our

children,

children, educated in diſtant ſeminaries, are ſtrangers in the paternal manſion; and our ſervants, like mere machines, move on their mercenary track without feeling or exciting one kind or generous ſentiment. Home, thus deſpoiled of all its charms, is no longer the ſcene of any enjoyments but ſuch as wealth can purchaſe. At the ſame time we feel there a nameleſs cold privation, and conſcious that money can coin the ſame enjoyments with more variety elſewhere. We ſubſtitute theſe futile and evaneſcent pleaſures for that perennial ſpring of calm ſatisfaction, "without o'erflowing full," which is fed by the exerciſe of the kindly affections, and ſoon indeed muſt thoſe ſtagnate where there are not proper objects to excite them. I have been forced into this painful digreſſion by unavoidable compariſons. To return:—

Amidſt all this mild and really tender indulgence to their negroes, theſe coloniſts had not the ſmalleſt ſcruple of conſcience with regard to the right by which they held them in ſubjection. Had that been the caſe, their

their ſingular humanity would have been incompatible with continued injuſtice. But the truth is, that of law the generality of thoſe people knew little; and of philoſophy, nothing at all. They ſought their code of morality in the Bible, and there imagined they found this hapleſs race condemned to perpetual ſlavery; and thought nothing remained for them but to lighten the chains of their fellow Chriſtians, after having made them ſuch. This I neither "extenuate," nor "ſet down in malice," but merely record the fact. At the ſame time it is but juſtice to record alſo a ſingular inſtance of moral delicacy diſtinguiſhing this ſettlement from every other in the like circumſtances, though, from their ſimple and kindly modes of life, they were from infancy in habits of familiarity with theſe humble friends, yet being early taught that nature had placed between them a barrier, which it was in a high degree criminal and diſgraceful to paſs, they conſidered a mixture of ſuch diſtinct races with abhorrence, as a violation of her laws. This greatly conduced

to

to the preſervation of family happineſs and concord. An ambiguous race, which the law does not acknowledge; and who (if they have any moral ſenſe, muſt be as much aſhamed of their parents as theſe laſt are of them) are certainly a dangerous, becauſe degraded part of the community. How much more ſo muſt be thoſe unfortunate beings who ſtand in the predicament of the bat in the fable, whom both birds and beaſts diſowned? I am ſorry to ſay that the progreſs of the Britiſh army, when it arrived, might be traced by a ſpurious and ambiguous race of this kind. But of a mulatto born before their arrival I only remember a ſingle inſtance; and from the regret and wonder it occaſioned, conſidered it as ſingular. Colonel Schuyler, of whom I am to ſpeak, had a relation ſo weak and defective in capacity, that he never was intruſted with any thing of his own, and lived an idle bachelor about the family. In proceſs of time a favourite negroe-woman, to the great offence and ſcandal of the family, bore a child to him, whoſe colour gave teſ-

timony to the relation. The boy was carefully educated; and when he grew up a farm was allotted to him well ſtocked and fertile, but "in depth of woods embraced," about two miles back from the family ſeat. A deſtitute white woman, who had ſomehow wandered from the older colonies, was induced to marry him; and all the branches of the family thought it incumbent on them now and then to pay a quiet viſit to Chalk (for ſo, for ſome unknown reaſon, they always called him). I have been in Chalk's houſe myſelf, and a moſt comfortable abode it was; but conſidered him as a myſterious and anomalous being.

I have dwelt the longer on this ſingular inſtance of ſlavery, exiſting devoid of its attendant horrors, becauſe the fidelity and affection reſulting from a bond of union ſo eaſily formed between maſter and ſervant contributed ſo very much to the ſafety of individuals, as well as the general comfort of ſociety, as will hereafter appear.

CHAP. VIII.

Education and early Habits of the Albanians described.

THE foundations both of friendſhip and ſtill tenderer attachments were here laid very early by an inſtitution which I always thought had been peculiar to Albany, till I found in Dr. Moore's View of Society on the Continent an account of a ſimilar cuſtom ſubſiſting in Geneva. The children of the town were all divided into companies, as they called them, from five or ſix years of age, till they became marriageable. How thoſe companies firſt originated, or what were their exact regulations, I cannot ſay; though I, belonging to none, occaſionally mixed with ſeveral, yet always as a ſtranger, though I ſpoke their current language fluently. Every company contained as many boys as girls. But I do not know that there was

any limited number; only this I recollect, that a boy and a girl of each company, who were older, cleverer, or had ſome other pre-eminence above the reſt, were called heads of the company, and, as ſuch, obeyed by the others. Whether they were voted in, or attained their pre-eminence by a tacit acknowledgement of their ſuperiority, I know not; but however it was attained it was never diſputed. The company of little children had alſo their heads. All the children of the ſame age were not in one company; there were at leaſt three or four of equal ages, who had a ſtrong rivalry with each other; and children of different ages, in the ſame family, belonged to different companies. Wherever there is human nature there will be a degree of emulation, ſtrife, and a deſire to leſſen others, that we may exalt ourſelves. Diſpaſſionate as my friends comparatively were, and bred up in the higheſt attainable candour and innocence, they regarded the company moſt in competition with their own with a degree of jealous animoſity. Each company, at a

 certain

certain time of the year, went in a body to gather a particular kind of berries, to the hills. It was a ſort of annual feſtival, attended with religious punctuality. Every company had an uniform for this purpoſe; that is to ſay, very pretty light baſkets made by the Indians, with lids and handles, which hung over the arm, and were adorned with various colours. One company would never allow the leaſt degree of taſte to the other in this inſtance; and was ſure to vent its whole ſtock of ſpleen in decrying the rival baſkets. Nor would they ever admit that the rival company gathered near ſo much fruit on theſe excurſions as they did. The parents of theſe children ſeemed very much to encourage this manner of marſhalling and dividing themſelves. Every child was permitted to entertain the whole company on its birth-day, and once beſides, during winter and ſpring. The maſter and miſtreſs of the family always were bound to go from home on theſe occaſions, while ſome old domeſtic was left to attend and watch over them, with an ample proviſion

of

of tea, chocolate, preſerved and dried fruits, nuts, and cakes of various kinds, to which was added cyder or a ſyllabub, for theſe young friends met at four, and did not part till nine or ten, and amuſed themſelves with the utmoſt gaiety and freedom in any way their fancy dictated. I ſpeak from hearſay; for no perſon that does not belong to the company is ever admitted to theſe meetings: other children or young people viſit occaſionally, and are civilly treated, but they admit of no intimacies beyond their company. The conſequence of theſe excluſive and early intimacies was, that, grown up, it was reckoned a ſort of apoſtacy to marry out of one's company, and indeed it did not often happen. The girls, from the example of their mothers, rather than any compulſion, became very early notable and induſtrious, being conſtantly employed in knitting ſtockings, and making clothes for the family and ſlaves; they even made all the boys' clothes. This was the more neceſſary, as all articles of clothing were extremely dear. Though all the neceſſaries

of

of life, and ſome luxuries, abounded, money, as yet, was a ſcarce commodity. This induſtry was the more to be admired, as children were here indulged to a degree that, in our vitiated ſtate of ſociety, would have rendered them good for nothing. But there, where ambition, vanity, and the more turbulent paſſions were ſcarce awakened; where pride, founded on birth, or any external pre-eminence, was hardly known; and where the affections flouriſhed fair and vigorous, unchecked by the thorns and thiſtles with which our minds are curſed in a more advanced ſtate of refinement, affection reſtrained parents from keeping their children at a diſtance, and inflicting harſh puniſhments. But then they did not treat them like apes or parrots, by teaching them to talk with borrowed words and ideas, and afterwards gratifying their own vanity by exhibiting theſe premature wonders to company, or repeating their ſayings. They were tenderly cheriſhed, and early taught that they owed all their enjoyments to the divine ſource of beneficence, to whom

they

they were finally accountable for their actions; for the reſt they were very much left to nature, and permitted to range about at full liberty in their earlieſt years, covered in ſummer with ſome ſlight and cheap garb, which merely kept the ſun from them, and in winter with ſome warm habit, in which convenience only was conſulted. Their dreſs of ceremony was never put on but when their *company* were aſſembled. They were extremely fond of their children; but, luckily for the latter, never dreamed of being vain of their immature wit and parts, which accounts, in ſome meaſure, for the great ſcarcity of coxcombs among them. The children returned the fondneſs of their parents with ſuch tender affection, that they feared giving them pain as much as ours do puniſhment, and very rarely wounded their feelings by neglect, or rude anſwers. Yet the boys were often wilful and giddy at a certain age, the girls being ſooner tamed and domeſticated.

Theſe youths were apt, whenever they could carry a gun, (which they did at a very

very early period,) to follow ſome favourite negroe to the woods, and, while he was employed in felling trees, range the whole day in ſearch of game, to the neglect of all intellectual improvement, and contract a love of ſavage liberty which might, and in ſome inſtances did, degenerate into licentious and idle habits. Indeed, there were three ſtated periods in the year when, for a few days, young and old, maſters and ſlaves, were abandoned to unruly enjoyment, and neglected every ſerious occupation for purſuits of this nature.

We who occupy countries fully inhabited can form no idea of the multitude of birds and animals that nature provides to conſume her waſte fertility in thoſe regions unexplored by man. In the interior of the province the winter is much colder than might be ſuppoſed, from the latitude in which it lies, which is only 42° 36′, from the keen north winds which blow conſtantly for four or five months over vaſt frozen lakes and ſnowy tracts, in the direction of Canada. The ſnow too lies very deep; but when once

once they are viſited by the ſouth wind in March, its literally warm approach diſſolves the ſnow like magic; and one never ſees another wintry day till the ſeaſon of cold returns. Theſe ſouthern winds ſeem to flow in a rapid current, uninterrupted by mountains or other obſtacles, from the burning ſands of the Floridas, Georgia, and the Carolinas, and bring with them a degree of warmth, that appears no more the natural reſult of the ſituation, than the intenſe cold of winter does in that ſeaſon.

Along the ſea banks in all theſe ſouthern provinces, are low ſandy lands, that never were or will be inhabited, covered with the berry-bearing myrtle, from which wax is extracted fit for candles. Behind theſe banks are woods and unwholeſome ſwamps of great extent. The myrtle groves formerly mentioned afford ſhelter and food to countleſs multitudes of pigeons in winter, when their fruit is in ſeaſon; while wild geeſe and ducks, in numbers nearly as great, paſs the winter in the impenetrable ſwamps behind. Some time in the month

of

of April, a general emigration takes place to the northward, firſt of the geeſe and ducks, and then of the pigeons; they keep the direction of the ſea coaſt till they come to the mouths of the great rivers, and then follow their courſe till they reach the great lakes in the interior, where nature has provided for them with the ſame liberality as in their winter haunts. On the banks of theſe lakes there are large tracts of ground, covered with a plant taller and more luxuriant than the wild carrot, but ſomething reſembling it, on the ſeeds of which the pigeons feed all the ſummer, while they are breeding and rearing their young. When they paſs in ſpring, which they always do in the ſame track, they go in great numbers, and are very fat. Their progreſſion northward and ſouthward begins always about the vernal and autumnal equinoxes; and it is this that renders the carnage ſo great when they paſs over inhabited diſtricts. They begin to fly in the dawn, and are never ſeen after nine or ten o'clock in the morning, poſſibly feeding and reſting in the woods

woods all the reſt of the day. If the morning be dry and windy, all the fowlers (that is every body) are diſappointed, for then they fly ſo high that no ſhot can reach them; but in a cloudy morning the carnage is incredible; and it is ſingular that their removal falls out at the times of the year that the weather (even in this ſerene climate) is generally cloudy. This migration, as it paſſed by, occaſioned, as I ſaid before, a total relaxation from all employments, and a kind of drunken gaiety, though it was rather ſlaughter than ſport; and, for above a fortnight, pigeons in pies and ſoups, and every way they could be dreſſed, were the food of the inhabitants. Theſe were immediately ſucceeded by wild geeſe and ducks, which concluded the carnival for that ſeaſon, to be renewed in September. About ſix weeks after the paſſage of theſe birds, ſturgeon of a large ſize, and in great quantity, made their appearance in the river. Now the ſame ardour ſeemed to pervade all ages in purſuit of this new object. Every family had a canoe; and on this occaſion

all

all were launched; and these persevering fishers traced the course of the sturgeon up the river; followed them by torch light; and often continued two nights upon the water, never returning till they had loaded their canoes with this valuable fish, and many other very excellent in their kinds, that come up the river at the same time. The sturgeon not only furnished them with good part of their food in the summer months, but was pickled or dried for future use or exportation.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Description of the Manner in which the Indian Traders set out on their first Adventure.

To return to the boys, as all young men were called here till they married. Thus early trained to a love of sylvan sports, their characters were unfolded by contingencies. In this infant society penal laws lay dormant, and every species of coercion was unknown.

Morals, founded on christianity, were fostered by the sweet influence of the charities of life. The reverence which children in particular had for their parents, and the young in general for the old, was the chief bond that held society together. This veneration, being founded on esteem, certainly could only have existed thus powerfully in an uncorrupted community. It had, however, an auxiliary no less powerful.

Here,

Here, indeed, it might with truth be ſaid,

"Love breath'd his infant ſighs from anguiſh free."

In conſequence of the ſingular mode of aſſociating together little excluſive parties of children of both ſexes, which has been already mentioned, endearing intimacies, formed in the age of playful innocence, were the precurſors of more tender attachments.

Theſe were not wrought up to romantic enthuſiaſm, or extravagant paſſion by an inflamed imagination, or by the fears of rivalry, or the artifices of coquetry, yet they had power ſufficient to ſoften the manners and elevate the character of the lover.

I know not if this be the proper place to obſerve, how much of the general order of ſociety, and the happineſs of a people, depends on marriage being early and univerſal among them: but of this more hereafter. The deſire (undiverted by any other paſſion) of obtaining the object of their af-

 ſection,

fection, was to them a ſtimulus to early and ſevere exertion. The enamoured youth did not liſtleſsly fold his arms and ſigh over his hopeleſs or unfortunate paſſion. Of love not fed by hope they had not an idea. Their attachments originated at too early an age, and in a circle too familiar to give room for thoſe firſt ſight impreſſions of which we hear ſuch wonders. If the temper of the youth was raſh and impetuous, and his fair one gentle and complying, they frequently formed a raſh and precipitate union without conſulting their relations, when perhaps the elder of the two was not above ſeventeen. This was very quietly borne by the parties aggrieved. The relations of both parties met, and with great calmneſs conſulted on what was to be done. The father of the youth or the damſel, whichever it was who had moſt wealth, or feweſt children, brought home the young couple; and the new married man immediately ſet about a trading adventure, which was renewed every ſeaſon, till he had the means of pro-

viding

viding a home of his own. Meantime the increaſe of the younger family did not ſeem an inconvenience, but rather a ſource of delight to the old people; and an arrangement begun from neceſſity was often continued through choice for many years after. Their tempers, unruffled by the endleſs jealouſies and competitions incident to our mode of life, were ſingularly placid, and the love of offſpring, where children were truly an unmixed bleſſing, was a common ſentiment which united all the branches of the family and predominated over every other. The jarring and diſtruſt, the petulance and *egotiſm*, which, diſtinct from all weightier conſiderations, would not fail to poiſon concord, were different families to dwell under one roof here, were there ſcarcely known. It is but juſtice to our acquired delicacy of ſentiment to ſay, that the abſence of refinement contributed to this tranquillity. Theſe primitive people, if they did not gather the flowers of cultivated elegance, were not wounded by the thorns of irrita-

ble delicacy: they had neither artificial wants, nor artificial miſeries. In ſhort, they were neither too wiſe to be happy, nor too witty to be at reſt.

Thus it was in the caſe of unauthorized marriages. In the more ordinary courſe of things, love, which makes labour light, tamed theſe young hunters, and transformed them into diligent and laborious traders, for the nature of their trade included very ſevere labour. When one of the *boys* was deeply ſmitten, his fowling-piece and fiſhing rod were at once relinquiſhed. He demanded of his father forty or at moſt fifty dollars, a negroe boy, and a canoe; all of a ſudden he aſſumed the brow of care and ſolicitude, and began to ſmoke, a precaution abſolutely neceſſary to repel aguiſh damps, and troubleſome inſects. He arrayed himſelf in a habit very little differing from that of the Aborigines, into whoſe bounds he was about to penetrate, and in ſhort commenced Indian trader. That ſtrange amphibious animal, who, uniting the acute ſenſes, ſtrong in-

ſtincts, and unconquerable patience and fortitude of the ſavage, with the art, policy, and inventions of the European, encountered in the purſuit of gain dangers and difficulties equal to thoſe deſcribed in the romantic legends of chivalry.

The ſmall bark canoe in which this hardy adventurer embarked himſelf, his fortune, and his faithful *ſquire*, (who was generally born in the ſame houſe, and predeſtined to his ſervice,) was launched amidſt the tears and prayers of his female relations, amongſt whom was generally included his deſtined bride, who well knew herſelf to be the motive of this perilous adventure.

The canoe was entirely filled with coarſe ſtrouds and blankets, guns, powder, beads, &c. ſuited to the various wants and fancies of the natives; one pernicious article was never wanting, and often made a great part of the cargo. This was ardent ſpirits, for which the natives too early acquired a reliſh, and the poſſeſſion of which always proved dangerous, and ſometimes fatal to the traders. The Mohawks bringing their furs

 and

and other peltry habitually to the ſtores of their wonted friends and patrons. It was not in that eaſy and ſafe direction that theſe trading adventures extended. The canoe generally ſteered northward towards the Canadian frontier. They paſſed by the flats and ſtonehook in the outſet of their journey. Then commenced their toils and dangers at the famous water-fall called the Cohoes, ten miles above Albany, where three rivers, uniting their ſtreams into one, daſh over a rocky ſhelf, and falling into a gulph below with great violence, raiſe clouds of miſt bedecked with ſplendid rainbows. This was the Rubicon which they had to paſs before they plunged into pathleſs woods, ingulphing ſwamps, and lakes, the oppoſite ſhores of which the eye could not reach. At the Cohoes, on account of the obſtruction formed by the torrent, they unloaded their canoe, and carried it above a mile further upon their ſhoulders, returning again for the cargo, which they were obliged to tranſport in the ſame manner. This was but a prelude to labours

bours and dangers, incredible to thoſe who dwell at eaſe. Further on, much longer carrying places frequently recurred; where they had the veſſel and cargo to drag through thickets impervious to the day, abounding with ſnakes and wild beaſts, which are always to be found on the ſide of rivers.

Their proviſion of food was neceſſarily ſmall, for fear of over-loading the ſlender and unſtable conveyance already crouded with goods. A little dried beef and Indian corn-meal was their whole ſtock, though they formerly enjoyed both plenty and variety. They were in a great meaſure obliged to depend upon their own ſkill in hunting and fiſhing, and the hoſpitality of the Indians: for hunting, indeed, they had ſmall leiſure, their time being ſeduloufly employed in conſequence of the obſtacles that retarded their progreſs. In the ſlight and fragile canoes, they often had to croſs great lakes, on which the wind raiſed a terrible ſurge. Afraid of going into the track of the French traders, who

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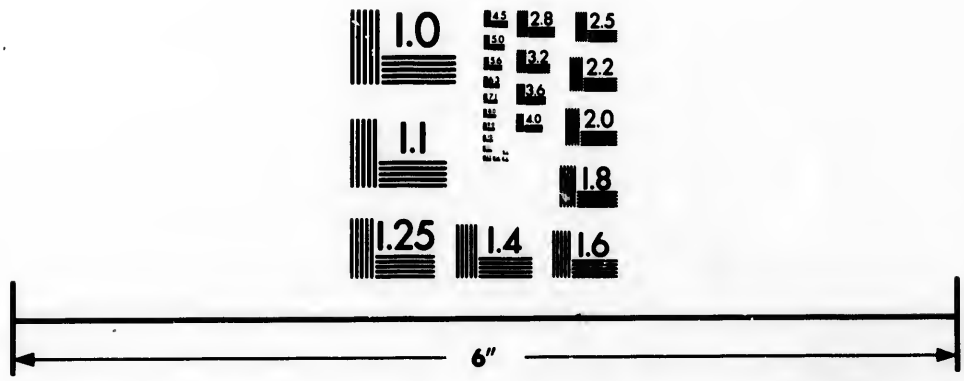

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were always dangerous rivals, and often declared enemies, they durſt not follow the direction of the river St. Lawrence; but, in ſearch of diſtant territories and unknown tribes, were wont to deviate to the eaſt and ſouth-weſt, forcing their painful way towards the ſource of "rivers unknown to ſong," whoſe winding courſe was often interrupted by ſhallows, and oftener ſtill by fallen trees of great magnitude lying acroſs, which it was requiſite to cut through with their hatchets before they could proceed. Small rivers which wind through fertile valleys, in this country, are peculiarly liable to this obſtruction. The cheſnut and hiccory grew to ſo large a ſize in this kind of ſoil, that in time they become top heavy, and are then the firſt prey to the violence of the winds; and thus falling, form a kind of accidental bridge over theſe rivers.

When the toils and dangers of the day were over, the ſtill greater terrors of the night commenced. In this, which might literally be ſtiled the howling wilderneſs, they were forced to ſleep in the open air, which

which was frequently loaded with the humid evaporation of ſwamps, ponds, and redundant vegetation. Here the axe muſt be again employed to procure the materials of a large fire even in the warmeſt weather. This precaution was neceſſary, that the flies and muſkitoes might be expelled by the ſmoke, and that the wolves and bears might be deterred by the flame from incroaching on their place of reſt. But the light which afforded them protection created freſh diſturbance.

"Loud as the wolves on Orca's ſtormy ſteep,
Howl to the roarings of the northern deep,"

the American wolves howl to the fires kindled to affright them, watching the whole night on the ſurrounding hills to keep up a concert which truly "rendered night hideous:" meantime the bull-frogs, terrible though harmleſs, and ſmaller kinds of various tones and countleſs numbers, ſeemed all night calling to each other from oppoſite ſwamps, forming the moſt diſmal aſſemblage of diſcordant

ſounds. Though ſerpents abounded very much in the woods: few of them were noxious. The rattle-ſnake, the only dangerous reptile, was not ſo frequently met with as in the neighbouring provinces; and the remedy which nature has beſtowed as an antidote to his bite, was very generally known. The beauties of rural and varied ſcenery ſeldom compenſated the traveller for the dangers of his journey. "In the cloſe priſon of innumerous boughs," and on ground thick with under-wood, there was little of landſcape open to the eye. The banks of ſtreams and lakes no doubt afforded a rich variety of trees and plants: the former of a moſt majeſtic ſize, the latter of ſingular beauty and luxuriance; but otherwiſe they only travelled through a grove of cheſnuts or oak, to arrive at another of maple, or poplar, or a vaſt ſtretch of pines and other ever-greens. If by chance they arrived at a hill crowned with cedars, which afforded ſome command of proſpect, ſtill the gloomy and interminable foreſt, only varied with dif-

different ſhades of green, met the eye which ever way it turned, while the mind, repelled by ſolitude ſo vaſt, and ſilence ſo profound, turned inward on itſelf. Nature here wore a veil rich and grand, but impenetrable: at leaſt this was the impreſſion it was likely to make on an European mind; but a native American, familiar from childhood with the productions and inhabitants of the woods, ſought the nuts and wild fruits with which they abounded; the nimble ſquirrel in all its varied forms, the architect beaver, the ſavage racoon, and the ſtately elk; where we ſhould ſee nothing but awful ſolitudes untrod by human foot. It is inconceivable how well theſe young travellers, taught by their Indian friends, and their experimental knowledge of their fathers, underſtood every ſoil and its productions. A boy of twelve years old would aſtoniſh you with his accurate knowledge of plants, their properties, and their relation to the ſoil and to each other. "Here," ſaid he, "is a wood of red oak, when it is grubbed

" up this will be loam and ſand, and make
" good Indian-corn ground. This cheſnut
" wood abounds with ſtrawberries, and is
" the very beſt ſoil for wheat. The poplar
" wood yonder is not worth clearing; the
" ſoil is always wet and cold. There is a
" hiccory wood, where the ſoil is always rich
" and deep, and does not run out; ſuch and
" ſuch plants that dye blue, or orange, grew
" under it."

This is merely a ſlight epitome of the wide views of nature that are laid open to theſe people from their very infancy, the acquiſition of this kind of knowledge being one of their firſt amuſements; yet thoſe who were capable of aſtoniſhing you by the extent and variety of this local ſkill, in objects ſo varied and ſo complicated, never heard of a petal, corolla, or ſtigma in their lives, nor even of the ſtrata of that ſoil with the productions and properties of which they were ſo intimately acquainted.

Without compaſs, or guide of any kind, the traders ſteered through theſe pathleſs foreſts. In thoſe gloomy days when

when the ſun is not viſible, or in winter; when the falling ſnows obſcured his beams, they made an inciſion on the bark on the different ſides of a tree; that on the north was invariably thicker than the other, and covered with moſs in much greater quantity. And this never failing indication of the polar influence, was to thoſe ſagacious travellers a ſufficient guide. They had indeed ſeveral ſubordinate monitors. Knowing ſo well as they did the quality of the ſoil by the trees or plants moſt prevalent, they could avoid a ſwamp, or approach with certainty to a river or high ground if ſuch was their wiſh, by means that to us would ſeem incomprehenſible. Even the ſavages ſeldom viſited theſe diſtricts, except in the dead of winter; they had towns, as they called their ſummer dwellings, on the banks of the lakes and rivers in the interior, where their great fiſhing places were. In the winter, their grand hunting parties were in places more remote from our boundaries, where the deer and other larger animals took ſhelter

from

from the neighbourhood of man. These single adventurers sought the Indians in their spring haunts as soon as the rivers were open; there they had new dangers to apprehend. It is well known that among the natives of America, revenge was actually a virtue, and retaliation a positive duty; while faith was kept with these people they never became aggressors. But the Europeans, by the force of bad example, and strong liquors, seduced them from their wonted probity. Yet from the first their notion of justice and revenge was of that vague and general nature, that if they considered themselves injured, or if one of their tribe had been killed by an inhabitant of any one of our settlements, they considered any individual of our nation as a proper subject for retribution. This seldom happened among our allies; never indeed, but when the injury was obvious, and our people very culpable. But the avidity of gain often led our traders to deal with Indians, among whom the French possessed a degree of influence, which produced a

smothered

ſmothered animoſity to our nation. When at length, after conquering numberleſs obſtacles, they arrived at the place of their deſtination, theſe daring adventurers found occaſion for no little addreſs, patience, and indeed courage, before they could diſpoſe of their cargo, and return ſafely with the profits.

The ſucceſsful trader had now laid the foundation of his fortune, and approved himſelf worthy of her for whoſe ſake he encountered all theſe dangers. It is utterly inconceivable, how even a ſingle ſeaſon, ſpent in this manner, ripened the mind, and changed the whole appearance, nay the very character of the countenance of theſe demi-ſavages, for ſuch they ſeem on returning from among their friends in the foreſts. Lofty, ſedate, and collected, they ſeem maſters of themſelves, and independent of others; though ſun-burnt and auſtere, one ſcarce knows them till they unbend. By this Indian likeneſs, I do not think them by any means degraded. One muſt have ſeen theſe people, (the In-

dians I mean,) to have any idea what a noble animal man is, while unſophiſticated. I have been often amuſed with the deſcriptions that philoſophers, in their cloſets, who never in their lives ſaw man, but in his improved or degraded ſtate, give of uncivilized people; not recollecting that they are at the ſame time uncorrupted. Voyagers, who have not their language, and merely ſee them tranſiently, to wonder and be wondered at, are equally ſtrangers to the real character of man in a ſocial, though unpoliſhed ſtate. It is no criterion to judge of this ſtate of ſociety by the roaming ſavages (truly ſuch) who are met with on theſe inhoſpitable coaſts, where nature is niggardly of her gifts, and where the ſkies frown continually on her hard-fated children. For ſome good reaſon to us unknown, it is requiſite that human beings ſhould be ſcattered through all habitable ſpace, "till gradual life goes out beneath the pole:" and to beings ſo deſtined, what miſery would reſult from ſocial tenderneſs and fine perceptions. Of the claſs

of

of ſocial beings (for ſuch indeed they were) of whom I ſpeak, let us judge from the traders who know their language and cuſtoms, and from the adopted priſoners who have ſpent years among them. How unequivocal, how conſiſtent is the teſtimony they bear to their humanity, friendſhip, fortitude, fidelity, and generoſity; but the indulgence of the recollections thus ſuggeſted have already led me too far from my ſubject.

The joy that the return of theſe youths occaſioned was proportioned to the anxiety their perilous journey had produced. In ſome inſtances the union of the lovers immediately took place before the next career of gainful hardſhips commenced. But the more cautious went to New York in winter, diſpoſed of their peltry, purchaſed a larger cargo, and another ſlave and canoe. The next year they laid out the profits of their former adventures in flour and proviſions, the ſtaple of the province; this they diſpoſed of at the Bermuda Iſlands, where they generally purchaſed one of thoſe light-ſailing

cedar

cedar ſchooners, for building of which thoſe iſlanders are famous, and proceeding to the Leeward Iſlands, loaded it with a cargo of rum, ſugar, and molaſſes.

They were now ripened into men, and conſidered as active and uſeful members of ſociety, poſſeſſing a ſtake in the common weal.

The young adventurer had generally finiſhed this proceſs by the time he was one or, at moſt, two and twenty. He now married, or if married before, which pretty often was the caſe, brought home his wife to a houſe of his own. Either he kept his ſchooner, and, loading her with produce, ſailed up and down the river all ſummer, and all winter diſpoſed of the cargoes he obtained in exchange to more diſtant ſettlers; or he ſold her, purchaſed European goods, and kept a ſtore. Otherwiſe he ſettled in the country, and became as diligent in his agricultural purſuits as if he had never known any other.

CHAP. X.

Marriages, Amuſements, rural Excurſions, &c. among the Albanians.

It was in this manner that the young coloniſt made the tranſition from boyhood to manhood; from the diſengaged and careleſs bachelor, to the provident and thoughtful father of a family; and thus was ſpent that period of life ſo critical in poliſhed ſociety to thoſe whoſe condition exempts them from manual labour. Love, undiminiſhed by any rival paſſion, and cheriſhed by innocence and candour, was here fixed by the power of early habit, and ſtrengthened by ſimilarity of education, taſtes, and attachments. Inconſtancy or even indifference among married couples was unheard of, even where there happened to be a conſiderable diſparity in point of intellect. The extreme affection they bore their mutual offſpring was a bond that for

ever

ever endeared them to each other. Marriage in this colony was always early, very often happy, and very ſeldom indeed intereſted. When a man had no ſon there was nothing to be expected with a daughter but a well-brought-up female ſlave, and the furniture of the beſt bed-chamber. At the death of her father ſhe obtained another diviſion of his effects, ſuch as he thought ſhe needed or deſerved, for there was no rule in theſe caſes.

Such was the manner in which thoſe coloniſts began life; nor muſt it be thought that thoſe were mean or uninformed perſons. Patriots, magiſtrates, generals, thoſe who were afterwards wealthy, powerful, and diſtinguiſhed, all, except a few elder brothers, occupied by their poſſeſſions at home, ſet out in the ſame manner; and in after life, even in the moſt proſperous circumſtances, they delighted to recount the "humble toils and deſtiny obſcure" of their early years.

The very idea of being aſhamed of any thing

thing that was neither vicious nor indecent never entered an Albanian head. Early accuſtomed to this noble ſimplicity, this dignified candour, I cannot expreſs the contempt and diſguſt I felt at the ſhame of honourable poverty. The extreme deſire of concealing our real condition, and appearing what we are not, that peculiarly characterizes, I had almoſt ſaid diſgraces, the northern part more particularly of this iſland. I have often wondered how this vile ſentiment, that undermines all true greatneſs of mind, ſhould prevail more here than in England, where wealth, beyond a doubt, is more reſpected, at leaſt preponderates more over birth, and heart, and mind, and many other valuable conſiderations. As a people we certainly are not ſordid, why then ſhould we deſcend to the meanneſs of being aſhamed of our condition, while we have not done any thing to degrade ourſelves? Why add a ſting to poverty, and a plume to vanity, by the poor tranſparent artifice that conceals nothing, and only changes pity into ſcorn?

Before

Before I quit the ſubject of Albanian manners I muſt deſcribe their amuſements, and ſome other peculiarities in their modes of life. When I ſay their amuſements, I mean thoſe in which they differed from moſt other people. Such as they had in common with others require no deſcription. They were exceedingly ſocial, and viſited each other very frequently, beſide the regular aſſembling together in their porches every fine evening. Of the more ſubſtantial luxuries of the table they knew little, and of the formal and ceremonious parts of good breeding ſtill leſs.

If you went to ſpend a day any where, you were received in a manner we ſhould think very cold. No one roſe to welcome you; no one wondered you had not come ſooner, or apologized for any deficiency in your entertainment. Dinner, which was very early, was ſerved exactly in the ſame manner as if there were only the family. The houſe indeed was ſo exquiſitely neat and well regulated, that you could not ſurpriſe them; and they ſaw each other ſo

often

often and ſo eaſily, that intimates made no difference. Of ſtrangers they were ſhy; not by any means from want of hoſpitality, but from a conſciouſneſs that people who had little to value themſelves on but their knowledge of the modes and ceremonies of poliſhed life, diſliked their ſincerity, and deſpiſed their ſimplicity. If you ſhewed no inſolent wonder, but eaſily and quietly adopted their manners, you would receive from them not only very great civility, but much eſſential kindneſs. Whoever has not common ſenſe and common gratitude enough to pay this tribute of accommodation to thoſe among whom he is deſtined for the time to live, muſt of courſe be an inſulated, diſcontented being; and come home railing at the people whoſe ſocial comforts he diſdained to partake. After ſharing this plain and unceremonious dinner, which might, by the bye, chance to be a very good one, but was invariably that which was meant for the family, tea was ſerved in at a very early hour. And here it was that the diſtinction ſhewn to ſtrangers commenced.

commenced. Tea here was a perfect regale; accompanied by various ſorts of cakes unknown to us, cold paſtry, and great quantities of ſweetmeats and preſerved fruits of various kinds, and plates of hiccory and other nuts ready cracked. In all manner of confectionary and paſtry theſe people excelled; and having fruit in great abundance, which coſt them nothing, and getting ſugar home at an eaſy rate, in return for their exports to the Weſt Indies, the quantity of theſe articles uſed in families, otherwiſe plain and frugal, was aſtoniſhing. Tea was never unaccompanied with ſome of theſe petty articles; but for ſtrangers a great diſplay was made. If you ſtaid ſupper, you were ſure of a moſt ſubſtantial though plain one. In this meal they departed, out of compliment to the ſtrangers, from their uſual ſimplicity. Having dined between twelve and one you were quite prepared for it. You had either game or poultry roaſted, and always ſhell-fiſh in the ſeaſon: you had alſo fruit in abundance. All this with much neatneſs but no form. The ſeeming coldneſs with which you were

firſt

firſt received wore off by degrees. They could not accommodate their topics to you, and ſcarcely attempted it. But the converſation of the old, though limited in regard to ſubjects, was rational and eaſy, and had in it an air of originality and truth not without its attractions. That of the young was natural and playful, yet full of localities, which leſſened its intereſt to a ſtranger, but which were extremely amuſing when you became one of the initiated.

Their amuſements were marked by a ſimplicity which, to ſtrangers, appeared rude and childiſh, (I mean thoſe of the younger claſs.) In ſpring, eight or ten of the young people of one company, or related to each other, young men and maidens, would ſet out together in a canoe on a kind of rural excurſion, of which amuſement was the object. Yet ſo fixed were their habits of induſtry, that they never failed to carry their work-baſkets with them, not as a form, but as an ingredient neceſſarily mixed with their pleaſures. They had no attendants; and ſteered a

devious course of four, five, or perhaps more, miles, till they arrived at some of the beautiful islands with which this fine river abounded, or at some sequestered spot on its banks, where delicious wild fruits, or particular conveniencies for fishing, afforded some attraction. There they generally arrived by nine or ten o'clock, having set out in the cool and early hour of sun-rise. Often they met another party going, perhaps, to a different place, and joined them, or induced them to take their route. A basket with tea, sugar, and the other usual provisions for breakfast, with the apparatus for cooking it; a little rum and fruit for making cool weak punch, the usual beverage in the middle of the day, and now and then some cold pastry, was the sole provision; for the great affair was to depend on the sole exertions of the *boys*, in procuring fish, wild ducks, &c. for their dinner. They were all, like Indians, ready and dexterous with the axe, gun, &c. Whenever they arrived at their destination they sought out a dry and beautiful spot opposite to the river,

river, and in an inſtant with their axes cleared ſo much ſuperfluous ſhade or ſhrubbery as left a ſemicircular opening, above which they bent and twined the boughs, ſo as to form a pleaſant bower, while the girls gathered dried branches, to which one of the youths ſoon ſet fire with gunpowder, and the breakfaſt, a very regular and cheerful one, occupied an hour or two; the young men then ſet out to fiſh, or perhaps to ſhoot birds, and the maidens ſat buſily down to their work, ſinging and converſing with all the eaſe and gaiety the bright ſerenity of the atmoſphere and beauty of the ſurrounding ſcene were calculated to inſpire. After the ſultry hours had been thus employed, the *boys* brought their tribute from the river or the wood, and found a rural meal prepared by their fair companions, among whom were generally their ſiſters and the choſen of their hearts. After dinner they all ſet out together to gather wild ſtrawberries, or whatever other fruit was in ſeaſon; for it was accounted a reflection to come home empty handed.

When wearied of this amuſement, they either drank tea in their bower, or returning, landed at ſome friend's on the way, to partake of that refreſhment. Here, indeed,

> "Youths' free ſpirit, innocently gay,
> Enjoyed the moſt that innocence could give."

Another of their ſummer amuſements was going to the buſh, which was thus managed: a party of young people ſet out in little open carriages, ſomething in the form of a gig, of which every family had one; every one carried ſomething with him, as in theſe caſes there was no hunting to add proviſion. One brought wine for negus, another tea and coffee of a ſuperior quality, a third a pigeon pye; in ſhort, every one brought ſomething, no matter how trifling, for there was no emulation about the extent of the contribution. In this ſame buſh, there were ſpots to which the poorer members of the community retired, to work their way with patient induſtry, through much privation and hardſhip, compared

compared to the plenty and comfort enjoyed by the reſt. They perhaps could only afford to have one negroe-woman, whoſe children, as they grew up, became to their maſter a ſource of plenty and eaſe: but in the mean time the good man wrought hard himſelf, with a little occaſional aid ſent him by his friends. He had plenty of the neceſſaries of life, but no luxuries. His wife and daughters milked the cows and wrought at the hay, and his houſe was on a ſmaller ſcale than the older ſettlers had theirs, yet he had always one neatly furniſhed room. A very clean houſe, with a pleaſant portico before it, generally a fine ſtream beſide his dwelling, and ſome Indian wigwams near it. He was wood-ſurrounded, and ſeemed abſolutely to live in the boſom of nature, ſcreened from all the artificial ills of life; and thoſe ſpots cleared of incumbrances, yet rich in native luxuriance, had a wild originality about them not eaſily deſcribed. The young parties, or ſometimes elder ones, who ſet out on this woodland excurſion, had no fixed

deſtination; they went generally in the forenoon, and when they were tired of going on the ordinary road, turned into the *buſh*, and whenever they ſaw an inhabited ſpot, with the appearance of which they were pleaſed, went in with all the eaſe of intimacy, and told them they were come to ſpend the afternoon there. The good people, not in the leaſt ſurprized at this incurſion, very calmly opened the reſerved apartments, or if it were very hot, received them in the portico. The gueſts produced their ſtores, and they boiled their tea kettle, and provided cream, nuts, or any peculiar dainty of the woods which they chanced to have; and they always furniſhed bread and butter, which they had excellent of their kinds. They were invited to ſhare the collation, which they did with great eaſe and frankneſs: then dancing, or any other amuſement that ſtruck their fancy, ſucceeded. They ſauntered about the bounds in the evening, and returned by moonlight. Theſe good people felt not the leaſt embarraſſed at the ruſ-

tic

tic plainneſs of every thing about them; they conſidered themſelves as on the way, after a little longer exertion of patient induſtry, to have every thing that the others had: and their gueſts thought it an agreeable variety in this abrupt manner to viſit their ſequeſtered abodes.

CHAP. X.

Winter Amuſements of the Albanians, &c.

In winter the river, frozen to a great depth, formed the principal road through the country, and was the ſcene of all thoſe amuſements of ſkating, and ſledge races, common to the north of Europe. They uſed in great parties to viſit their friends at a diſtance, and having an excellent and hardy breed of horſes, flew from place to place over the ſnow or ice in theſe ſledges with incredible rapidity, ſtopping a little while at every houſe they came to, and always well received, whether acquainted with the owners or not. The night never impeded theſe travellers, for the atmoſphere was ſo pure and ſerene, and the ſnow ſo reflected the moon and ſtar-light, that the nights exceeded the days in beauty.

In

In town all the *boys* were extravagantly fond of a diverſion that to us would appear a very odd and childiſh one. The great ſtreet of the town, in the midſt of which, as has been formerly mentioned, ſtood all the churches and public buildings, ſloped down from the hill on which the fort ſtood, towards the river; between the buildings was an unpaved carriage road, the foot-path beſide the houſes being the only part of the ſtreet which was paved. In winter this ſloping deſcent, continued for more than a quarter of a mile, acquired firmneſs from the froſt, and became extremely ſlippery. Then the amuſement commenced. Every boy and youth in town, from eight to eighteen, had a little low ſledge, made with a rope like a bridle to the front, by which it could be dragged after one by the hand. On this one or two at moſt could ſit, and this ſloping deſcent being made as ſmooth as a looking-glaſs, by ſliders' ſledges, &c. perhaps a hundred at once ſet out in ſucceſſion from the top of this ſtreet, each ſeated in his

little ſledge with the rope in his hand, which, drawn to the right or left, ſerved to guide him. He puſhed it off with a little ſtick, as one would launch a boat; and then, with the moſt aſtoniſhing velocity, precipitated by the weight of the owner, the little machine glided paſt, and was at the lower end of the ſtreet in an inſtant. What could be ſo peculiarly delightful in this rapid and ſmooth deſcent, I could never diſcover; though in a more retired place, and on a ſmaller ſcale, I have tried the amuſement: but to a young Albanian, ſlaying, as he called it, was one of the firſt joys of life, though attended with the drawback of walking to the top of the declivity dragging his ſledge every time he renewed his flight, for ſuch it might well be called. In the managing this little machine ſome dexterity was neceſſary: an unſkilful Phæton was ſure to fall. The conveyance was ſo low, that a fall was attended with little danger, yet with much diſgrace, for an univerſal laugh from all ſides aſſailed the fallen charioteer.

This

This laugh was from a very full chorus, for the conſtant and rapid ſucceſſion of this proceſſion, where every one had a brother, lover, or kinſman, brought all the young people in town to the porticos, where they uſed to ſit wrapt in furs till ten or eleven at night, engroſſed by this delectable ſpectacle. What magical attraction it could poſſibly have, I never could find out; but, I have known an Albanian, after reſiding ſome years in Britain, and becoming a poliſhed fine gentleman, join the ſport, and ſlide down with the reſt. Perhaps, after all our laborious refinements in amuſement, being eaſily pleaſed is one of the great ſecrets of happineſs, as far as it is attainable in this "frail and feveriſh being."

Now there remains another amuſement to be deſcribed, which I mention with reluctance, and ſhould ſcarce venture to mention at all, had I not found a precedent for it among the virtuous Spartans. Had Lycurgus himſelf been the founder of their community, the young men could ſcarce have ſtolen with more alacrity and

dexterity. I could never conjecture how the cuſtom could poſſibly originate among a ſet of people of ſuch perfect and plain integrity. But thus it was. The young men now and then ſpent a convivial evening at a tavern together, where from the extreme cheapneſs of liquor, their bills (even when they committed an occaſional exceſs) were very moderate. Either to leſſen the expence of the ſupper, or from the pure love of what they ſtiled frolick, (Anglicè miſchief,) they never failed to ſteal either a roaſting pig or a fat turkey for this feſtive occaſion. The town was the ſcene of theſe depredations, which never extended beyond it. Swine and turkeys were reared in great numbers by all the inhabitants. For thoſe they brought to town in winter, they had an appropriate place at the lower end of the garden, in which they were locked up. It is obſervable, that theſe animals were the only things locked up about the houſe, for this good reaſon, that nothing elſe ran the leaſt riſk of being ſtolen. The dexterity of the

theft

theft consisting in climbing over very high walls, watching to steal in when the negroes went down to feed the horse or cow, or making a clandestine entrance at some window or aperture: breaking up doors was quite out of rule, and rarely ever resorted to. These exploits were always performed in the darkest nights; if the owner heard a noise in his stables, he usually ran down with a cudgel, and laid it without mercy on any culprit he could overtake. This was either dexterously avoided, or patiently borne. To plunder a man, and afterwards offer him any personal injury, was accounted scandalous; but the turkies or pigs were never recovered. In some instances a whole band of these young plunderers would traverse the town, and carry off such a prey as would afford provision for many jovial nights. Nothing was more common than to find one's brothers or nephews amongst these pillagers.

Marriage was followed by two dreadful privations: a married man could not fly down the street in a little sledge, or join a

 party

party of pig ſtealers, without outraging decorum. If any of their confederates married, as they frequently did, very young, and were in circumſtances to begin houſe-keeping, they were ſure of an early viſit of this nature from their old confederates. It was thought a great act of gallantry to overtake and chaſtiſe the robbers. I recollect an inſtance of one young married man, who had not long attained to that dignity, whoſe turkies ſcreaming violently one night, he ran down to chaſtiſe the aggreſſors; he overtook them in the fact: but finding they were his old aſſociates could not reſiſt the force of habit, joined the reſt in another exploit of the ſame nature, and then ſhared his own turkey at the tavern. There were two inns in the town, the maſters of which were "honourable men;" yet theſe pigs and turkies were always received and dreſſed without queſtioning whence they came. In one inſtance, a young party had in this manner provided a pig, and ordered it to be roaſted at the King's Arms; another party attacked

tacked the ſame place whence this booty was taken, but found it already rifled. This party was headed by an idle miſchievous young man, who was the Ned Poins of his fraternity: well gueſſing how the ſtolen roaſting pig was diſpoſed of, he ordered his friends to adjourn to the rival tavern, and went himſelf to the King's Arms. Enquiring in the kitchen (where a pig was roaſting) who ſupped there, he ſoon arrived at certainty: then taking an opportunity when there was no one in the kitchen but the cook-maid, he ſent for one of the jovial party, who were at cards up ſtairs. During her abſence, he cut the ſtring by which the pig was ſuſpended, laid it in the dripping-pan, and through the quiet and dark ſtreets of that ſober city, carried it ſafely to the other tavern: where, after finiſhing the roaſting, he and his companions prepared to regale themſelves. Meantime the pig was miſſed at the King's Arms; and it was immediately concluded, from the dexterity and addreſs with which this trick was performed, that no other but

the Poins aforesaid could be the author of it. A new stratagem was now devised to outwit this stealer of the stolen. An adventurous youth of the despoiled party laid down a parcel of shavings opposite to the other tavern, and setting them in a blaze, cried fire! a most alarming sound here, where such accidents were too frequent. Every one rushed out of the house, where supper had been just served. The dextrous purveyor, who had occasioned all this disturbance, stole in, snatched up the dish with the pig in it, stole out again by the back door, and feasted his companions with the recovered spoils.

These were a few idle young men, the sons of avaricious fathers, who grudging to advance the means of pushing them forward by the help of their own industry to independence, allowed them to remain so long unoccupied, that their time was wasted, and habits of conviviality at length degenerated in those of dissipation. These were not only pitied and endured, but received with a great deal of kindness and in-

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dulgence that was wonderful. They were usually a kind of wags, went about like privileged persons, at whose jests no one took offence: and were in their discourse and stile of humour, so much like Shakspeare's clowns, that on reading that admirable author, I thought I recognized my old acquaintances. Of these, however, I saw little, the society admitted at my friends being very select.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Lay-Brothers.—Catalina.—Detached Indians.

BEFORE I quit this attempt to delineate the number of which this community was compoſed, I muſt mention a claſs of aged perſons, who, united by the ſame recollections, purſuits, and topics, aſſociated very much with each other, and very little with a world which they ſeemed to have renounced. They might be ſtiled lay-brothers, and were uſually widowers, or perſons who, in conſequence of ſome early diſappointment, had remained unmarried. Theſe were not devotees who had, as was formerly often the caſe in catholic countries, run from the extreme of licentiouſneſs to that of bigotry. They were generally perſons who were never marked as being irreligious or immoral; and juſt as little diſtinguiſhed for peculiar ſtrictneſs, or de-

votional

votional fervour. Thefe good men lived in the houfe of fome relation, where they had their own apartments to themfelves; and only occafionally mixed with the family. The people of the town lived to a great age; ninety was frequently attained: and I have feen different individuals of both fexes who had reached a hundred. Thefe ancients feemed to place all their delight in pious books and devotional exercifes, particularly in finging pfalms, which they would do in their own apartments for hours together. They came out and in like ghofts, and were treated in the fame manner; for they never fpoke unlefs when addreffed, and feemed very carelefs of the things of this world, like people who had got above it. Yet they were much together, and feemed to enjoy each other's converfation. Retrofpection on the fcenes of early life, anticipations of that futurity fo clofely veiled from our fight, and difcuffions regarding different paffages of holy writ, feemed their favourite themes. They were mild and benevolent, but abftracted, and unlike other

people.

people. Their happineſs, for happy I am convinced they were, was of a nature peculiar to themſelves, not obvious to others. Others there were not deficient in their attention to religious duties, who living in the boſom of their families, took an active and cheerful concern to the laſt in all that amuſed or intereſted them; and I never underſtood that the lay-brothers, as I have choſen to call them, blamed them for ſo doing. One of the firſt chriſtian virtues, charity in the moſt obvious and common ſenſe of the word, had little scope. Here a beggar was unheard of. People, ſuch as I have deſcribed in the *buſh*, or going there, were no more conſidered as objects of pity, than we conſider an apprentice as ſuch for having to ſerve his time before he ſets up for himſelf. In ſuch caſes, the wealthier, becauſe older ſettlers, frequently gave a heifer or colt each to a new beginner, who ſet about clearing land in their vicinity. Orphans were never neglected; and from their early marriages, and the caſualties their manner of life ſub-

jected

jected them to, these were not unfrequent. You never entered a house without meeting children. Maidens, bachelors, and childless married people, all adopted orphans, and all treated them as if they were their own.

Having given a sketch, that appears to my recollection (aided by subsequent conversations with my fellow travellers) a faithful one, of the country and its inhabitants, it is time to return to the history of the mind of Miss Schuyler, for by no other circumstances than prematurity of intellect, and superior culture, were her earliest years distinguished. Her father, dying early, left her very much to the tuition of his brother. Her uncle's frontier situation made him a kind of barrier to the settlement; while the powerful influence, that his knowledge of nature and of character, his sound judgment and unstained integrity, had obtained over both parties, made him the bond by which the Aborigines were united with the colonists. Thus, little leisure was left him for domestic enjoyments,

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or literary purſuits, for both of which his mind was peculiarly adapted. Of the leiſure time he could command, however, he made the beſt uſe; and ſoon diſtinguiſhing Catalina as the one amongſt his family to whom nature had been moſt liberal, he was at the pains to cultivate her taſte for reading, which ſoon diſcovered itſelf, by procuring for her the beſt authors in hiſtory, divinity, and belles lettres: in this latter branch, her reading was not very extenſive: but then the few books of this kind that ſhe poſſeſſed were very well choſen; and ſhe was early and intimately familiar with them. What I remember of her, aſſiſted by compariſons ſince made with others, has led me to think that extenſive reading, ſuperficial and indiſcriminate, ſuch as the very eaſy acceſs to books among us encourages, is not at an early period of life favourable to ſolid thinking, true taſte, or fixed principle. Whatever ſhe knew, ſhe knew to the bottom; and the reflections, which were thus ſuggeſted to her ſtrong diſcerning mind, were

digeſted

digeſted by means of eaſy and inſtructive converſation. Colonel Schuyler had many relations in New York; and the governor and other ruling characters there carefully cultivated the acquaintance of a perſon ſo well qualified to inſtruct and inform them on certain points as he was. Having conſiderable dealings in the fur trade too, he went every winter to the capital for a ſhort time, to adjuſt his commercial concerns, and often took his favourite niece along with him, who, being of an uncommon quick growth and tall ſtature, ſoon attracted attention by her perſonal graces, as well as by the charms of her converſation. I have been told, and ſhould conclude from a picture I have ſeen drawn when ſhe was fifteen, that ſhe was in her youth very handſome. Of this few traces remained when I knew her; exceſſive corpulence having then overloaded her majeſtic perſon, and entirely changed the aſpect of a countenance once eminently graceful. In no place did female excellence of any kind more amply receive its due tribute of ap-

plauſe

plauſe and admiration than here, for various reaſons; firſt, cultivation and refinement were rare. Then, as it was not the common routine that women ſhould neceſſarily have ſuch and ſuch accompliſhments, pains were only taken on minds ſtrong enough to bear improvements without becoming conceited or pedantic. And laſtly, as the ſpur of emulation was not invidiouſly applied, thoſe who acquired a ſuperior degree of knowledge conſidered themſelves as very fortunate in having a new ſource of enjoyment opened to them. But never having been made to underſtand that the chief motive of excelling was to dazzle or outſhine others, they no more thought of deſpiſing their leſs fortunate companions, than of aſſuming pre-eminence for diſcovering a wild plum-tree or bee-hive in the woods, though, as in the former caſe, they would have regarded ſuch a diſcovery as a benefit and a pleaſure; their acquiſitions, therefore, were never ſhaded by affectation. The women were all natives of the country, and few had more than

domeſtic

domeſtic education. But men, who poſſeſſed the advantages of early culture and uſage of the world, daily arrived on the continent from different parts of Europe. So that if we may be indulged in the inelegant liberty of talking commercially of female elegance, the ſupply was not equal to the demand. It may be eaſily ſuppoſed that Miſs Schuyler met with due attention; who, even at this early age, was reſpected for the ſtrength of her character, and the dignity and compoſure of her manners. Her mother, whom ſhe delighted to recollect, was mild, pious, and amiable; her acknowledged worth was chaſtened by the utmoſt diffidence. Yet accuſtomed to exerciſe a certain power over the minds of the natives, ſhe had great influence in reſtraining their irregularities, and ſwaying their opinions. From her knowledge of their language, and habit of converſing with them, ſome detached Indian families reſided for a while in ſummer in the vicinity of houſes occupied by the more wealthy and benevolent inhabitants. They generally

 built

built a ſlight wigwam under ſhelter of the orchard fence on the ſhadieſt ſide; and never were neighbours more harmleſs, peaceable, and obliging; I might truly add, induſtrious; for in one way or other they were conſtantly occupied. The women and their children employed themſelves in many ingenious handicrafts, which, ſince the introduction of European arts and manufactures, have greatly declined. Baking trays, wooden diſhes, ladles and ſpoons, ſhovels and rakes; brooms of a peculiar manufacture, made by ſplitting a birch-block into ſlender but tough filaments; baſkets of all kinds and ſizes, made of ſimilar filaments, enriched with the moſt beautiful colours, which they alone knew how to extract from vegetable ſubſtances, and incorporate with the wood. They made alſo of the birch-bark, (which is here ſo ſtrong and tenacious, that cradles and canoes are made of it;) many receptacles for holding fruit and other things, curiouſly adorned with embroidery, not inelegant, done with the ſinews of deer, and leggions

and

and moomesans, a very comfortable and highly ornamented substitute for shoes and stockings, then universally used in winter among the men of our own people. They had also a beautiful manufacture of deer skin, softened to the consistence of the finest Chamois leather, and embroidered with beads of Wampum, formed like bugles; these, with great art and industry, they formed out of shells, which had the appearance of fine white porcelaine, veined with purple. This embroidery shewed both skill and taste, and was among themselves highly valued. They had belts, large embroidered garters, and many other ornaments, formed, first of deer sinews, divided to the size of coarse thread, and afterwards, when they obtained worsted thread from us, of that material, formed in a manner which I could never comprehend. It was neither knitted nor wrought in the manner of net, nor yet woven; but the texture was formed more like an officer's sash than any thing I can compare it to. While the women and children were thus employed, the men some-

times assisted them in the more laborious part of their business, but oftener occupied themselves in fishing on the rivers, and drying or preserving, by means of smoke, in sheds erected for the purpose, sturgeon and large eels, which they caught in great quantities, and of an extraordinary size, for winter provision.

Boys on the verge of manhood, and ambitious to be admitted into the hunting parties of the ensuing winter, exercised themselves in trying to improve their skill in archery, by shooting birds, squirrels, and racoons. These petty huntings helped to support the little colony in the neighbourhood, which however derived its principal subsistence from an exchange of their manufactures with the neighbouring family for milk, bread, and other articles of food.

The summer residence of these ingenious artisans promoted a great intimacy between the females of the vicinity and the Indian women, whose sagacity and comprehension of mind were beyond belief.

It is a singular circumstance, that though they

they ſaw the negroes in every reſpectable family not only treated with humanity, but cheriſhed with parental kindneſs, they always regarded them with contempt and diſlike, as an inferior race, and would have no communication with them. It was neceſſary then that all converſations ſhould be held, and all buſineſs tranſacted with theſe females, by the miſtreſs of the family. In the infancy of the ſettlement the Indian language was familiar to the more intelligent inhabitants, who found it very uſeful, and were, no doubt, pleaſed with its nervous and emphatic idiom, and its lofty and ſonorous cadence. It was indeed a noble and copious language, when one conſiders that it ſerved as the vehicle of thought to a people whoſe ideas and ſphere of action we ſhould conſider as ſo very confined.

CHAP. XIII.

Progreſs of Knowledge.—Indian Manners.

CONVERSING with thoſe intereſting and deeply reflecting natives, was to thinking minds no mean ſource of entertainment. Communication ſoon grew eaſier; for the Indians had a ſingular facility in acquiring other languages; the children I well remember, from experimental knowledge, for I delighted to hover about the wigwam, and converſe with thoſe of the Indians, and we very frequently mingled languages. But to return: whatever comfort or advantage a good and benevolent mind poſſeſſes, it is willing to extend to others. The mother of my friend, and other matrons, who like her experienced the conſolations, the hopes, and the joys of chriſtianity, wiſhed thoſe eſtimable natives to ſhare in their pure enjoyments.

Of

Of all others these mild and practical christians were the best fitted for making proselytes. Unlike professed missionaries, whose zeal is not always seconded by judgment, they did not begin by alarming the jealousy with which all manner of people watch over their hereditary prejudices. Engaged in active life, they had daily opportunities of demonstrating the truth of their religion by its influence upon their conduct. Equally unable and unwilling to enter into deep disquisitions or polemical arguments, their calm and unstudied explanations of the essential doctrines of christianity were the natural results which arose out of their ordinary conversation. To make this better understood, I must endeavour to explain what I have observed in the unpolished society, that occupies the wild and remote districts of different countries. Their conversation is not only more original, but, however odd the expression may appear, more philosophical than that of persons equally destitute of mental culture in more populous districts. They de-

rive their ſubjects of reflection and converſation more from natural objects, which lead minds, poſſeſſing a certain degree of intelligence, more forward to trace effects to their cauſes. Nature there, too, is ſeen arrayed in virgin beauty and ſimple majeſty. Its various aſpects are more grand and impreſſive. Its voice is more diſtinctly heard, and ſinks deeper into the heart. Theſe people, more dependent on the ſimples of the fields and the wild fruits of the woods; better acquainted with the forms and inſtincts of the birds and beaſts, their fellow denizens in the wild; and more obſervant of every conſtellation and every change in the ſky, from living ſo much in the open air, have a wider range of ideas than we are aware of. With us, art every where combats nature, oppoſes her plaineſt dictates, and too often conquers her. The poor are ſo confined to the ſpot where their occupations lie, ſo engroſſed by their ſtruggles for daily bread, and ſo ſurrounded by the works of man, that thoſe of their Creator are almoſt excluded from

their view, at leaſt form a very ſmall part of the ſubjects that engroſs their thoughts. What knowledge they have is often merely the huſks and orts that fall from the table of their ſuperiors, which they ſwallow without chewing.

Many of thoſe who are one degree above the loweſt claſs, ſee nature in poetry, novels, and other books, and never think of looking for her any where elſe: like a perſon amuſed by ſeeing the reflection of the ſtarry heavens or ſhifting clouds in a calm lake, never lifting his eyes to thoſe objects of which he ſees the imperfect though reſembling pictures.

Thoſe who live in the undiſguiſed boſom of tranquil nature, and whoſe chief employment it is, by diſincumbering her of waſte luxuriance, to diſcover and improve her latent beauties, need no borrowed enthuſiaſm to reliſh her ſublime and graceful features. The venerable ſimplicity of the ſacred ſcriptures has ſomething extremely attractive for a mind in this ſtate. The ſoul, which is the moſt familiar

with its Creator in his works, will be always the moſt ready to recognize him in his word. Converſations, which had for their ſubject the nature and virtues of plants, the extent and boundaries of woods and lakes, and the various operations of inſtinct in animals, under thoſe circumſtances where they are ſolely directed by it, and the diſtinct cuſtoms and manners of various untutored nations, tended to expand the mind, and teach it to aſpire to more perfect intelligence. The untaught reaſoners of the woods could not but obſerve that the Europeans knew much that was concealed from them, and derived many benefits and much power from that knowledge. Where they ſaw active virtue keep pace with ſuperior knowledge, it was natural to conclude that perſons thus beneficially enlightened, had clearer and ampler views of that futurity, which to them only dimly gleamed through formleſs darkneſs. They would ſuppoſe, too, that thoſe illuminated beings had ſome means of approaching nearer to that ſource

of

of light and perfection from which wisdom is derived, than they themselves had attained. Their minds being thus prepared by degrees, these pious matrons (probably assisted by those lay-brothers of whom I have spoken) began to diffuse the knowledge of the distinguishing doctrines of christianity among the elderly and well-intentioned Indian women. These did not by any means receive the truth without examination: the acuteness of intellect which discovered itself in their objections (of which I have heard many striking instances) was astonishing; yet the humble and successful instruments of enlightening those sincere and candid people, did by no means take to themselves any merit in making proselytes. When they found their auditors disposed to listen diligently to the truth, they sent them to the clergyman of the place, who instructed, confirmed, and baptized them. I am sorry that I have not a clear and distinct recollection of the exact manner, or the numbers, &c. of these first converts, of whom

I ſhall ſay more hereafter; but I know that this was the uſual proceſs. They were, however, both zealous and perſevering, and proved the means of bringing many others under the law of love, to which it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe the ſafety of this unprotected frontier was greatly owing at that criſis, that of the firſt attacks of the French. The Indian women, who from motives of attachment to particular families, or for the purpoſe of carrying on the ſmall traffic already mentioned, were wont to paſs their ſummers near the ſettlers, were of detached and wandering families, who preferred this mode of living to the labour of tilling the ground, which entirely devolved upon the women among the Five nations. By tilling the ground I would not be underſtood to mean any ſettled mode of agriculture, requiring cattle, incloſures, or implements of huſbandry. Grain made but a very ſubordinate part of their ſubſiſtence, which was chiefly derived from fiſhing and hunting. The little they had was maize; this with kid-

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ney beans and tobacco, the only plants they cultivated, was ſowed in ſome very pleaſant fields along the Mohawk river, by the women, who had no implements of tillage but the hoe, and a kind of wooden ſpade. Theſe fields lay round their *caſtles*, and while the women were thus employed, the men were catching and drying fiſh by the rivers or on the lakes. The younger girls were much buſied during ſummer and autumn, in gathering wild fruits, berries, and grapes, which they had a peculiar mode of drying to preſerve them for the winter. The great cranberry they gathered in abundance, which, without being dryed, would laſt the whole winter, and was much uſed by the ſettlers. Theſe dryed fruits were no luxury; a faſtidious taſte would entirely reject them. Yet, beſides furniſhing another article of food, they had their uſe, as was evident. Without ſome antiſeptic, they who lived the whole winter on animal food, without a ſingle vegetable, or anything of the nature of bread, unleſs now and then a little

maize, which they had the art of boiling down to ſoftneſs in lye of wood-aſhes, muſt have been liable to that great ſcourge of northern nations in their primitive ſtate, the ſcurvy, had not this ſimple deſert been a preſervative againſt it. Rheumatiſms, and ſometimes agues affected them, but no ſymptom of any cutaneous diſeaſe was ever ſeen on an Indian.

The ſtragglers from the confines of the orchards did not fail to join their tribes in winter; and were zealous, and often ſucceſsful in ſpreading their new opinions. Indians ſuppoſed that every country had its own mode of honouring the great ſpirits to whom all were equally acceptable. This had, on one hand, the bad effect of making them ſatisfied with their own vague and undefined notions; and on the other, the good one of making them very tolerant of thoſe of others. If you do not inſult their belief, (for mode of worſhip they have ſcarce any,) they will hear you talk of yours with the greateſt patience and attention. Their good breeding, in this reſpect,

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was really ſuperlative. No Indian ever interrupted any, the moſt idle talker: but when they concluded, he would deliberately, methodically, and not ungracefully anſwer or comment upon all they had ſaid, in a manner which ſhewed that not a word had eſcaped him.

Lady Mary Montague ludicrouſly ſays, that the court of Vienna was the paradiſe of old women; and that there is no other place in the world where a woman paſt fifty excites the leaſt intereſt. Had her travels extended to the interior of North America, ſhe would have ſeen another inſtance of this inverſion of the common mode of thinking. Here a woman never was of conſequence, till ſhe had a ſon old enough to fight the battles of his country; from that date ſhe held a ſuperior rank in ſociety; was allowed to live at eaſe, and even called to conſultations on national affairs. In ſavage and warlike countries, the reign of beauty is very ſhort, and its influence comparatively limited. The girls in childhood had a very pleaſing appear-

ance; but excepting their fine hair, eyes and teeth, every external grace was ſoon baniſhed by perpetual drudgery, carrying burdens too heavy to be borne, and other ſlaviſh employments conſidered beneath the dignity of the men. Theſe walked before, erect and graceful, decked with ornaments, which ſet off to advantage the ſymmetry of their well formed perſons, while the poor women followed, meanly attired, bent under the weight of the children and utenſils, which they carried every where with them; and diſfigured and degraded by ceaſeleſs toils. They were very early married: for a Mohawk had no other ſervant but his wife; and whenever he commenced hunter, it was requiſite that he ſhould have ſome one to carry his load, cook his kettle, make his mogneſans, and above all, produce the young warriors who were to ſucceed him in the honours of the chaſe, and of the toma-hawk. Wherever man is a mere hunter, woman is a mere ſlave. It is domeſtic intercourſe that ſoftens man, and elevates woman; and of that there can be little, where

where the employments and amuſements are not in common: the ancient Caledonians honoured the fair; but then, it is to be obſerved, they were fair huntreſſes, and moved, in the light of their beauty, to the hill of roes; and the culinary toils were entirely left to the rougher ſex. When the young warrior above alluded to made his appearance, it ſoftened the cares of his mother; who well knew that when he grew up, every deficiency in tenderneſs to his wife would be made up in ſuperabundant duty and affection to her. If it were poſſible to carry filial veneration to exceſs, it was done here; for all other charities were abſorbed in it. I wonder this ſyſtem of depreſſing the ſex in their early years, to exalt them when all their juvenile attractions were flown, and when mind alone can diſtinguiſh them, has not occurred to our modern reformers. The Mohawks took good care not to admit their women to ſhare their prerogatives, till they approve themſelves good wives and mothers.

This digreſſion, long as it is, has a very in-

intimate connexion with the character of my friend; who early adopted the views of her family, in regard to those friendly Indians, which greatly enlarged her mind, and ever after influenced her conduct. She was, even in childhood, well acquainted with their language, opinions, and customs; and, like every other person possessed of a liberality or benevolence of mind, whom chance had brought acquainted with them, was exceedingly partial to those high-souled and generous natives. The Mohawk language was early familiar to her; she spoke Dutch and English with equal ease and purity; was no stranger to the French tongue; and could (I think) read German. I have heard her speak it. From the conversations which her active curiosity led her to hold with native Africans, brought into her father's family, she was more intimately acquainted with the customs, manners, and government of their native country, than she could have been, by reading all that was ever written on the subject. Books are, no doubt, the gra-

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naries of knowledge: but a diligent, enquiring mind, in the active morning of life, will find it ſtrewed like manna over the face of the earth; and need not, in all caſes, reſt ſatisfied with intelligence accumulated by others, and tinctured with their paſſions and prejudices. Whoever reads Homer or Shakſpeare may daily diſcover that they deſcribe both nature and art from their own obſervation. Conſequently you ſee the images, reflected from the mirror of their great minds, differing from the deſcriptions of others, as the reflection of an object in all its colours and proportions from any poliſhed ſervice, does from a ſhadow on a wall, or from a picture drawn from recollection. The enlarged mind of my friend, and her ſimple yet eaſy and dignified manners, made her readily adapt herſelf to thoſe with whom ſhe converſed, and every where command reſpect and kindneſs; and, on a nearer acquaintance, affection followed; but ſhe had too much ſedateneſs and independence to adopt thoſe careſſing and inſinuating manners, by which

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the vain and the artful ſo ſoon find their way into ſhallow minds. Her character did not captivate at once, but gradually unfolded itſelf; and you had always ſomething new to diſcover. Her ſtile was grave and maſculine, without the leaſt embelliſhment; and at the ſame time ſo pure, that every thing ſhe ſaid might be printed without correction, and ſo plain, that the moſt ignorant and moſt inferior perſons were never at a loſs to comprehend it. It poſſeſſed, too, a wonderful flexibility; it ſeemed to riſe and fall with the ſubject. I have not met with a ſtile which, to noble and uniform ſimplicity, united ſuch variety of expreſſion. Whoever drinks knowledge pure at its ſources, ſolely from a delight in filling the capacities of a large mind, without the deſire of dazzling or out-ſhining others; whoever ſpeaks for the ſole purpoſe of conveying to other minds thoſe ideas, from which he himſelf has received pleaſure and advantage, may poſſeſs this chaſte and natural ſtile: but it is not to be acquired by art or ſtudy.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Marriage of Miſs Schuyler.—Deſcription of the Flats.

MISS S. had the happineſs to captivate her couſin Philip, eldeſt ſon of her uncle, who was ten years older than herſelf, and was *in all reſpects* to be accounted a ſuitable, and in the worldly ſenſe, an advantageous match for her. His father was highly ſatisfied to have the two objects on whom he had beſtowed ſo much care and culture united, but did not live to ſee this happy connexion take place. They were married in the year 1719*, when ſhe was in the eighteenth year of her age. When the old colonel died, he left conſiderable poſſeſſions to be divided among his children, and from the quantity of plate, paintings, &c. which they ſhared, there is reaſon to believe he muſt have brought ſome of his wealth from Holland,

* Miſs Schuyler was born in the year 1701.

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as in thcſe days people had little means of enriching themſelves in new ſettlements. He had alſo conſiderable poſſeſſions in a place near the town, now called Fiſh Kill, about twenty miles below Albany. His family reſidence, however, was at the Flats, a fertile and beautiful plain on the banks of the river. He poſſeſſed about two miles on a ſtretch of that rich and level champain. This poſſeſſion was bounded on the eaſt by the river Hudſon, whoſe high banks overhung the ſtream and its pebbly ſtrand, and were both adorned and defended by elms (larger than ever I have ſeen in any other place), decked with natural feſtoons of wild grapes, which abound along the banks of this noble ſtream. Theſe lofty elms were left when the country was cleared, to fortify the banks againſt the maſſes of thick ice which make war upon them in ſpring, when the melting ſnows burſt this glaſſy pavement, and raiſe the waters many feet above their uſual level. This precaution not only anſwers that purpoſe, but gratifies the mind by

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prefenting to the eye a remnant of the wild magnificence of nature amidft the fmiling fcenes produced by varied and fuccefsful cultivation. As you came along by the north end of the town, where the *Patroon* had his feat, you afterwards paft by the inclofures of the citizens, where as formerly defcribed, they planted their corn, and arrived at the Flats, Colonel Schuyler's poffeffion. On the right you faw the river in all its beauty, there above a mile broad. On the oppofite fide the view was bounded by fteep hills, covered with lofty pines, from which a water-fall defcended, which not only gave animation to the fylvan fcene, but was the beft barometer imaginable, foretelling by its varied and intelligible founds every approaching change, not only of the weather, but of the wind. Oppofite to the grounds lay an ifland, above a mile in length, and about a quarter in breadth, which alfo belonged to the Colonel: exquifitely beautiful it was, and though the haunt I moft delighted in, it is not in my power to defcribe it.

Imagine

Imagine a little Egypt, yearly overflowed, and of the moſt redundant fertility. This charming ſpot was at firſt covered with wood, like the reſt of the country, except a long field in the middle, where the Indians had probably cultivated maize; round this was a broad ſhelving border, where the grey and the weeping willows, the bending oſier, and numberleſs aquatic plants not known in this country, were allowed to flouriſh in the utmoſt luxuriance, while within, ſome tall ſycamores and wild fruit trees towered above the reſt. Thus was formed a broad belt, which in winter proved an impenetrable barrier againſt the broken ice, and in ſummer was the haunt of numberleſs birds and ſmall animals, who dwelt in perfect ſafety, it being impoſſible to penetrate it. Numberleſs were the productions of this luxuriant ſpot; never was a richer field for a botaniſt; for though the ice was kept off, the turbid waters of the ſpring flood overflowed it annually, and not only depoſited a rich ſediment, but left the ſeeds of va-

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rious plants ſwept from the ſhores it had paſſed by. The centre of the iſland, which was much higher than the ſides, produced with a ſlight degree of culture the moſt abundant crops of wheat, hay, and flax. At the end of this iſland, which was exactly oppoſite to the family manſion, a long ſand-bank extended; on this was a very valuable fiſhing place, of which a conſiderable profit might be made. In ſummer, when the water was low, this narrow ſtripe (for ſuch it was) came in ſight, and furniſhed an amuſing ſpectacle; for there the bald or white-headed eagle (a large pictureſque bird, very frequent in this country), the oſpray, the heron, and the curlew, uſed to ſtand in great numbers in a long row, like a military arrangement, for a whole ſummer day, fiſhing for perch and a kind of freſh-water herring which abounded there. At the ſame ſeaſon a variety of wild ducks, who bred on the ſhores of the iſland, (among which was a ſmall white diver of an elegant form), led forth their young to try their firſt ex-

curſion. What a ſcene have I beheld on a calm ſummer evening! There indeed were "fringed banks" richly fringed, and wonderfully variegated; where every imaginable ſhade of colour mingled, and where life teemed prolific on every ſide. The river, a perfect mirror, reflecting the pine-covered hills oppoſite; and the pliant ſhades that bent without a wind, round this enchanting iſland, while hundreds of the white divers, ſaw-bill ducks with ſcarlet heads, teal, and other aquatic birds, ſported at once on the calm waters. At the diſcharge of a gun from the ſhore, theſe feathered beauties all diſappeared at once, as if by magic, and in an inſtant roſe to view in different places.

How much they ſeemed to enjoy that life which was ſo new to them; for they were the young broods firſt led forth to ſport upon the waters. While the fixed attitude and lofty port of the large birds of prey, who were ranged upon the ſandy ſhelf, formed an inverted picture in the ſame clear mirror, and were a pleaſing

contraſt

contraſt to the playful multitude around. Theſe they never attempted to diſturb, well aware of the facility of eſcape which their old retreats afforded them. Such of my readers as have had patience to follow me to this favourite iſle, will be, ere now, as much bewildered as I have often been myſelf on its luxuriant ſhores. To return to the ſouthward, on the confines of what might then be called an interminable wild, roſe two gently ſloping eminences, about half a mile from the ſhore. From each of theſe a large brook deſcended, bending through the plain, and having their courſe marked by the ſhades of primæval trees and ſhrubs left there to ſhelter the cattle when the ground was cleared. On theſe eminences, in the near neighbourhood and full view of the manſion at the Flats, were two large and well built dwellings, inhabited by Colonel Schuyler's two younger ſons, Peter and Jeremiah. To the eldeſt was allotted the place inhabited by his father, which, from its lower ſituation and level ſurface,

was called the Flats. There was a cuſtom prevalent among the new ſettlers ſomething like that of gavelkind; they made a pretty equal diviſion of lands among their younger ſons. The eldeſt, by pre-eminence of birth, had a larger ſhare, and generally ſucceeded to the domain inhabited by his father, with the ſlaves, cattle, and effects upon it.

This, in the preſent inſtance, was the lot of the eldeſt ſon of that family whoſe poſſeſſions I have been deſcribing. His portion of land on the ſhore of the river was ſcarcely equal in value to thoſe of his brothers, to whoſe poſſeſſions the brooks I have mentioned formed a natural boundary, dividing them from each other, and from his. To him was allotted the coſtly furniture of the family, of which paintings, plate, and china conſtituted the valuable part; every thing elſe being merely plain and uſeful. They had alſo a large houſe in Albany, which they occupied occaſionally.

I have neglected to deſcribe in its right place the termination or back ground of

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the landſcape I have ſuch delight in recollecting. There the ſolemn and interminable foreſt was varied here and there by riſing grounds, near ſtreams where birch and hiccory, maple and poplar, cheered the eye with a lighter green, through the prevailing ſhade of duſky pines. On the border of the wood, where the trees had been thinned for firing, was a broad ſhrubbery all along, which marked the edges of the wood above the poſſeſſions of the brothers as far as it extended.

This was formed of Shumack, a ſhrub with leaves, continually changing colour through all the varieties, from blending green and yellow to orange tawney, and adorned with large lilac-ſhaped cluſters of bright ſcarlet grains, covered with pungent duſt of a ſharp flavour, at once ſaline and acid. This the Indians uſe as ſalt to their food, and for the dyeing of different colours. The red glow, which was the general reſult of this natural border, had a fine effect, thrown

out from the dusky shades which towered behind.

To the northward, a sandy tract, covered with low pines, formed a boundary betwixt the Flats and Stonehook, which lay further up the river.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Character of Philip Schuyler.—His Management of the Indians.

PHILIP SCHUYLER, who, on the death of his father, ſucceeded to the inheritance I have been deſcribing, was a perſon of a mild benevolent character, and an excellent underſtanding, which had received more culture than was uſual in that country. But whether he had returned to Europe, for the purpoſe of acquiring knowledge in the public ſeminaries there, or had been inſtructed by any of the French proteſtants, who were ſometimes retained in the principal families for ſuch purpoſes, I do not exactly know; but am led rather to ſuppoſe the latter, from the connexion which always ſubſiſted between that claſs of people and the Schuyler family.

When the intimacy between this gentleman and the ſubject of theſe memoirs took place ſhe was a mere child; for the colonel,

as he was ſoon after called, was ten years older than ſhe. This was ſingular there, where moſt men married under twenty. But his early years were occupied by momentous concerns; for, by this time, the public ſafety began to be endangered by the inſidious wiles of the French Canadians, to whom our frontier ſettlers began to be formidable rivals in the fur trade, which the former wiſhed to engroſs. In proceſs of time, the Indians, criminally indulged with ſtrong liquors by the moſt avaricious and unprincipled of the traders, began to have an inſatiable deſire for them, and the traders' avidity for gain increaſed in the ſame proportion.

Occaſional fraud on the one hand gave riſe to occaſional violence on the other. Mutual confidence decayed, and hoſtility betrayed itſelf, when intoxication laid open every thought. Some of our traders were, as the coloniſts alleged, treacherouſly killed in violation of treaties ſolemnly concluded between them and the offending tribes.

The mediation and protection of the

Mohawk

Mohawk tribes were, as usual, appealed to. But these shrewd politicians saw evidently the value of their protection to an unwarlike people, who made no effort to defend themselves; and who, distant from the source of authority, and contributing nothing to the support of government, were in a great measure neglected. They began also to observe, that their new friends were extending their possessions on every side, and conscious of their wealth and increasing numbers, did not so assiduously cultivate the good will of their faithful allies as formerly. These nations, savage as we may imagine them, were as well skilled in the arts of negociation as the most polite Europeans. They waged perpetual war with each other about their hunting grounds; each tribe laying claim to some vast wild territory destined for that purpose, and divided from other districts by boundaries which we should consider as merely ideal, but which they perfectly understood. Yet these were not so distinctly defined as to preclude all dispute; and a casual encroach-

ment on this imaginary deer park was a ſufficient ground of hoſtility; and this, not for the value of the few deer or bears which might be killed, but that they thought their national honour violated by ſuch an aggreſſion. That ſyſtem of revenge, which ſubſiſted with equal force among them all, admitted of no ſincere conciliation till the aggrieved party had obtained at leaſt an equal number of ſcalps and priſoners for thoſe that they had loſt. This bloody reckoning was not eaſily adjuſted. After a ſhort and hollow truce, the remaining balance on either ſide afforded a pretext for new hoſtilities, and time to ſolicit new alliances; for which laſt purpoſe much art and much perſuaſive power of eloquence were employed.

But the grand myſtery of Indian politics was the flattery, the ſtratagem, and addreſs employed in detaching other tribes from the alliance of their enemies. There could not be a ſtronger proof of the reſtleſs and turbulent nature of ambition than theſe artful negociations, the conſequence of perpetual hoſtility, where one would think there was

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ſo little ground for quarrel; and that amongſt a people who, individually, were by no means quarrelſome or covetous, and ſeemed in their private tranſactions with each other, impreſſed with a deep ſenſe of moral rectitude; who reaſoned ſoundly, reflected deeply, and acted in moſt caſes conſequentially. Property there was none, to afford a pretext for war, excepting a little poſſeſſed by the Mohawks, which they knew ſo well how to defend, that their boundaries were never violated;

"For their awe and their fear was upon all the nations round about."

Territory could not be the genuine ſubject of contention in theſe thinly peopled foreſts, where the ocean and the pole were the only limits of their otherwiſe boundleſs domain. The conſequence attached to the authority of chiefs, who, as ſuch, poſſeſſed no more property than others, and had not power to command a ſingle vaſſal for their own perſonal benefit, was not ſuch as to be the ob-

ject of those wars. Their chief privilege was that of being first in every dangerous enterprize. They were loved and honoured, but never, that I have heard of, traduced, envied, or removed from their painful pre-eminence.

The only way in which these wars can be accounted for is, first, from the general depravity of our nature, and from a singularly deep feeling of injury, and a high sense of national honour. They were not the hasty outbreakings of savage fury, but were commenced in the most solemn and deliberate manner; and not without a prelude of remonstrances from the aggrieved party, and attempts to soothe and conciliate from the other. This digression must not be considered as altogether from the purpose. To return to the Indians, whose history has its use in illustrating that of mankind: they now became fully sensible of the importance they derived from the increased wealth and undefended state of the settlement. They discovered too, that they held the balance

lance between the interior ſettlements of France and England, which, though ſtill diſtant from each other, were daily approximating.

The Mohawks, though always brave and always faithful, felt a very allowable repugnance to expoſe the lives of their warriors in defence of thoſe who made no effort to defend themſelves; who were neither protected by the arms of their ſovereign, nor by their own courage. They came down to hold a ſolemn congreſs, at which the heads of the Schuyler and Cuyler families aſſiſted; and where it was agreed that hoſtilities ſhould be delayed for the preſent, the hoſtile nations pacified by conceſſions and preſents, and means adopted to put the ſettlement into a ſtate of defence againſt future aggreſſions.

On all ſuch occaſions, when previouſly ſatisfied with regard to the juſtice of the grounds of quarrel, the Mohawks promiſed their hearty co-operation. This they were the readier to do, as their young brother Philip (for ſo they ſtyled Colonel

Schuyler) offered not only to head ſuch troops as might be raiſed for this purpoſe, but to engage his two brothers, who were well acquainted with the whole frontier territory, to ſerve on the ſame terms. This was a ſingular inſtance of public ſpirit in a young patriot, who was an entire ſtranger to the profeſſion of arms; and whoſe ſedate equanimity of character was adverſe to every ſpecies of raſhneſs or enthuſiaſm. Meantime the proviſions of the above-mentioned treaty could not be carried into effect, till they were ratified by the aſſembly at New York, and approved by the governor. Of this there was little doubt; the difficulty was to raiſe, and pay the troops. In the interim, while ſteps were taking to legalize this project, in 1719, the marriage betwixt Col. Schuyler and his couſin took place under the happieſt auſpices.

CHAP. XVI.

Account of the Three Brothers.

COLONEL Schuyler and his two brothers all poſſeſſed a ſuperior degree of intelleſt, and uncommon external advantages. Peter, the only one remaining when I knew the family, was ſtill a comely and digniſied looking old gentleman; and I was told his brothers were at leaſt equal to him in this reſpect. His youngeſt brother Jeremiah, who was much beloved for a diſpoſition, frank, cheerful, and generous to exceſs, had previouſly married a lady from New York; with whom he obtained ſome fortune: a thing then ſingular in that country. This lady, whom, in her declining years, I knew very well, was the daughter of a wealthy and diſtinguiſhed family of French proteſtants. She was lively, ſenſible, and well informed.

Peter, the ſecond, was married to a na-

tive of Albany. She died early: but left behind two children; and the reputation of much worth, and great attention to her conjugal and maternal duties. All these relations lived with each other, and with the new married lady, in habits of the most cordial intimacy and perfect confidence. They seemed, indeed, actuated by one spirit; having in all things similar views and similar principles. Looking up to the colonel as the head of the family, whose worth and affluence reflected consequence upon them all, they never dreamt of envying either his superior manners, or his wife's attainments, which they looked upon as a benefit and ornament to the whole.

Soon after their marriage they visited New York, which they continued to do once a year in the earlier period of their marriage, on account of their connection in that city, and the pleasing and intelligent society that was always to be met with there, both on account of its being the seat of government, and the residence of the commander in chief on the continent,

who was then neceſſarily inveſted with conſiderable power and privileges, and had, as well as the governor for the time being, a petty court aſſembled round him. At a very early period a better ſtyle of manners, greater eaſe, frankneſs, and poliſh prevailed at New York, than in any of the neighbouring provinces. There was, in particular, a Brigadier-General Hunter, of whom I have heard Mrs. Schuyler talk a great deal, as coinciding with her uncle and huſband ſucceſſively, in their plans either of defence or improvement. He, I think, was then governor; and was as acceptable to the Schuylers for his colloquial talents and friendly diſpoſition, as eſtimable for his public ſpirit and application to buſineſs, in which reſpects he was not equalled by any of his ſucceſſors. In his circle the young couple were much diſtinguiſhed. There were too among thoſe leading families the Livingſtons and Renſelaers, friends connected with them both by blood and attachment. There was alſo another diſtinguiſhed family to whom they were allied, and

with whom they lived in cordial intimacy; these were the De Lancys, of French descent, but, by subsequent intermarriages, blended with the Dutch inhabitants. Of these there were very many then in New York, as will be hereafter explained; but as these conscientious exiles were persons allied in religion to the primitive settlers, and regular and industrious in their habits, they soon mingled with and became a part of that society, which was enlivened by their sprightly manners, and benefited by the useful arts they brought along with them. In this mixed society, which must have had attraction for young people of superior and, in some degree, cultivated intellect, this well-matched pair took great pleasure; and here, no doubt, was improved that liberality of mind and manners which so much distinguished them from the less enlightened inhabitants of their native city. They were so much caressed in New York, and found so many charms in the intelligent and comparatively polished society of which they made a part there, that they had at first

some

ſome thoughts of reſiding there. Theſe, however, ſoon gave way to the perſuaſions of the old colonel, with whom they principally reſided till his death, which happened in 1721, two years after. This union was productive of all that felicity which might be expected to reſult from entire congeniality not of ſentiment only, but of original diſpoſitions, attachments, and modes of living and thinking. He had been accuſtomed to conſider her as a child with tender endearment. She had been uſed to look up to him from infancy as the model of manly excellence; and they drew knowledge and virtue from the ſame fountain, in the mind of that reſpectable parent whom they equally loved and revered.

CHAP. XVII.

The Houſe and rural Œconomy of the Flats.—Birds and Inſects.

I HAVE already ſketched a general outline of that pleaſant home to which the colonel was now about to bring his beloved.

Before I reſume my narrative, I ſhall indulge myſelf in a ſtill more minute account of the premiſes, the mode of living, &c. which will afford a more diſtinct idea of the country; all the wealthy and informed people of the ſettlement living on a ſmaller ſcale, pretty much in the ſame manner. Be it known, however, that the houſe I had ſo much delight in recollecting, had no pretenſion to grandeur, and very little to elegance. It was a large brick houſe of two or rather three ſtories (for there were excellent attics), beſides a ſunk ſtory, finiſhed with the exacteſt neatneſs.

The

The lower floor had two ſpacious rooms, with large light cloſets; on the firſt there were three rooms, and in the upper one four. Through the middle of the houſe was a very wide paſſage, with oppoſite front and back doors, which in ſummer admitted a ſtream of air peculiarly grateful to the lanugid ſenſes. It was furniſhed with chairs and pictures like a ſummer parlour. Here the family uſually ſat in hot weather, when there were no ceremonious ſtrangers.

Valuable furniture (though perhaps not very well choſen or aſſorted) was the favourite luxury of theſe people; and in all the houſes I remember, except thoſe of the brothers, who were every way more liberal. The mirrors, the paintings, the china, but above all, the ſtate bed, were conſidered as the family Zeraphim, ſecretly worſhipped, and only exhibited on very rare occaſions. But in Colonel Schuyler's family the rooms were merely ſhut up to keep the flies, which in that country are

an

an abſolute nuiſance, from ſpoiling the furniture. Another motive was, that they might be pleaſantly cool when opened for company. This houſe had alſo two appendages common to all thoſe belonging to perſons in eaſy circumſtances there. One was a large portico at the door, with a few ſteps leading up to it, and floored like a room; it was open at the ſides, and had ſeats all round. Above was either a ſlight wooden roof, painted like an awning, or a covering of lattice-work, over which a tranſplanted wild vine ſpread its luxuriant leaves and numerous cluſters. Theſe, though ſmall, and rather too acid till ſweetened by the froſt, had a beautiful appearance. What gave an air of liberty and ſafety to theſe ruſtic porticos, which always produced in my mind a ſenſation of pleaſure that I know not how to define, was the number of little birds domeſticated there. For their accommodation there was a ſmall ſhelf built round, where they neſtled, ſacred from the touch of ſlaves

and children, who were taught to regard them as the good genii of the place, not to be disturbed with impunity.

I do not recollect sparrows there, except the wood sparrow. These little birds were of various kinds peculiar to the country; but the one most frequent and familiar was a pretty little creature, of a bright cinnamon colour, called a wren, though little resembling the one to which we give that name, for it is more sprightly, and flies higher. Of these and other small birds, hundreds gave and received protection around this hospitable dwelling. The protection they received consisted merely in the privilege of being let alone. That which they bestowed was of more importance than any inhabitant of Britain can imagine. In these new countries, where man has scarce asserted his dominion, life swarms abundant on every side; the insect population is numerous beyond belief, and the birds that feed on them are in proportion to their abundance. In process of time, when their sheltering

woods

woods are cleared, all these recede before their master, but not before his empire is fully established. These minute aërial foes are more harassing than the terrible inhabitants of the forest, and more difficult to expel. It is only by protecting, and in some sort domesticating, these little winged allies, who attack them in their own element, that the conqueror of the lion and tamer of the elephant can hope to sleep in peace, or eat his meals unpolluted. While breakfasting or drinking tea in the airy portico, which was often the scene of these meals, birds were constantly gliding over the table with a butterfly, grasshopper, or cicada in their bills to feed their young, who were chirping above. These familiar inmates brushed by without ceremony, while the chimney swallow, the martin, and other hirundines in countless numbers darted past in pursuit of this aërial population, while the fields resounded with the ceaseless chirping of many gay insects unknown to our more temperate summers. These were now and then mingled with

the

the animated and not unpleasing cry of the tree-frog, a creature of that species, but of a light slender form, almost transparent, and of a lively green; it is dry to the touch, and has not the dank moisture of its aquatic relations; in short is a pretty lively creature, with a singular and cheerful note. This loud and not unpleasing insect-chorus, with the swarms of gay butterflies in constant motion, enliven scenes to which the prevalence of woods, rising "shade above shade" on every side, would otherwise give a still and solemn aspect. Several objects, which with us are no small additions to the softened changes and endless charms of rural scenery, it must be confessed are wanting there. No lark welcomes the sun that rises to gild the dark forests and gleaming lakes of America; no mellow thrush or deep-toned blackbird warbles through these awful solitudes, or softens the balmy hour of twilight with

"The liquid language of the *groves*."

Twilight itſelf, the mild and ſhadowy hour, ſo ſoothing to every feeling, every penſive mind; that ſoft tranſition from day to night, ſo dear to peace, ſo due to meditation, is here ſcarce known, at leaſt only known to have its ſhortneſs regretted. No daiſy haſtens to meet the ſpring, or embelliſhes the meads in ſummer: here no purple heath exhales its wholeſome odour, or decks the arid waſte with the chaſtened glow of its waving bells. No *bonny* broom, ſuch as enlivens the narrow vales of Scotland with its gaudy bloom, nor flowering furze with its golden bloſſoms, defying the cold blaſts of early ſpring, animate their ſandy wilds. There the white-bloſſomed ſloe does not forerun the orchard's bloom, nor the pale primroſe ſhelter its modeſt head beneath the tangled ſhrubs. Nature, bountiful yet not profuſe, has aſſigned her various gifts to various climes, in ſuch a manner, that none can claim a decided pre-eminence; and every country has peculiar charms, which endear it to the natives beyond any other.

I have

I have been tempted by lively recollections into a digreſſion rather unwarrantable. To return:—

At the back of the large houſe was a ſmaller and lower one, ſo joined to it as to make the form of a croſs. There one or two lower and ſmaller rooms below, and the ſame number above, afforded a refuge to the family during the rigours of winter, when the ſpacious ſummer rooms would have been intolerably cold, and the ſmoke of prodigious wood fires would have ſullied the elegantly clean furniture. Here, too, was a ſunk ſtory, where the kitchen was immediately below the eating parlour, and encreaſed the general warmth of the houſe. In ſummer the negroes reſided in ſlight outer kitchens, where food was dreſt for the family. Thoſe who wrought in the fields often had their ſimple dinner cooked without, and ate it under the ſhade of a great tree. One room I ſhould have ſaid, in the greater houſe only, was opened for the reception of company; all the reſt were bed-chambers for their accommoda-

tion, while the domeſtic friends of the family occupied neat little bed-rooms in the attics, or in the winter houſe. This houſe contained no drawing-room; that was an unheard-of luxury: the winter rooms had carpets; the lobby had oil-cloth painted in lozenges, to imitate blue and white marble. The beſt bed-room was hung with family portraits, ſome of which were admirably executed; and in the eating-room, which, by the bye, was rarely uſed for that purpoſe, were ſome fine ſcripture paintings; that which made the greateſt impreſſion on my imagination, and ſeemed to be univerſally admired, was one of Eſau coming to demand the anticipated bleſſings; the noble manly figure of the luckleſs hunter, and the anguiſh expreſſed in his comely though ſtrong featured countenance, I ſhall never forget. The houſe fronted the river, on the brink of which, under ſhades of elm and ſycamore, ran the great road towards Saratoga, Stillwater, and the northern lakes; a little ſimple avenue of morella cherry trees, incloſed

with

with a white rail, led to the road and river, not three hundred yards diſtant. Adjoining to this, on the ſouth ſide, was an incloſure ſubdivided into three parts, of which the firſt was a ſmall hay field, oppoſite the ſouth end of the houſe; the next, not ſo long, a garden; and the third, by far the largeſt, an orchard. Theſe were ſurrounded by ſimple deal fences. Now let not the genius that preſides over pleaſure-grounds, nor any of his elegant votaries, revolt with diſguſt while I mention the unſeemly ornaments which were exhibited on the ſtakes to which the deals of theſe ſame fences were bound. Truly they conſiſted of the ſkeleton heads of horſes and cattle in as great numbers as could be procured, ſtuck upon the aboveſaid poles. This was not mere ornament either, but a moſt hoſpitable arrangement for the accommodation of the ſmall familiar birds before deſcribed. The jaws are fixed on the pole, and the ſkull uppermoſt. The wren, on ſeeing a ſkull thus placed, never fails to enter by the orifice, which is too ſmall to admit the

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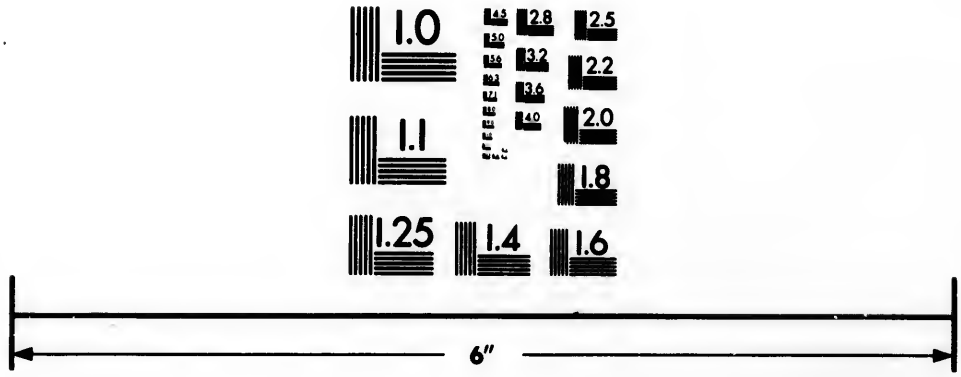

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hand of an infant, lines the pericranium with ſmall twigs and horſe-hair, and there lays her eggs in full ſecurity. It is very amuſing to ſee the little creature careleſsly go out and in at this aperture, though you ſhould be ſtanding immediately beſide it. Not ſatisfied with providing theſe ſingular aſylums for their feathered friends, the negroes never fail to make a ſmall round hole in the crown of every old hat they can lay their hands on, and nail it to the end of the kitchen, for the ſame purpoſe. You often ſee in ſuch a one, at once, thirty or forty of theſe odd little domicils, with the inhabitants buſily going out and in.

Beſides all theſe ſalutary proviſions for the domeſtic comfort of the birds, there was, in clearing the way for their firſt eſtabliſhment, a tree always left in the middle of the back yard, for their ſole emolument: this tree being purpoſely pollarded at Midſummer, when all the branches were full of ſap. Wherever there had been a branch, the decay of the inſide produced a hole; and every hole was the habitation of a bird.

Theſe

Theſe were of various kinds; ſome of which had a pleaſing note, but, on the whole, their ſongſters are far inferior to ours. I rather dwell on theſe minutiæ, as they not only mark the peculiarities of the country, but convey very truly the image of a people not too refined for happineſs, which, in the proceſs of elegant luxury, is apt to die of diſguſt.

CHAP. XVIII.

Deſcription of Colonel Schuyler's Barn, the Common, and its various Uſes.

ADJOINING to the orchard was the moſt ſpacious barn I ever beheld; which I ſhall deſcribe for the benefit of ſuch of my readers as have never ſeen a building conſtructed on a plan ſo comprehenſive. This barn, which, as will hereafter appear, anſwered many beneficial purpoſes beſides thoſe uſually allotted for ſuch edifices, was of a vaſt ſize, at leaſt an hundred feet long, and ſixty wide. The roof roſe to a very great height in the midſt, and ſloped down till it came within ten feet of the ground, when the walls commenced; which, like the whole of this vaſt fabric, were formed of wood. It was raiſed three feet from the ground, by beams reſting on ſtone; and on theſe beams was laid, in the middle of the building, a very maſſive oak floor.

Before

Before the door was a large ſill, ſloping downwards, of the ſame materials. About twelve feet in breadth on each ſide of this capacious building were divided off for cattle; on one ſide ran a manger, at the abovementioned diſtance from the wall, the whole length of the building, with a rack above it; on the others were ſtalls for the other cattle, running alſo the whole length of the building. The cattle and horſes ſtood with their hinder parts to the wall, and their heads projecting towards the threſhing floor. There was a prodigious large box or open cheſt in one ſide built up, for holding the corn after it was thraſhed; and the roof, which was very lofty and ſpacious, was ſupported by large croſs beams: from one to the other of theſe was ſtretched a great number of long poles, ſo as to form a ſort of open loft, on which the whole rich crop was laid up. The floor of thoſe parts of the barn, which anſwered the purpoſes of a ſtable and cow-houſe, was made of thick ſlab deals, laid looſely over the ſupporting beams. And the mode of cleaning thoſe places was by

turning the boards, and permitting the dung and litter to fall into the receptacles left open below for the purpose; from thence, in spring, they were often driven down to the river, the soil, in its original state, not requiring the aid of manure. In the * front of this vast edifice there were prodigious folding doors, and two others that opened behind.

Certainly never did cheerful rural toils wear a more exhilarating aspect than while the domestics were lodging the luxuriant harvest in this capacious repository. When speaking of the doors, I should have mentioned that they were made in the gable ends; those in the back equally large, to correspond with those in the front; while on each side of the great doors were smaller ones, for the cattle and horses to enter. Whenever the corn or hay was reaped or cut, and ready for carrying home, which in that dry and warm climate happened in a very few days, a waggon loaded with hay, for instance, was driven into the midst of

* By the front is meant the gable end, which contains the entrance.

this

this great barn; loaded alſo with numberleſs large graſshoppers, butterflies, and cicadas, who came along with the hay. From the top of the waggon, this was immediately forked up into the loft of the barn, in the midſt of which was an open ſpace left for the purpoſe; and then the unloaded waggon drove, in ruſtic ſtate, out of the great door at the other end. In the mean time every member of the family witneſſed, or aſſiſted in this ſummary proceſs; by which the building and thatching of ſtacks was at once ſaved; and the whole crop and cattle were thus compendiouſly lodged under one roof.

The cheerfulneſs of this animated ſcene was much heightened by the quick appearance, and vaniſhing of the ſwallows; who twittered among their high built dwellings in the roof. Here, as in every other inſtance, the ſafety of theſe domeſtic friends was attended to; and an abode provided for them. In the front of this

barn were many holes, like those of a pidgeon-house, for the accommodation of the martin; that being the species to which this kind of home seems most congenial; and, in the inside of the barn, I have counted above fourscore at once. In the winter, when the earth was buried deep in new fallen snow, and no path fit for walking in was left, this barn was like a great gallery, well suited for that purpose; and furnished with pictures, not unpleasing to a simple and contented mind. As you walked through this long area, looking up, you beheld the abundance of the year treasured above you; on one side the comely heads of your snorting steeds presented themselves, arranged in seemly order; on the other, your kine displayed their meeker visages, while the perspective, on either, was terminated by heifers and fillies no less interesting. In the midst, your servants exercised the flail; and even, while they threshed out the straw, distributed it to the expectants on both sides; while the

"liberal handful" was occasionally thrown to the many coloured poultry on the hill. Winter itself never made this abode of life and plenty cold or cheerless. Here you might walk and view all your subjects, and their means of support, at one glance; except, indeed, the sheep; for whom a large and commodious building was erected very near the barn; the roof of which, was furnished with a loft large enough to contain hay sufficient for their winter's food.

Colonel Schuyler's barn was by far the largest I have ever seen: but all of them, in that country, were constructed on the same plan, furnished with the same accommodation, and presented the same cheering aspect. The orchard, as I formerly mentioned, was on the south side of the barn; on the north, a little farther back towards the wood, which formed a dark skreen behind this smiling scene, there was an inclosure, in which the remains of the deceased members of the family

mily were depoſited. A field of pretty large extent, adjoining to the houſe on that ſide, remained uncultivated, and uninclo-ſed; over it were ſcattered a few large apple-trees of a peculiar kind; the fruit of which was never appropriated. This piece of level and productive land, ſo near the the family manſion, and ſo adapted to various and uſeful purpoſes, was never made uſe of; but left open as a public benefit.

From the known liberality of this munifi-cent family, all Indians, or new ſettlers, on their journey, whether they came by land or water, reſted here. The military, in paſſing, always formed a camp on this common; and here the Indian wigwams were often planted; here all manner of garden-ſtuff, fruit, and milk, were plen-tifully diſtributed to wanderers of all de-ſcriptions. Every ſummer, for many years, there was an encampment, either of regular or provincial troops, on this com-mon; and often, when the troops pro-

ceeded

ceeded northward, a little colony of helpless women and children, belonging to them, was left in a great measure dependant on the compassion of these worthy patriarchs; for such the brothers might be justly called.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Military Preparations.—Disinterested Conduct, the surest Road to Popularity,—Fidelity of the Mohawks.

THE first year of the colonel's marriage was chiefly spent in New York, and in visits to the friends of his bride, and other relations. The following years they spent at home; surrounded daily by his brothers, and their families; and other relatives, with whom they maintained the most affectionate intercourse. The colonel, however, (as I have called him by anticipation) had, at this time, his mind engaged by public duties of the most urgent nature. He was a member of the colonial assembly; and, by a kind of hereditary right, was obliged to support that character of patriotism, courage, and public wisdom, which had so eminently distinguished his father. The father of Mrs. Schuyler,

too,

too, had been long mayor of Albany; at that time an office of great importance; as including, within itſelf, the entire civil power exerciſed over the whole ſettlement as well as the town, and having attached to it a ſort of patriarchal authority; for the people, little acquainted with coercion, and by no means inclined to ſubmit to it, had, however, a profound reverence, as is generally the caſe in the infancy of ſociety, for the families of their firſt leaders; whom they had looked up to merely as knowing them to poſſeſs ſuperior worth, talent, and enterpriſe. In a ſociety, as yet uncorrupted, the value of this rich inheritance can only be diminiſhed by degradation of character, in the repreſentative of a family thus ſelf-ennobled; eſpecially if he be diſintereſted. This, though apparently a negative quality, being the one of all others that, combined with the higher powers of mind, moſt engages affection in private and eſteem in public life. This is a ſhield that blunts the ſhafts which envy never fails to level at the proſperous, even

in

in old eſtabliſhments; where, from the very nature of things, a thouſand obſtructions riſe in the upward path of merit; and a thouſand temptations appear to miſlead it from its direct road; and where the rays of opinion are refracted by ſo many prejudices of contending intereſts and factions. Still, if any charm can be found to fix that fleeting phantom popularity, this is it: it would be very honourable to human nature, if this could be attributed to the pure love of virtue; but, alas! multitudes are not made up of the wiſe, or the virtuous. Yet the very ſelfiſhneſs of our nature inclines us to love and truſt thoſe who are not likely to deſire any benefit from us, in return for thoſe they confer. Other vices may be, if not ſocial, in ſome degree gregarious: but even the avaricious hate avarice in all but themſelves.

Thus, inheriting unſtained integrity, unbounded popularity, a cool determined ſpirit, and ample poſſeſſions, no man had fairer pretenſions to unlimited ſway, in the ſphere in which he moved, than the colonel;

colonel; but of this, no man could be leſs deſirous. He was too wiſe, and too happy to ſolicit authority; and yet too public-ſpirited, and too generous to decline it, when any good was to be done or any evil reſiſted; from which no private benefit reſulted to himſelf.

Young as his wife was, and much as ſhe valued the bleſſing of their union, and the pleaſure of his ſociety, ſhe ſhewed a ſpirit worthy of a Roman matron; in willingly riſking all her happineſs, even in that early period of her marriage, by conſenting to his aſſuming a military command; and leading forth the provincial troops againſt the common enemy: who had now become more boldly dangerous than ever. Not content with ſecretly ſtimulating the Indian tribes, who were thier allies, and enemies to the Mohawks, to acts of violence, the French Canadians, in violation of exiſting treaties, began to make incurſions on the ſlighteſt pretexts. It was no common warfare in which the colonel was about to engage: but

but the duties of entering on vigorous meaſures, for the defence of the country, became not only obvious but urgent. No other perſon but he had influence enough to produce any coheſion among the people of that diſtrict, or any determination, with their own arms and at their own coſt, to attack the common enemy. As formerly obſerved, this had hitherto been truſted to the five confederate Mohawk nations; who, though ſtill faithful to their old friends, had too much ſagacity and obſervation, and indeed too ſtrong a native ſenſe of rectitude, to perſuade their young warriors to go on venturing their lives in defence of thoſe, who, from their increaſed power and numbers, were able to defend themſelves with the aid of their allies. Add to this, that their poſſeſſions were on all ſides daily extending; and that they, the Albanians, were carrying their trade for furs, &c. into the deepeſt receſſes of the foreſts, and towards thoſe great lakes which the Canadians were accuſtomed to conſider as the boundaries

of

of their dominions; and where they had Indians whom they were at great pains to attach to themſelves, and to inſpire againſt us and our allies.

Colonel Schuyler's father had held the ſame rank in a provincial corps formerly: but in his time, there was a profound peace in the diſtrict he inhabited; though from his reſolute temper and knowledge of public buſineſs, and of the different Indian languages, he was ſelected to head a regiment raiſed in the Jerſeys and the adjacent bounds, for the defence of the back frontiers of Penſylvania, New England, &c. Colonel Philip Schuyler was the firſt who raiſed a corps in the interior of the province of New York; which was not only done by his perſonal influence, but occaſioned him a conſiderable expence, though the regiment was paid by the province, the province alſo furniſhing arms and military ſtores; their ſervice being, like that of all provincials, limited to the ſummer half year.

The governor and chief commander came up to Albany to view and approve the prepara-

preparations making for this interior war, and to meet the congreſs of Indian ſachems; who, on that occaſion, renewed their ſolemn league with their brother the great king. Colonel Schuyler, being then the perſon they moſt looked up to and confided in, was their proxy on this occaſion in ratifying an engagement to which they ever adhered with ſingular fidelity. And mutual preſents brightened the chain of amity, to uſe their own figurative language.

The common and the barn, at the Flats, were fully occupied, and the hoſpitable manſion, as was uſual on all public occaſions, overflowed. There the general, his aid-de-camps, the ſachems and the principal officers of the colonel's regiment, were received; and thoſe who could not find room there of the next claſs, were accommodated by Peter and Jeremiah. On the common was an Indian encampment; and the barn and orchard were full of the provincials. All theſe laſt brought as uſual their own food: but were

ſupplied by this liberal family with every production of the garden, dairy, and orchard. While the colonel's judgment was exerciſed in the neceſſary regulations for this untried warfare, Mrs. Schuyler, by the calm fortitude ſhe diſplayed in this trying exigence, by the good ſenſe and good breeding with which ſhe accommodated her numerous and various gueſts, and by thoſe judicious attentions to family concerns, which, producing order and regularity through every department without viſible buſtle and anxiety, enable the miſtreſs of a family to add grace and eaſe to hoſpitality, ſhewed herſelf worthy of her diſtinguiſhed lot.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

Account of a refractory Warrior, and of the Spirit which ſtill pervaded the New England Provinces.

WHILE theſe preparations were going on, the general * was making every effort of the neighbourhood to urge thoſe who had promiſed aſſiſtance, to come forward with their allotted quotas.

On the other ſide of the river, not very far from the Flats, lived a perſon whom I ſhall not name; though his conduct was ſo peculiar and characteriſtic of the times, that his anti-heroiſm is on that ſole account worth mentioning. This perſon lived in great ſecurity and abundance, in a place like an earthly Paradiſe, and ſcarcely knew what it was to have an ungratified wiſh, having had conſiderable wealth left to him; and from the ſimple and domeſtic

* Shirley.

habits

habits of his life, had formed no desires beyond it, unless indeed it were the desire of being thought a brave man, which seemed his greatest ambition; he was strong, robust, and an excellent marksman; talked loud, looked fierce, and always expressed the utmost scorn and detestation of cowardice. The colonel applied to him, that his name, and the names of such adherents as he could bring, might be set down in the list of those who were to bring their quota, against a given time, for the general defence: with the request he complied. When the rendezvous came on, this talking warrior had changed his mind, and absolutely refused to appear; the general sent for him, and warmly expostulated on his breach of promise; the bad example, and the disarrangement of plan which it occasioned: the culprit spoke in a high tone, saying, very truly, "that the general was possessed of no "legal means of coercion; that every one "went or staid as they chose; and that "his change of opinion on that subject

" rendered him liable to no penalty what-
" ever." Tired of this sophistry, the enraged general had recourse to club law; and seizing a cudgel, belaboured this recreant knight most manfully; while several Indian sachems, and many of his own countrymen and friends, coolly stood by; for the colonel's noted common was the scene of this assault. Our poor neighbour (as he long after became) suffered this dreadful bastinado, unaided and unpitied; and this example, and the consequent contempt under which he laboured, (for he was ever after stiled Captain, and did not refuse the title,) was said to have an excellent effect in preventing such retrogade motions in subsequent campaigns*. The provin-

* Above thirty years after, when the writer of these pages lived with her family at the Flats, the hero of this little tale used very frequently to visit her father, a veteran officer; and being a great talker, war and politics were his incessant topics. There was no campaign or expedition proposed but what he censured and decided on; proposing methods of his own, by which they might have been much better conducted;

provincial troops, aided by the faithful Mohawks, performed their duty with great ſpirit and perſeverance. They were, indeed, very ſuperior to the ignorant, obſtinate, and mean-ſouled beings, who, in after times, brought the very name of provincial troops into diſcredit; and were actuated by no ſingle motive but that of avoiding the legal penalty then affixed to diſobedience, and enjoying the pay and proviſions allotted to them by the province, or the mother country, I cannot exactly ſay which. Afterwards, when the refuſe of mankind were ſelected, like Falſtaff's ſoldiers, and raiſed much in the ſame way, the New-York troops ſtill

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conducted: in ſhort Parolles with his drum was a mere type of our neighbour. Her father long wondered how kindly he took to him, and how a perſon of ſo much wealth and eloquence ſhould dwell ſo obſcurely, and ſhun all the duties of public life; till at length we diſcovered that he ſtill loved to talk arrogantly of war and public affairs, and pitched upon him for a liſtener, as the only perſon he could ſuppoſe ignorant of his diſgrace. Such is human nature! and ſo incurable is human vanity!!

maintained their respectability. This superiority might, without reproaching others, be in some measure accounted for from incidental causes. The four New England provinces were much earlier settled, assumed sooner the forms of a civil community, and lived within narrower bounds; they were more laborious; their fanaticism, which they brought from England in its utmost fervour, long continued its effervescence, where there were no pleasures, or indeed lucrative pursuits, to detach their minds from it: and long after that genuine spirit of piety, which, however narrowed and disfigured, was still sincere, had in a great measure evaporated; enough of the pride and rigour of bigotry remained to make them detest and despise the Indian tribes as ignorant heathen savages. The tribes, indeed, who inhabited their district, had been so weakened by an unsuccessful warfare with the Mohawks, and were so every way inferior to them, that after the first establishment of the colony, and a few feeble attacks successfully

repulſed, they were no longer enemies to be dreaded, or friends to be courted. This had an unhappy effect with regard to thoſe provinces; and to the different relations in which they ſtood with reſpect to the Indians, ſome part of the ſtriking difference in the moral and military character of theſe various eſtabliſhments muſt be attributed.

The people of New England left the mother country, as baniſhed from it by what they conſidered oppreſſion; came over foaming with religious and political fury, and narrowly miſſed having the moſt artful and able of demagogues, Cromwell himſelf, for their leader and guide. They might be compared to lava, diſcharged by the fury of internal combuſtion, from the boſom of the commonwealth, while inflamed by contending elements. This lava, every one acquainted with the convulſions of nature muſt know, takes a long time to cool; and when at length it is cooled, turns to a ſubſtance hard and barren, that long reſiſts the kindly influence of the ele-

ments, before its ſurface reſumes the appearance of beauty and fertility. Such were the almoſt literal effects of political convulſions, aggravated by a fiery and intolerant zeal for their own mode of worſhip, on theſe ſelf-righteous coloniſts.

Theſe preliminary remarks on the diverſity of character in thoſe neighbouring provinces lead the way, in the mean time, to a diſcrimination, the effects of which have become intereſting to the whole world.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Diſtinguiſhing Characteriſtics of the New York Coloniſts, to what owing.—Hugonots and *Palatines*, their Character.

BUT to return to the ſuperior moral and military character of the New York populace. It was in the firſt place owing to a well regulated piety, leſs concerned about forms than eſſentials. Next, to an influx of other than the original ſettlers, which tended to render the general ſyſtem of opinion more liberal and tolerant. The French proteſtants, driven from their native land by intolerant bigotry, had lived at home excluded alike from public employments and faſhionable ſociety. Deprived of ſo many reſources that were open to their fellow-ſubjects, and forced to ſeek comfort in piety and concord for many privations, ſelf-command and frugality had been in a manner forced upon them; conſequently

they were not ſo vain or ſo volatile as to diſguſt their new aſſociates; while their cheerful tempers, accommodating manners, and patience under adverſity, were very prepoſſeſſing.

Theſe additional inhabitants, being ſuch as had ſuffered real and extreme hardſhips for conſcience-ſake from abſolute tyranny and the moſt cruel intolerance, rejoiced in the free exerciſe of a pure and rational religion, and in the protection of mild and equitable laws, as the firſt of human bleſſings; which privation had ſo far taught them to value, that they thought no exertion too great to preſerve them. I ſhould have formerly mentioned, that, beſides the French refugees already ſpoken of, during the earlieſt period of the eſtabliſhment of the Britiſh ſovereignty in this part of the continent, a great number of the proteſtants, whom the fury of war and perſecution on religious accounts had driven from the Palatinate, during the ſucceſsful and deſolating period of the wars carried on againſt that unhappy country by Lewis the Fourteenth. The

ſubdued

ſubdued and contented ſpirit, the ſimple and primitive manners, and frugal, induſtrious, habits of theſe genuine ſufferers for conſcience-ſake, made them an acquiſition to any ſociety which received them, and a moſt ſuitable infuſion among the inhabitants of this province; who, devoted to the purſuits of agriculture and the Indian trade, which encouraged a wild romantic ſpirit of adventure, little reliſhed thoſe mechanical employments, or that petty yet neceſſary traffic in ſhops, &c. to which part of every regulated ſociety muſt needs devote their attention. Theſe civic toils were left to thoſe patient and induſtrious exiles; while the friendly intercourſe with the original natives had ſtrongly tinctured the firſt coloniſts with many of their habits and modes of thinking. Like them, they delighted in hunting; that image of war, which ſo generally, where it is the prevalent amuſement, forms the body to athletic force and patient endurance, and the mind to daring intrepidity. It was not alone the timorous deer or feeble hare that were the objects of

their purſuit; nor could they in ſuch an impenetrable country attempt to rival the fox in ſpeed or ſubtlety. When they kept their "few ſheep in the wilderneſs," the ſhe bear, jealous for her young, and the wolf, furious for prey, were to be encountered for their protection. From theſe allies, too, many who lived much among them had learnt that fearleſs adherence to truth, which exalts the mind to the nobleſt kind of reſolution. The dangers they were expoſed to of meeting wandering individuals, or parties of hoſtile Indians, while traverſing the woods in their ſporting or commercial adventures, and the neceſſity that ſometimes occurred of defending their families by their own perſonal proweſs, from the ſtolen irruptions of detached parties of thoſe uſually called the French Indians, had alſo given their minds a warlike bent; and as a boy was not uncommonly truſted at nine or ten years of age with a light fowling-piece, which he ſoon learned to uſe with great dexterity, few countries could produce ſuch dexterous markſmen,

or

or persons so well qualified for conquering those natural obstacles of thick woods and swamps, which would at once baffle the most determined European. It was not only that they were strong of limb, swift of foot, and excellent marksmen — the hatchet was as familiar to them as the musket; and an amateur, who had never cut wood but for his diversion, could hew down a tree with a celerity that would astonish and abash a professed wood-cutter in this country; in short, when means or arguments could be used powerful enough to collect a people so uncontrouled and so uncontroulable, and when headed by a leader whom they loved and trusted, so much as they did Colonel Schuyler, a well armed body of New York provincials had nothing to dread but an ague or an ambuscade, to both of which they were much exposed on the banks of the lakes, and amidst the swampy forests, through which they had to penetrate in pursuit of an enemy; of whom they might say with the Grecian hero, that "they wanted but daylight to conquer "him."

" him." This firſt eſſay in arms of thoſe provincials, under the auſpices of their brave and generous leader, ſucceeded beyond their hopes. This is all I can recollect of it. Of its deſtination I only know that it was directed againſt ſome of thoſe eſtabliſhments which the French began to make within the Britiſh boundaries. The expedition only terminated with the ſeaſon. The provincials brought home Canadian priſoners, who were kept on their parole in the houſes of the three brothers, and became afterwards their friends; and the Five Nations brought home Indian priſoners, moſt of whom they adopted, and ſcalps enough to ſtrike awe into the adverſe nations, who were for a year or two afterwards pretty quiet.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

A Child ſtill-born.—Adoption of Children common in the Province.—Madame's *Viſit to New York.*

MRS. SCHUYLER had contributed all in her power to forward this expedition; but was probably hurt, either by the fatigue of receiving ſo many friends, or the anxiety produced by parting with them under ſuch circumſtances; for ſoon after the colonel's departure ſhe was delivered of a dead child, which event was followed by an alarming illneſs; but ſhe wiſhed the colonel to be kept ignorant of it, that he might give his undivided attention to the duties in which he was engaged. Providence, which doubtleſs had ſingled out this benevolent pair to be the parents of many who had no natural claim upon their affection, did not indulge them with any ſucceeding proſpects of a family of their own. This privation, not a frequent one in this colony, did not chill the

the minds or narrow the hearts of people, who, from this circumſtance, found themſelves more at liberty to extend their beneficence, and enlarge that circle which embraced the objects of their love and care. This indeed was not ſingular during that reign of natural feeling which preceded the prevalence of artificial modes in this primitive diſtrict. The love of offſpring is certainly one of the ſtrongeſt deſires that the uncorrupted mind forms to itſelf in a ſtate of comparative innocence. Affecting indifference on this ſubject is the ſureſt proof of a diſpoſition either callous, or led by extreme vanity to pretend inſenſibility to the beſt feelings of nature.

To a tie ſo exquiſitely tender, the pledge and bond of connubial union; to that bud of promiſed felicity, which always cheers with the fragrance of hope the noon-day of toil or care, and often ſupports with the rich cordial of filial love and watchful duty the evening of our decline, what mind can be indifferent. No wonder the joys of paternity ſhould be highly reliſhed

where

where they were ſo richly flavoured; where parents knew not what it was to find a rebel or a rival in a child; firſt, becauſe they ſet the example of ſimplicity, of moderation, and of ſeeking their higheſt joys in domeſtic life; next, becauſe they quietly expected and calmly welcomed the evening of life; and did not, by an abſurd deſire of being young too long, inſpire their offspring with a premature ambition to occupy their place. What ſacrifices have I not ſeen made to filial piety! How many reſpectable (though not young) maidens, who, without pretending a diſlike to marriage, have rejected men whom their hearts approved, becauſe they would not forſake, during her lifetime, a widowed mother, whoſe ſole comfort they were!

For ſuch children who, that hopes to grow old, would not wiſh? A conſideration which the more poliſhed manners of Europe teach us to baniſh as far as poſſible from our minds. We have learned to check this natural ſentiment, by finding other objects for thoſe faculties of our minds, which nature intended to bleſs and benefit

benefit creatures born to love us, and to enlarge our affections by exciting them. If this ſtream, which ſo naturally inclines to flow downwards, happened to be checked in its courſe for want of the uſual channel, theſe adepts in the ſcience of happineſs immediately formed a new one, and liked their canal as well as a river, becauſe it was of their own making. To ſpeak without a metaphor, whoever wanted a child adopted one; love produced love, and the grafted ſcyon very often proved an ornament and defence to the ſupporting ſtock. But then the ſcyon was generally artleſs and grateful. This is a part of the manners of my old friends which I always remember with delight; more particularly as it was the invariable cuſtom to ſelect the child of a friend who had a numerous family. The very animals are not devoid of that mixture of affection and ſagacity, which ſuggeſts a mode of ſupplying this great deſideratum. Next to that prince of cats, the famous cat of Whittington, I would place the cat recorded by Dr. White in his curious natural

hiſtory,

hiſtory, who, when deprived of her young, ſought a parcel of deſerted leverets to ſuckle and to fondle. What an example!

The following year produced a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities between the Provinces and the Canadians. The colonel went to New York to attend his duty, being again choſen a member of the Colonial Aſſembly. Mrs. Schuyler accompanied him; and being improved both in mind and manners ſince her marriage, which, by giving her a more important part to act, had called forth her powers, ſhe became the centre of a circle by no means inelegant or uninformed; for ſociety was there more various and more poliſhed than in any other part of the continent, both from the mixture of ſettlers, formerly deſcribed, and from its being ſituated in a province moſt frequently the ſeat of war, and conſequently forming the head-quarters of the army, which, in point of the birth and education of the candidates for promotion, was on a very different footing from what it has been ſince. It was then a much narrower range, and the ſelection more attended to. Unleſs a man, by ſingular

powers

powers or talent, fought his way from the inferior rank; here was hardly an instance of a person getting even a subaltern's commission whose birth was not at least genteel, and who had not interest and alliances. There were not so many lucrative places under government. The wide field of adventure since opened in the East was scarcely known; a subaltern's pay was more adequate to the maintenance of a gentleman; and the noblest and most respected families had no other way of providing for such younger brothers, as were not bred to any learned profession, but by throwing them into the army. As to morals, this did not perhaps much mend the matter. These officers might in some instances be thoughtless, and even profligate, but they were seldom ignorant or low bred; and that rare character called a finished gentleman, was not unfrequently to be found among the higher ranks of them; who had added experience, reading, and reflection to their original stock of talents and attainments.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Colonel Schuyler's partiality to the military children ſucceſſively adopted.—Indian character falſely charged with idleneſs.

It ſo happened that a ſucceſſion of officers, of the deſcription mentioned in the preceding chapter, were to be ordered upon the ſervice which I have been detailing; and whether in New York or at home, they always attached themſelves particularly to this family, who, to the attractions of good breeding and eaſy intelligent converſation, added the power, which they pre-eminently poſſeſſed, of ſmoothing the way for their neceſſary intercourſe with the independent and ſelf-righted ſettlers, and inſtructing them in many things eſſential to promote the ſucceſs of the purſuits in which they were about to engage. It was one of aunt Schuyler's many ſingular merits, that, after acting for a time a diſtinguiſhed part in this compara-

comparatively refined ſociety, where few were ſo much admired and eſteemed, ſhe could return to the homely good ſenſe and primitive manners of her fellow citizens at Albany, free from faſtidiouſneſs and diſguſt. Few indeed, without ſtudy or deſign, ever better underſtood the art of being happy, and making others ſo. Being gay is another ſort of thing; gaiety, as the word is underſtood in ſociety, is too often aſſumed, artificial, and produced by ſuch an effort, that, in the midſt of laughter, "the heart "is indeed ſad." Very different are the ſmiles that occaſionally illume the placid countenance of cheerful tranquillity. They are the emanations of a heart at reſt; in the enjoyment of that ſunſhine of the breaſt, which is ſet for ever to the reſtleſs votaries of mere amuſement.

According to the laudable cuſtom of the country they took home a child, whoſe mother had died in giving her birth, and whoſe father was a relation of the colonel's. This child's name was either Schuyler or Cuyler, I do not exactly remember which;

which; but I remember her many years after as Mrs. Vander Poolen; when, as a comely contented looking matron, ſhe uſed to pay her annual viſit to her beloved benefactreſs, and ſend her ample preſents of ſuch rural dainties as her abode afforded. I have often heard her warm in her praiſes; ſaying how uſeful, how modeſt, and how affectionate ſhe had been; and exulting in her comfortable ſettlement, and the plain worth, which made her a bleſſing to her family. From this time to her aunt's death, above fifty years afterwards, her houſe was never without one, but much oftener two children, whom this exemplary pair educated with parental care and kindneſs. And whenever one of their protegées married out of the houſe, which was generally at a very early age, ſhe carried with her a female ſlave, born and baptiſed in the houſe, and brought up with a thorough knowledge of her duty, and an habitual attachment to her miſtreſs; beſides the uſual preſent of the furniture of a chamber, and a piece of plate, ſuch as a

tea-

tea-pot, tankard, or ſome ſuch uſeful matter, which was more or leſs valuable as the protegée was more or leſs beloved: for though aunt Schuyler had great ſatisfaction from the characters and conduct of all her adopted, there were, no doubt, degrees of merit among them, of which ſhe was better able to judge than if ſhe had been their actual mother.

There was now an interval of peace, which gave theſe philanthropiſts more leiſure to do good in their own way. They held a three-fold band of kindneſs in their hands, by which they led to the deſirable purpoſe of mutual advantage; three very diſcordant elements, which were daily becoming more difficult to mingle and to rule; and which yet were the more dependent on each other for mutual comfort, from the very cauſes which tended to diſunite them.

In the firſt place, the Indians began to aſſume that unfavourable and uncertain aſpect, which it is the fate of man to wear in the firſt ſteps of his progreſs from that

ſtate where he is a being at once warlike and ſocial, having few wants, and being able, without conſtant labour or diviſion of ranks, to ſupply them; where there is no diſtinction, ſave that attained by ſuperior ſtrength of mind and body; and where there are no laws, but thoſe dictated by good ſenſe, aided by experience, and enforced by affection, this ſtate of life may be truly called the reign of the affections: the love of kindred and of country, ruling paramount, unrivalled by other paſſions, all others being made ſubſervient to theſe. Vanity, indeed, was in ſome degree flattered; for people wore ornaments, and were at no ſmall pains to make them. Pride exiſted: but was differently modified from what we ſee it; every man was proud of the prowes and atchievements of his tribe collectively; of his perſonal virtues he was not proud, becauſe we excel but by compariſon; and he rarely ſaw inſtances of the oppoſite vices in his own nation, and looked on others with unqualified contempt.

When

When any public benefit was to be obtained, or any public danger to be averted, their mutual efforts were all bent to one end; and no one knew what it was to withhold his utmoſt aid, nor indeed could in that ſtage of ſociety have any motive for doing ſo. Hence, no mind being contracted by ſelfiſh cares, the community were but as one large family, who enjoyed or ſuffered together. We are accuſtomed to talk, in parrot phraſe, of indolent ſavages; and to be ſure in warm climates, and where the ſtate of man is truly ſavage, that is to ſay, unſocial, void of virtue and void of comforts, he is certainly an indolent being; but that individual, in a cold climate, who has taſted the ſweets of ſocial life, who knows the wants that ariſe from it, who provides for his children in their helpleſs ſtate, and where taſte and ingenuity are ſo much improved, that his perſon is not only clothed with warm and ſeemly apparel, but decorated with numerous and not inelegant ornaments; which from the ſcarcity and ſimplicity of his tools, he

he has no ready or easy mode of producing: when he has not only found out all these wants, which he has no means of supplying but by his individual strength, dexterity, and ingenuity, industry must be added, ere they can be all regularly gratified. Very active and industrious, in fact, the Indians were in their original state; and when we take it into consideration, that beside all these occupations, together with their long journies, wars, and constant huntings and fishing, their leisure was occupied not only by athletic but studious games; at which they played for days together with unheard of eagerness and perseverance; it will appear they had very little of that lounging time, for which we are so apt to give them credit. Or if a chief occasionally after fatigue, of which we can form no adequate idea, lay silent in the shade, those frisking Frenchmen who have given us most details concerning them, were too restless themselves to subdue their skipping spirits to the recollection, that a Mohawk had no study or arm chair

wherein to muſe and cogitate; and that his ſchemes of patriotiſm, his plans of war, and his eloquent ſpeeches, were all like the meditations of Jacques, formed "under "the greenwood tree." Neither could any man lounge on his ſofa, while half a dozen others were employed in ſhearing the ſheep, preparing the wool, weaving and making his coat, or in planting the flax for his future linen, and flaying the ox for his future ſhoes; were he to do all this himſelf, he would have little leiſure for ſtudy or repoſe. And all this and more the Indian did, under other names and forms. So that idleneſs, with its gloomy followers *ennui* and ſuicide, were unknown among this truly active people: yet that there is a higher ſtate of ſociety cannot be denied; nor can it be denied that the intermediate ſtate is a painful and enfeebling one.

Man, in a ſtate of nature, is taught by his more civilized brethren a thouſand new wants before he learns to ſupply one. Thence barter takes place; which

which in the firſt ſtage of progreſſion is univerſally fatal to the liberty, the ſpirit, and the comforts of an uncivilized people.

In the eaſt, where the cradle of our infant nature was appointed, the clime was genial, its productions abundant, and its winters only ſufficient to conſume the ſurplus, and give a welcome variety to the ſeaſons. There man was either a ſhepherd or a hunter, as his diſpoſition led; and that perhaps in the ſame family. The meek ſpirit of Jacob delighted in tending his father's flocks; while the more daring and adventurous Eſau traced the wilds of mount Seir, in purſuit both of the fiercer animals who waged war upon the fold, and the more timorous who adminiſtered to the luxury of the table.

The progreſs of civilization was here gradual and gentle; and the elegant arts ſeem to have gone hand in hand with the uſeful ones. For we read of bracelets and ear-rings ſent as tokens of love, and images highly valued and coveted; while even agriculture ſeemed in its infancy.

CHAP. XXIV.

Progreſs of Civilization in Europe.—Northern Nations inſtructed in the Arts of Life by thoſe they had ſubdued.

POPULATION extending to the milder regions of Europe, brought civilization along with it; ſo that it is only among the ſavages (as we call our anceſtors) of the North, that we can trace the intermediate ſtate I have ſpoken of. Amongſt them, one regular gradation ſeems to have taken place; they were firſt hunters, and then warriors. As they advanced in their knowledge of the arts of life, and acquired a little property, as much of paſtoral purſuits as their rigorous climate would allow, without the aid of regular agriculture, mingled with their wandering habits. But, except in a few partial inſtances, from hunters they became conquerors: the warlike habits acquired from that mode of life

raiſing their minds above patient induſtry, and teaching them to deſpiſe the ſofter arts that embelliſh ſociety. In fine, their uſual proceſs was to paſs to civilization through the medium of conqueſt. The poet ſays,

> "With noble ſcorn the firſt fam'd Cato viewed,
> Rome learning arts from Greece, which ſhe ſubdued."

The ſurly cenſor might have ſpared his ſcorn, for doubtleſs ſcience, and the arts of peace, were by far the moſt valuable acquiſitions reſulting from their conqueſt of that poliſhed and ingenious people. But when the ſavage hunters of the north became too numerous to ſubſiſt on their deer and fiſh, and too warlike to dread the conflict with troops more regularly armed, they ruſhed down, like a cataract, on their enfeebled and voluptuous neighbours; deſtroyed the monuments of art, and ſeemed for a time to change the very face of nature. Yet dreadful as were the devaſtations of this flood, let forth by di-

vine vengeance to punish and to renovate, it had its use, in sweeping away the hoarded mass of corruption with which the dregs of mankind had polluted the earth. It was an awful, but a needful process; which, in some form or other, is always renewed when human degeneracy has reached its ultimatum. The destruction of these feeble beings, who, lost to every manly and virtuous sentiment, crawl about the rich property which they have not sense to use worthily, or spirit to defend manfully, may be compared to the effort nature makes to rid herself of the noxious brood of wasps and slugs, cherished by successive mild winters. A dreadful frost comes; man suffers, and complains; his subject animals suffer more, and all his works are for a time suspended: but this salutary infliction purifies the air, meliorates the soil, and destroys millions of lurking enemies, who would otherwise have consumed the productions of the earth, and deformed the face of nature. In these barbarous irruptions, the monuments

ments of art, ſtatues, pictures, temples, and palaces, ſeem to be moſt lamented. From age to age the virtuoſi of every country have re-echoed to each other their feeble plaints over the loſt works of art; as if that had been the heavieſt ſorrow in the general wreck; and as if the powers that produced them had ceaſed to exiſt. It is over the defaced image of the divine author, and not merely the mutilated reſemblance of his creatures, that the wiſe and virtuous ſhould lament! We are told that in Rome there were as many ſtatues as men: had all theſe lamented ſtatues been preſerved, would the world be much wiſer or happier? a ſufficient number remain as models to future ſtatuaries, and memorials of departed art and genius. Wealth, directed by taſte and liberality, may be much better employed in calling forth, by due encouragement, that genius which doubtleſs exiſts among our cotemporaries, than in paying exorbitantly the vender of fragments.

"Mind, mind alone, bear witness earth and Heav'n!
The living fountains in itself contains
Of beauteous and sublime."

And what has mind atchieved, that, in a favourable conjuncture, it may not again aspire to? The lost arts are ever the theme of classical lamentation; but the great and real evil was the loss of the virtues which protected them; of courage, fortitude, honour, and patriotism: in short of the whole manly character. This must be allowed, after the dreadful tempest of subversion was over, to have been in some degree restored in the days of chivalry: and it is equally certain that the victors learnt from the vanquished many of the arts that support life, and all those which embellish it. When their manners were softened by the aid of a mild and charitable religion, this blended people assumed that undefined power, derived from superior valour and superior wisdom, which has so far exalted Europe over all the regions

gions of the earth. Thus, where a bold and warlike people ſubdue a voluptuous and effeminate one, the reſult is, in due time, an improvement of national character. In ſimilar climes and circumſtances to thoſe of the primeval nations in the other hemiſphere, the caſe has been very different. There, too, the hunter, by the ſame gradation, became a warrior; but firſt allured by the friendſhip which ſought his protection; then repelled by the art that coveted and encroached on his territories; and laſtly by the avarice which taught him new wants, and then took an undue advantage of them; they neither wiſhed for our ſuperfluities, nor envied our mode of life; nor did our encroachments much diſturb them, as they receded into their trackleſs coverts as we approached from the coaſt. But though they ſcorned our refinements; and though our government, and all the enlightened minds amongſt us, dealt candidly and generouſly with all ſuch as were not ſet on by our enemies to injure us, the blight of Eu-

ropean vices, the mere consequence of private greedinesſ and fraud, proved fatal to our very friends. As I formerly obſerved, the nature of the climate did not admit of the warriors paſſing through the medium of a ſhepherd's life to the toils of agriculture. The climate, though extremely warm in ſummer, was ſo ſevere in winter, and that winter was ſo long, that it required no little labour to ſecure the food for the animals which were to be maintained; and no ſmall expence in that country to procure the implements neceſſary for the purpoſes of agriculture. In other countries, when a poor man has not wherewithal to begin farming, he ſerves another; and the reward of his toil enables him to ſet up for himſelf. No ſuch reſource was open to the Indians, had they even inclined to adopt our modes. No Indian ever ſerved another, or received aſſiſtance from any one except his own family. 'Tis inconceivable, too, what a different kind of exertion of ſtrength it requires to cultivate the ground, and to endure

dure the fatigues of the chace, long journies, &c. To all that induces us to labour they were indifferent. When a governor of New York was deſcribing to an Indian the advantages that ſome one would derive from ſuch and ſuch poſſeſſions; "Why," ſaid he, with evident ſurprize, "ſhould any man deſire to poſſeſs more "than he uſes?" More appeared to his untutored ſenſe an incumbrance.

I have already obſerved how much happier they conſidered their manner of living than ours; yet their intercourſe with us daily diminiſhed their independence, their happineſs, and even their numbers. In the new world this fatality has never failed to follow the introduction of European ſettlers; who, inſtead of civilizing and improving, ſlowly conſume and waſte; where they do not, like the Spaniards, abſolutely deſtroy and exterminate the natives. The very nature of even our moſt friendly mode of dealing with them was pernicious to their moral welfare; which, though too late, they well underſtood, and could

as well explain. Untutored man, in beginning to depart from that life of exigencies, in which the ſuperior acuteneſs of his ſenſes, his fleetneſs, and dexterity in the chace, are his chief dependance, loſes ſo much of all this before he can become accuſtomed to, or qualified for, our mode of procuring food by patient labour, that nothing can be conceived more enfeebled and forlorn than the ſtate of the few detached families remaining of vaniſhed tribes, who, having loſt their energy, and even the wiſh to live in their own manner, were ſlowly and reluctantly beginning to adopt ours. It was like that ſuſpenſion of life which takes place in the chryſalis of inſects, while in their progreſs towards a new ſtate of being. Alas! the indolence with which we reproach them, was merely the coſnequence of their commercial intercourſe with us; and the fatal paſſion for ſtrong liquors which reſulted from it. As the fabled enchanter, by waving his magic wand, chains up at once the faculties of his opponents, and renders

ſtrength

ſtrength and courage uſeleſs; the moſt wretched and ſordid trader, poſſeſſed of this maſter-key to the appetites and paſſions of theſe hard-fated people, could diſarm thoſe he dealt with of all their reſources, and render them dependent,—nay dependent on thoſe they ſcorned and hated. The proceſs was ſimple: firſt, the power of ſending, by mimic thunder, an unſeen death to a diſtant foe, which filled the ſofter inhabitants of the ſouthern regions with ſo much terror, was here merely an object of deſire and emulation; and ſo eagerly did they adopt the uſe of fire-arms, that they ſoon became leſs expert in uſing their own miſſile weapons. They could ſtill throw the tomahawk with ſuch an unerring aim, that, though it went circling through the air towards its object, it never failed to reach it. But the arrows, on which they had formerly ſo much depended, were now conſidered merely as the weapons of boys, and only directed againſt birds.

Thus

Thus was one ſtrong link forged in the chain of dependence; next, liquor became a neceſſary, and its fatal effects who can detail! But to make it ſtill clearer, I have mentioned the paſſion for dreſs, in which all the pride and vanity of this people was centered. In former days this had the beſt effect, in being a ſtimulus to induſtry. The proviſion requiſite for making a ſplendid appearance at the winter meetings for hunting and the national congreſs, occupied the leiſure hours of the whole ſummer. The beaver ſkins of the laſt year's hunting were to be accurately dreſſed, and ſewed together, to form that mantle which was as much valued, and as neceſſary to their conſequence, as the pelice of ſables to that of an Eaſtern baſhaw. A deer ſkin, or that of a bear, or beaver, had their ſtated price. The boldeſt and moſt expert hunter had moſt of theſe commodities to ſpare, and was therefore moſt ſplendidly arrayed. If he had a rival, it was in him whoſe dexterous ingenuity in

fabri-

fabricating the materials of which his own dreſs was compoſed, enabled him to vie with the hero of the chace.

Thus ſuperior elegance in dreſs was not, as with us, the diſtinction of the luxurious and effeminate, but the privilege and reward of ſuperior courage and induſtry; and became an object worthy of competition. Thus employed, and thus adorned, the ſachem or his friends found little time to indulge the ſtupid indolence we have been accuſtomed to impute to them.

Another arduous taſk remains uncalculated: before they became dependent on us for the means of deſtruction, much time was conſumed in forming their weapons; in the conſtruction of which no leſs patience and ingenuity were exerciſed than in that of their ornaments: and thoſe too were highly embelliſhed, and made with great labour out of flints, pebbles, and ſhells. But all this ſyſtem of employment was ſoon overturned by their late acquaintance with the inſidious arts of Europe; to the uſe of whoſe manufactures they were

inſenſibly

insensibly drawn in, first by their passion for fire-arms, and finally, by their fatal appetite for liquor. To make this more clear, I shall insert a dialogue, such as, if not literally, at least in substance, might pass betwixt an Indian warrior and a trader.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

Means by which the Independence of the Indians was first diminished.

Indian.—" BROTHER, I am come to trade with you: but I forewarn you to be more moderate in your demands than formerly."

Trader.—" Why, brother, are not my goods of equal value with those you had last year?"

Indian.—" Perhaps they may; but mine are more valuable because more scarce. The great spirit who has withheld from you strength and ability to provide food and clothing for yourselves, has given you cunning and art to make guns and provide scaura *; and by speaking smooth words to simple men, when they have swallowed madness, you have by little and little purchased their hunting grounds, and made

* Scaura is the Indian name for rum.

them corn lands. Thus the beavers grow more ſcarce, and deer fly farther back; yet after I have reſerved ſkins for my mantle, and the clothing of my wife, I will exchange the reſt."

Trader.—" Be it ſo, brother; I came not to wrong you, or take your furs againſt your will. It is true the beavers are few, and you go further for them. Come, brother, let us deal fair firſt, and ſmoke friendly afterwards. Your laſt gun coſt fifty beaver ſkins; you ſhall have this for forty; and you ſhall give marten and racoon ſkins in the ſame proportion for powder and ſhot."

Indian.—" Well, brother, that is equal. Now for two ſilver bracelets, with long pendent ear-rings of the ſame, ſuch as you ſold to Cardarani in the ſturgeon * month laſt year. How much will you demand?"

Trader.—" The ſkins of two deer for

* The Indians appropriate a month to catch fiſh, or animals, which is at that time the predominant object of purſuit; as the bear month, the beaver month, &c.

the

the bracelets, and thoſe of two fawns for the ear-rings."

Indian.—" That is a great deal; but wampum grows ſcarce, and ſilver never ruſts. Here are the ſkins."

Trader.—" Do you buy any more? Here are knives, hatchets, and beads of all colours."

Indian.—" I will have a knife and a hatchet; but muſt not take more: the reſt of the ſkins will be little enough to clothe the women and children, and buy wampum. Your beads are of no value, no warrior who has ſlain a wolf will wear them *."

Trader.—" Here are many things good for you, which you have not ſkins to buy; here is a looking-glaſs, and here is a braſs kettle, in which your woman may boil her maize, her beans, and above all her

* Indians have a great contempt, comparatively, for the beads we ſend them; which they conſider as only fit for thoſe plebeians who cannot by their exertions win any better. They eſtimate them compared with their own wampum, as we do pearls compared with paſte.

maple

maple ſugar. Here are ſilver broaches, and here are piſtols for the youths."

Indian.—" The ſkins I can ſpare will not purchaſe them."

Trader.—" Your will determines, brother; but next year you will want nothing but powder and ſhot, having already purchaſed your gun and ornaments. If you will purchaſe from me a blanket to wrap round you, a ſhirt and blue ſtroud for under garments to yourſelf and your woman; and the ſame for leggings, this will paſs the time, and ſave you the great labour of dreſſing the ſkins, making the thread, &c. for your clothing: which will give you more fiſhing and ſhooting time, in the ſturgeon and bear months."

Indian.—" But the cuſtom of my fathers!"

Trader.—" You will not break the cuſtom of your fathers, by being thus clad for a ſingle year. They did not refuſe thoſe things which were never offered to them."

Indian.—" For this year, brother, I will

will exchange my ſkins; in the next I ſhall provide apparel more befitting a warrior. One pack alone I will reſerve to dreſs for a future occaſion. The ſummer muſt not find a warrior idle."

The terms being adjuſted and the bargain concluded, the trader thus ſhews his gratitude for liberal dealing.

Trader.—" Corlaer has forbid bringing ſcaura to ſteal away the wiſdom of the warriors; but we white men are weak and cold; we bring kegs for ourſelves, leſt death ariſe from the ſwamps. We will not ſell ſcaura; but you ſhall taſte ſome of ours in return for the veniſon with which you have feaſted us."

Indian.—" Brother, we will drink moderately."

A bottle was then given to the warrior by way of preſent; which he was adviſed to keep long; but found it irreſiſtible. He ſoon returned with the reſerved pack of ſkins, earneſtly urging the trader to give him beads, ſilver, broaches, and above all

ſcaura,

ſcaura, to their full amount. This, with much affected reluctance at parting with the private ſtock, was at laſt yielded. The warriors now, after giving looſe for a while to frantic mirth, began the war-whoop, made the woods reſound with infuriate howlings; and having exhauſted their dear-bought draught, probably determined, in contempt of that probity which at all other times they rigidly obſerved, to plunder the inſtruments of their pernicious gratification. He, well aware of the conſequences, took care to remove himſelf and his goods to ſome other place; and a renewal of the ſame ſcene enſued. Where, all this time, were the women, whoſe gentle counſels might have prevented theſe exceſſes? Alas! unreſtrained by that delicacy which is certainly one of the beſt fruits of refinement, they ſhared in them, and ſunk ſooner under them. A long and deep ſleep generally ſucceeded; from which they awoke in a ſtate of dejection and chagrin, ſuch as no Indian had ever

experienced under any other circumſtance. They felt as Milton deſcribes Adam and Eve to have done after their tranſgreſſion. Exhauſted and forlorn, and ſtung with the conſciouſneſs of error and dependence, they had neither the means nor the deſire of exerciſing their wonted ſummer occupations with ſpirit. Vacancy produced languor, and languor made them again wiſh for the potion which gave temporary cheerfulneſs *. They carried their fiſh to the next fort or habitation to barter for rum. T. 3 brought on days of frenzy, ſucceeded by torpor. When again rouſed by want to exertion, they ſaw the ſeaſon paſſing without the uſual proviſion; and by an effort of perſevering induſtry, tried to make up for paſt negligence; and then worn out by exertion, ſunk into ſupine indolence, till the approach of winter called them to hunt the bear; and the arrival of that, (their buſy ſeaſon,) urged on their

* From Peter Schuyler, brother to the colonel, I have heard many ſuch details.

diſtant

diſtant excurſions in purſuit of deer. Then they reſumed their wonted character, and became what they uſed to be; but conſcious that acquired taſtes and wants, which they had loſt the habit of ſupplying themſelves, would throw them again on the traders for clothing, &c. they were themſelves out-ſtraining every ſinew to procure enough of peltry to anſwer their purpoſe, and to gratify their newly acquired appetites. Thus the energy, both of their characters and conſtitutions, was gradually undermined; and their numbers as effectually diminiſhed, as if they had been waſted by war.

The ſmall-pox was alſo ſo fatal to them, that whole tribes on the upper lakes have been entirely extinguiſhed by it. Thoſe people being in the habit of uſing all poſſible means of cloſing the pores of the ſkin, by painting and anointing themſelves with bears' greaſe, to defend them againſt the extremity of cold, to which their manner of life expoſed them; and not being habitually ſubject to any cutaneous

diſeaſe,

diſeaſe, the ſmall-pox rarely riſes upon them; from which it may be underſtood how little chance they had of recovering. All this I heard Aunt Schuyler relate, whoſe obſervations and reflections I merely detail.

CHAP. XXVI.

Peculiar Attractions of the Indian Mode of Life.—Account of a Settler who resided some Time among them.

In this wild liberty, habits of probity, mutual confidence, and constant variety, there was an undefinable charm, that while they preserved their primitive manners, wrought in every one who dwelt for any time amongst them.

I have often heard my friend speak of an old man who, being carried away in his infancy by some hostile tribe who had slain his parents, was rescued very soon after by a tribe of friendly Indians, who, from motives of humanity, resolved to bring him up among themselves, that he might, in their phrase, "learn to bend the bow, and "speak truth." When it was discovered some years after that he was still living, his relations reclaimed him; and the commu-

nity

nity wished him to return and inherit his father's lands, now become more considerable. The Indians were unwilling to part with their protegé; and he was still more reluctant to return. This was considered as a bad precedent; the early settlers having found it convenient in several things regarding hunting, food, &c. to assimilate in some degree with the Indians; and the young men occasionally, at that early period, joining their hunting and fishing parties. It was considered as a matter of serious import to reclaim this young alien; lest others should be lost to the community and to their religion by following his example. With difficulty they forced him home; where they never could have detained him, had they not carefully and gradually inculcated into his mind the truths of christianity. To those instructions even his Indian predilections taught him to listen; for it was the religion of his fathers, and venerable to him as such: still, however, his dislike of our manners was never entirely conquered, nor was his at-

tachment to his foſter fathers ever much diminiſhed. He was poſſeſſed of a very ſound intellect, and uſed to declaim with the moſt vehement eloquence againſt our crafty and inſidious encroachments on our old friends. His abhorrence of the petty falſehoods to which cuſtom has too well reconciled us, and thoſe little artifices which we all occaſionally practiſe, roſe to a height fully equal to that felt by Gulliver. Swift and this other miſanthrope, though they lived at the ſame time, could not have had any intercourſe, elſe one might have ſuppoſed the invectives which he has put into the mouth of Gulliver, were borrowed from this demi-ſavage; whoſe contempt and hatred of ſelfiſhneſs, meanneſs, and duplicity, were expreſſed in language worthy of the dean. Inſomuch, that years after I had heard of this ſingular character, I thought, on reading Gulliver's aſperities after returning from Hounyhnhamland, that I had met my old friend again. One really does meet with characters that fiction would ſeem too bold in pourtraying. This

original

original had an aversion to liquor, which amounted to abhorrence; being embittered by his regret at the mischiefs resulting from it to his old friends, and rage at the traders for administering the means of depravity. He never could bear any seasoning to his food; and despised luxury in all its forms.

For all the growing evils I have been describing, there was only one remedy, which the sagacity of my friend and her other self soon discovered; and their humanity as well as principle led them to try all possible means of administering. It was the pure light and genial influence of christianity alone that could cheer and ameliorate the state of these people, now, from a concurrence of circumstances scarcely to be avoided in the nature of things, deprived of the independence habitual to their own way of life, without acquiring in its room any of those comforts which sweeten ours. By gradually and gently unfolding to them the views of a happy futurity, and the means by which depraved humanity was restored to a participation

of that bleſſing; pride, revenge, and the indulgence of every exceſs of paſſion or appetite being reſtrained by the precepts of a religion ever powerful where it is ſincere; their ſpirits would be brought down from the fierce pride which deſpiſes improvement to adopt ſuch of our modes, as would enable them to incorporate in time with our ſociety, and procure for themſelves a comfortable ſubſiſtence, in a country no longer adapted to ſupply the wants of the houſeleſs rangers of the foreſt.

The narrow policy of many looked coldly on this benevolent project. Hunters ſupplied the means of commerce, and warriors thoſe of defence; and it was queſtionable whether a chriſtian Indian would hunt or fight as well as formerly. This, however, had no power with thoſe in whom chriſtianity was any thing more than a name. There were already many chriſtian Indians; and it was very encouraging, that not one, once converted, had ever forſaken the ſtrict profeſſion of their religion, or ever, in a ſingle inſtance, abandoned

doned themſelves to the exceſſes ſo pernicious to their unconverted brethren. Never was the true ſpirit of chriſtianity more exemplified than in the lives of thoſe comparatively few converts; who about this time amounted to more than two hundred. But the tender care and example of the Schuylers co-operating with the inceſſant labours of a judicious and truly apoſtolic miſſionary, ſome years after greatly augmented their numbers in different parts of the continent: and to this day, the memory of David Brainard, the faithful labourer alluded to, is held in veneration in thoſe diſtricts that were bleſſed with his miniſtry. He did not confine it to one people or province, but travelled from place to place, to diſſeminate the goſpel to new converts, and confirm and cheriſh the truth already planted. The firſt foundation of that church had, however, as I formerly mentioned, been laid long ago: and the examples of piety, probity, and benevolence ſet by the worthies at the

Flats, and a few more, were a very neceſſary comment on the doctrines to which their aſſent was deſired.

The great ſtumbling block which the miſſionaries had to encounter with the Indians, (who, as far as their knowledge went, argued with great acuteneſs and logical preciſion,) was the ſmall influence which our religion ſeemed to have over many of its profeſſors. "Why," ſaid they, "if the book of truth, that ſhews "the way to happineſs, and bids all men "do juſtice, and love one another, is "given both to Corlaer and Onnonthio *, "does it not direct them in the ſame "way? Why does Onnonthio worſhip, "and Corlaer neglect, the mother of the "bleſſed one? And why do the miſſion-"aries blame thoſe for worſhipping things "made with hands, while the prieſts tell

* Corlaer was the title given by them to the governor of New York: and was figuratively uſed for the governed, and Onnonthio for thoſe of Canada in the ſame manner.

"the

" the praying nation *, that Corlaer and
" his people have forſaken the worſhip of
" his forefathers: beſides, how can peo-
" ple, who believe that God and good
" ſpirits view and take an intereſt in all
" their actions, cheat and diſſemble, drink
" and fight, quarrel and backbite, if they
" believe the great fire burns for thoſe
" who do ſuch things. If we believed
" what you ſay, we ſhould not exchange
" ſo much good for wickedneſs, to pleaſe
" an evil ſpirit, who would rejoice at our
" deſtruction." . . . . . To this reaſoning
it was not eaſy to oppoſe any thing that
could carry conviction to untutored peo-
ple, who ſpoke from obſervation and the
evidence of the ſenſes; to which could
only be oppoſed ſcripture texts, which
avail not till they are believed; and ab-
ſtract reaſoning, extremely difficult to bring
to the level of an unlearned underſtanding.
Great labour and perſeverance wrought on

* Praying nation was a name given to a village of Indians near Montreal, who profeſſed the catholic faith.

the minds of a few, who felt conviction, as far as it is to be ascribed to human agency, flow from the affectionate persuasion of those whom they visibly beheld earnest for their eternal welfare; and when a few had thus yielded *, the peace and purity of their lives, and the sublime enjoyment they seemed to derive from the prospects their faith opened into futurity, was an inducement to others to follow the same path. This, abstractedly from religious considerations of endless futurity, is the true and only way to civilization; and to the blending together the old and new

* Some of them have made such a proficiency in practical religion as ought to shame many of us, who boast the illuminating aids of our native christianity. Not one of these Indians has been concerned in those barbarous irruptions which deluged the frontiers of our south-western provinces with the blood of so many innocents, of every age and sex. At the commencement of these ravages, they flew into the settlements, and put themselves into the protection of government. The Indians no sooner became christians, than they openly professed their loyalty to King George; and therefore, to contribute to their conversion was as truly politic as nobly christian.

inhabi-

inhabitants of these regions. National pride, rooted prejudices, ferocity, and vindictive hatred, all yield before a change that new moulds the whole soul, and furnishes man with new fears and hopes, and new motives for action.

CHAP. XXVII.

Indians only to be attached by being converted.—The abortive Expedition of Monſ. Barre.—Ironical Sketch of an Indian.

UPON the attachment the Indians had to our religion was grafted the ſtrongeſt regard to our government, and the greateſt fidelity to the treaties made with us. I ſhall infert a ſpecimen of Indian eloquence, illuſtrative of this laſt; not that I conſider it by any means ſo rich, impreſſive, or ſublime as many others that I could quote, but as containing a figure of ſpeech rarely to be met with among ſavage people, and ſuppoſed by us incompatible with the ſtate of intellectual advancement to which they have attained. I mean a fine and well ſupported irony. About the year 1686, Monſ. Barre, the commander of the French forces in Canada, made a kind of inroad, with a warlike deſign, into the precincts claimed by

by our Mohawk allies; the march was tedious, the French fell ſick, and many of their Indians deſerted them. The wily commander, finding himſelf unequal to the meditated attack, and that it would be unſafe to return through the lakes and woods, while in hourly danger of meeting enemies ſo juſtly provoked, ſent to invite the Sachems to a friendly conference; and, when they met, aſſerted in an artful ſpeech that he and his troops had come with the ſole intention of ſettling old grievances, and ſmoking the calumet of peace with them. The Indians, not impoſed on by ſuch pretences, liſtened patiently to his ſpeech, and then made the anſwer which the reader will find in the notes *. It is to be obſerved, that

* "Onnonthio, I honour you; and all the warriors who are with me likewiſe honour you. Your interpreter has finiſhed his ſpeech, I begin mine. My words make haſte to reach your ears; hearken to them, Yonnondio. You muſt have believed, when you left Quebec, that the ſun had burnt up all the foreſts which made our country ſo inacceſſible to the French;

that whoever they considered as the ruling person for the time being in Canada, they styled Onnonthio; while the governor of New York they always called Corlaer.

Twice

French; or that the lakes had so far overflowed their banks, that they had surrounded our castles, and that it was impossible for us to get out of them. Yes, Yonnondio, surely you have dreamt so; and the curiosity of seeing so great a wonder has brought you so far. Now you are undeceived, since I and the warriors here present are come to assure you, that the Hurons, Onondagoes, and Mohawks are yet alive. I thank you in their name for bringing back into their country the calumet, which your predecessor received from their hands. It was happy for you that you left under ground that murdering hatchet, which has been so often dyed with the blood of the French. Hear, Onnondio, I do not sleep; I have my eyes open; and the sun which enlightens me discovers to me a great captain, at the head of his soldiers, who speaks as if he were dreaming. He says that he only came to the lake to smoke out of the great calumet with the Five Nations; but Connaratego says that he sees the contrary; that it was to knock them on the head if sickness had not weakened the arms of the French. I see Onnonthio raving in a camp of sick men, whose lives the great spirit has saved by inflicting this sickness upon them. Hear, Onnonthio, our women had taken

their

Twice in the year the new converts came to Albany to partake of the ſacrament, before a place of worſhip was erected for them-

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their clubs; our children and old men had carried their bows and arrows into the heart of your camp, if our warriors had not diſarmed them, and kept them back, when your meſſenger came to our caſtles. It is done, and I have ſaid it. Hear, Yonnondio, we plundered none of the French, but thoſe who carried guns, powder, and ball to the wolf and elk tribes, becauſe thoſe arms might have coſt us our lives. Herein we follow the example of the Jeſuits, who ſtave all the kegs of rum brought to the caſtles where they are, leſt the drunken Indians ſhould knock them on the head. Our warriors have not beavers enough to pay for all thoſe arms that they have taken; and our old men are not afraid of the war. This belt preſerves my words. We carried the Engliſh into our lakes, to trade with the wolf and elk tribes, as the praying Indians brought the French to our caſtles, to carry on a trade, which the Engliſh ſay is theirs. We are born free. We neither depend upon Onnonthio nor Corlaer; we may go where we pleaſe. If your allies be your ſlaves, uſe them as ſuch; command them to receive no other but your people. This belt preſerves my words. We knocked the Connecticut Indians and their confederates on the head becauſe they had cut down the trees of peace, which were the limits of our country. They have hunted beavers on our lands,

contrary

themſelves. They always ſpent the night, or oftener two nights, before their joining in this holy rite at the Flats; which was their

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contrary to the cuſtoms of all Indians, for they have left none alive. They have killed both male and female. They brought the Sathanas into our country to take part with them, after they had formed ill deſigns againſt us; we have done leſs than they merited.

"Hear, once more, the words of the Five Nations. They ſay that when they buried the hatchet at Cardaragni, (in the preſence of your predeceſſor,) in the middle of the fort *, they planted the tree of peace in the ſame place, to be there carefully preſerved; that inſtead of an abode for ſoldiers, that fort might be a rendezvous for merchants; that in place of arms and ammunition, only peltry and goods ſhould enter there.

"Hear, Yonnondio, take care for the future that ſo great a number of ſoldiers as appear there do not choke the tree of peace, planted in ſo ſmall a fort. It will be a great loſs, after having ſo eaſily taken root, if you ſhould ſtop its growth, and prevent its covering your country and ours with its branches. I aſſure you, in the name of the Five Nations, that our warriors ſhall dance to the calumet of peace under its leaves, and ſhall remain quiet on their mats; and that they ſhall never dig up the hatchet till Corlaer or On-

* Detroit.

nonthio,

their general rendezvous from different quarters. There they were cordially received by the three brothers, who always met together at this time to have a confe-

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nonthio, either jointly or ſeparately, attack the country, which the great ſpirit hath given to our anceſtors. This belt preſerves my words, and this other the authority which the Five Nations have given me." Then, Garangula, addreſſing himſelf to Monſ. de Maine, who underſtood his language, and interpreted, ſpoke thus: "Take, courage, friend, you have ſpirits; ſpeak, explain my words, omit nothing. Tell all that your brethren and friends ſay to Onnonthio, your governor, by the mouth of Garangula,—who loves you, and deſires you to accept of this preſent of beaver, and take part with me in my feaſt, to which I invite you. This preſent of beaver is ſent to Yonnondio on the part of the Five Nations."

Monſ. Barre returned to his fort much enraged at what he had heard; Garangula feaſted the French officers, and then went home; and Monſ. Barre ſet out on his way towards Montreal; and as ſoon as the general, with the few ſoldiers who remained in health, had embarked, the militia made their way to their own habitations without order or diſcipline. Thus a chargeable and fatiguing expedition, meant to ſtrike the terror of the French name into the ſtubborn hearts of the Five Nations, ended in a ſcold between a French general and an old Indian.—*Colden's Hiſtory of the Five Nations*, page 68.

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rence with them on ſubjects the moſt important to their preſent and future welfare. Theſe devout Indians ſeemed all impreſſed with the ſame feelings, and moved by the ſame ſpirit. They were received with affectionate cordiality, and accommodated in a manner quite conformable to their habits, in the paſſage, porch, and offices; and ſo deeply impreſſed were they with a ſenſe of the awful duty that brought them there, and the rights of friendſhip and hoſpitality, and at this period become ſo much acquainted with our cuſtoms, that though two hundred communicants, followed by many of their children, were uſed to aſſemble on thoſe occaſions, the ſmalleſt inſtance of riot or impropriety was not known amongſt them. They brought little preſents of game, or of their curious handicrafts, and were liberally and kindly entertained by their good brother Philip, as they familiarly called him. In the evening they all went apart to ſecret prayer; and in the morning, by dawn of day, they aſſembled before the portico; and their entertainers, who

roſe

rose early to enjoy, unobserved, a view of their social devotion, beheld them with their mantles drawn over their heads, prostrate on the earth; offering praises and fervent supplications to their Maker. After some time spent in this manner, they arose, and seated in a circle on the ground, with their heads veiled as formerly, they sang an hymn, which it was delightful to hear, from the strength, richness, and sweet accord of their uncommonly fine voices; which every one that ever heard this sacred chorus, however indifferent to the purport of it, praised as incomparable. The voices of the female Indians are particularly sweet and powerful. I have often heard my friend dwell with singular pleasure on the recollection of those scenes, and of the conversations she and the colonel used to hold with the Indians, whom she described as possessed of very superior powers of understanding; and in their religious views and conversations, uniting the ardour of proselytes with the firm decision and inflexible steadiness of their national character. It was on the

return

return of those new christians to the Flats, after they had thus solemnly sealed their profession, that these wise regulations for preserving peace and good-will between the settlers (now become confident and careless from their numbers) and the Indians, jealous with reason of their ancient rites, were concluded.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Management of the Mohawks by the Influence of the Christian Indians.

THE influence these converts had obtained over the minds of those most venerated for wisdom among their countrymen, was the medium through which this patriot family, in some degree, controuled the opinions of that community at large, and kept them faithful to the British interests. Every two or three years there was a congress held, by deputies from New York, who generally spoke to the Indians by an interpreter; went through the form of delivering presents from their brother the great king, redressing petty grievances, smoking the calumet of peace, and delivering belts, the pledges of amity. But these were mere public forms; the real terms of this often renewed amity having been previously digested by those who far better understood the

the relations ſubſiſting between the contracting parties, and the cauſes moſt likely to interrupt their union. Colonel Schuyler, though always ready to ſerve his country in exigencies, did not like to take upon himſelf any permanent reſponſibility, as a ſuperintendant of Indian affairs, as it might have diminiſhed that private influence which aroſe from the general veneration for his character, and from a conviction that the concern he took was voluntary and impartial; neither did he chooſe to ſacrifice that domeſtic peace and leiſure, which he ſo well knew how to turn to the beſt account, being convinced that by his example and influence, as a private gentleman, he had it in his power to do much good of a peculiar kind, which was incompatible with the weight and buſtle of public affairs, or with that hoſpitality which, as they managed it, was productive of ſo many beneficial effects. I have already ſhewn how, by prudent addreſs and kind conciliation, this patriotic pair ſoothed and attached the Indians to the Britiſh intereſt. As the country grew more

populous, and property more abundant and more ſecure, the face of ſociety in this inland region began to change. They whoſe quiet and orderly demeanour, devotion, and integrity did not much require the enforcement of laws, began now to think themſelves above them. To a deputed authority, the ſource of which lay beyond the Atlantic, they paid little deference; and from their neighbours of New Hampſhire and Connecticut, who bordered on their frontiers, and ſerved with them in the colonial wars, they had little to learn of loyalty or ſubmiſſion. Theſe people they held in great contempt, both as ſoldiers and ſtateſmen; and yet, from their frequent intercourſe with thoſe who talked of law and politics in their peculiar uncouth dialect inceſſantly, they inſenſibly adopted many of their notions. There is a certain point of ſtable happineſs at which our imperfect nature merely ſeems to arrive; for the very materials of which it is formed contain the ſeeds of its deſtruction. This was the caſe here: that peaceful and de-

ſirable

ſirable equality of conditions, from which ſo many comforts reſulted, in proceſs of time occaſioned an averſion to ſuperiors, to whom they were not accuſtomed, and an exaggerated jealouſy of the power which was exerciſed for their own ſafety and comfort. Their manners unſophiſticated, and their morals in a great meaſure uncorrupted, led them to regard with unjuſtifiable ſcorn and averſion thoſe ſtrangers who brought with them the manners of more poliſhed, though leſs pure, communities. Proud of their haughty bluntneſs, which daily increaſed with their wealth and ſecurity, they began to conſider reſpectful and polite behaviour as a degree of ſervility and duplicity; while they revolted at the power exerciſed over themſelves, and very reluctantly made the exertions neceſſary for their own protection, they ſhewed every inclination to uſurp the territories of their Indian allies; and uſe to the very utmoſt the power they had acquired over them, by ſupplying their wants.

At the liberal table of Aunt Schuyler,

there was always intelligence, juſt notions, and good breeding to be met with, both among the owners and their gueſts, many had their prejudices ſoftened down, their minds enlarged, and their manners improved. There they met Britiſh officers of rank and merit, and perſons in authority; and learnt that the former were not artificial coxcombs, nor the latter petty tyrants; as they would otherwiſe be very apt to imagine. Here they were accuſtomed to find authority reſpected, on the one hand, and on the other to ſee the natural rights of man vindicated, and the utmoſt abhorrence expreſſed of all the ſophiſtry by which the credulous were miſled by the crafty, to have a code of morality for their treatment of heathens, different from that which directed them in their dealing with chriſtians. Here a ſelection of the beſt and worthieſt, of the different characters and claſſes we have been deſcribing, met; and were taught, not only to tolerate, but to eſteem each other: and it required the calm, tempe-

rate wiſdom, and eaſy verſatile manners of my friend to bring this about. It is, when they are called to act in a new ſcene, and among people different from any they had known or imagined, that the folly of the wiſe and the weakneſs of the ſtrong become diſcernible.

Many officers juſtly eſteemed, poſſeſſed of capacity, learning, and much knowledge, both of the uſages of the world, and the art of war, from the want of certain habitudes, which nothing but experience can teach, were diſqualified for the warfare of the woods; and from a ſecret contempt with which they regarded the blunt ſimplicity and plain appearance of the ſettlers, were not amenable to their advice on theſe points. They were not aware how much they were to depend on them for the means of carrying on their operations; and by rude or negligent treatment ſo diſguſted them, that they withheld the horſes, oxen, waggons, &c. which were to be paid for, merely to ſhew

their

their independence; well knowing the dreaded and deteſted military power, even if coercive meaſures were reſorted to, would have no chance for redreſs in their courts; and even the civil authority were cautious of doing any thing ſo unpopular as to decide in favour of the military. Thus, till properly inſtructed, thoſe bewildered ſtrangers were apt to do the thing of all others that annihilates a feeble authority; threaten where they could not ſtrike, and forfeit reſpect where they could not enforce obedience: a failure of this kind clogged and enfeebled all their meaſures; for without the hearty co-operation of the inhabitants in furniſhing pre-requiſites, nothing could go on in a country without roads, or public vehicles, for the conveyance of their warlike ſtores. Another rock they were apt to run upon was, a neglect of the Indians, whom they neither ſufficiently feared as enemies, nor valued as friends: till taught to do ſo by maturer judgments. Of this, Braddock's defeat was an inſtance;

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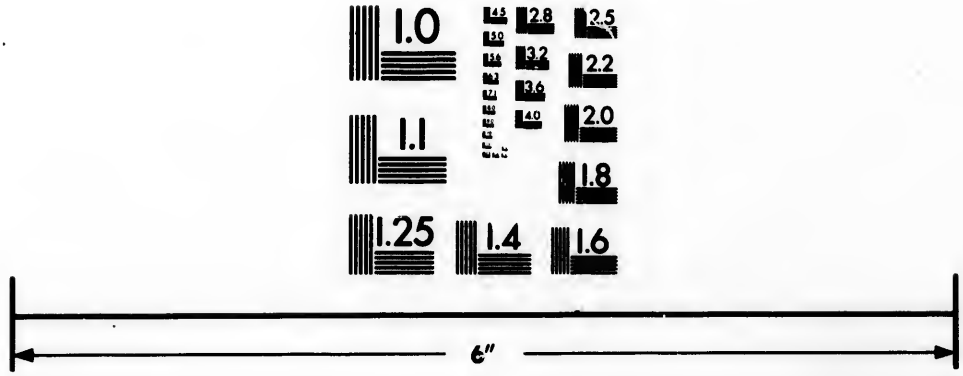

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he was brave, experienced, and verſed in all military ſcience; his confidence in which occaſioned the deſtruction of himſelf and his army. He conſidered thoſe counſels that warned him, how little manœuvres or numbers would avail in the cloſe priſon of innumerable boughs, as the reſult of feeble caution; and marched his army to certain ruin, in the moſt brave and ſcientific manner imaginable. Upon certain occaſions there is no knowledge ſo valuable as that of our own ignorance.

At the Flats, the ſelf-righted boor learned civilization and ſubordination: the high bred and high ſpirited field officer gentleneſs, accommodation, and reſpect for unpoliſhed worth and untaught valour. There, too, the ſhrewd and deeply reflecting Indian learnt to reſpect the Britiſh character, and to confide in that of the ſettlers; by ſeeing the beſt ſpecimens of both acting candidly towards each other, and generouſly to himſelf.

My friend was moſt particularly calculated

lated to be the coadjutor of her excellent consort, in thus subduing the spirits of different classes of people, strongly disposed to entertain a repulsive dislike of each other; and by leading them to the chastened enjoyment of the same social pleasures, under the auspices of those, whose good will they were all equally convinced of. She contrived to smooth down asperities, and assimilate those various characters, in a manner that could not be done by any other means.

Accustomed from childhood, both from the general state of society, and the enlarged minds of her particular associates, to take liberal views of every thing, and to look forward on all occasions to consequences, she steadily followed her wise and benevolent purposes, without being attracted by petty gratifications, or repelled by petty disgusts. Neither influenced by female vanity, or female fastidiousness, she might very truly say of popularity, as Falstaff says of Worcester's rebellion, " it lay

 " in

"in her way and ſhe found it:" for no one ever took leſs pains to obtain it; and if the weight of ſolid uſefulneſs and beneficence had not, as it never fails to do in the long run, forced approbation, her mode of conducting herſelf, though it might greatly endear her to her particular aſſociates, was not conciliating to common minds. The fact was, that, though her benevolence extended through the whole circle of thoſe to whom ſhe was known, ſhe had too many objects of importance in view to ſquander time upon imbecility and inſignificance. Nor could ſhe find leiſure for the routine of ordinary viſits, or inclination for the inſipidity of ordinary chit chat.

If people of the deſcription here alluded to could forward any plan advantageous to the public, or to any of thoſe perſons in whom ſhe was particularly intereſted, ſhe would treat them occaſionally with much civility: for ſhe had all the power of ſuperior intellect without the pride

of

of it; but could not fubmit to a perpetual facrifice to forms and trifles. This, in her, was not only juftifiable, but laudable; yet it is not mentioned as an example, becaufe a cafe can very rarely occur, where the benefit refulting to others, from making one's own path, and forfaking the ordinary road, can be fo effential; few ever can have a fphere of action fo peculiar or fo important as her's; and very few indeed have fo found a judgment to direct them in chufing, or fo much fortitude to fupport them in purfuing, a way of their own.

In ordinary matters, where neither religion nor morality is concerned, it is much fafer to truft to the common fenfe of mankind in general, than to our own particular fancy. Singularity of conduct or opinion is fo often the refult of vanity or affectation, that whoever ventures upon it ought to be a perfon whofe example is looked up to by others. A perfon too great to follow, ought to be great enough to lead. But

though her converſation was reſerved for thoſe ſhe preferred, her advice, compaſſion, and good offices were always given where moſt needed.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

Madame's adopted Children.—Anecdote of Sister Susan.

YEARS passed away in this manner, varied only by the extension of that protection and education, which they gave to a succession of nephews and nieces of the Colonel or Mrs. Schuyler. These they did not take from mere compassion, as all their relations were in easy circumstances; but influenced by various considerations, such as, in some cases, the death of the mother of the children, or perhaps the father; in others, where their nieces or nephews married very early, and lived in the houses of their respective parents, while their young family increased before they had a settled home; or in instances where, from the remote situations in which the parents lived, they could not so easily educate them. Indeed the difficulty of

getting a ſuitable education for children, whoſe parents were ambitious for their improvement, was great; and a family ſo well regulated as her's, and frequented by ſuch ſociety, was in itſelf an academy, both for the beſt morals and manners. When people have children born to them, they muſt ſubmit to the ordinary lot of humanity: and if they have not the happineſs of meeting with many good qualities to cultivate and rejoice over, there is nothing left for them but to exert themſelves to the utmoſt, to reform and ameliorate what will admit of improvement. They muſt carefully weed and prop; if the ſoil produce a crop both feeble and redundant, affection will blind them to many defects; imperious duty will ſtimulate them, and hope, ſoothing, however deceitful, will ſupport them. But when people have the privilege, as in this caſe, of chuſing a child, they are fairly entitled to ſelect the moſt promiſing. This ſelection, I underſtood always to have been left to Aunt Schuyler; and it appeared, by the event,

to

to have been generally a happy one. Fifteen, either nephews or nieces, or the children of ſuch, who had been under her care, all lived to grow up and go out into the world: all acted their parts ſo as to do credit to the inſtruction they had received, and the example they looked up to. Beſides theſe, they had many whom they brought for two or three years to their houſe to reſide; either becauſe the family they came from was at the time crowded with younger children, or becauſe they were at a time of life when a year or two ſpent in ſuch ſociety, as was there aſſembled, might not only form their manners, but give a bias to their future character.

About the year 1730, they brought home a nephew of the colonel's, whoſe father having a large family, and having, to the beſt of my recollection, loſt his wife, entirely gave over the boy to the protection of this relation. This boy was his uncle's god-ſon, and called Philip after him. He was a great favourite in the family; for, though apparently thoughtleſs and giddy, he had

a very good temper, and quick parts; and was upon the whole an ingenious, lively, and amuſing child. He was a very great favourite, and continued to be ſo, in ſome meaſure, when he grew up.

There were other children, whoſe names and relation to my friends I do not remember, in the houſe at the ſame time; but none that ſtaid ſo long, or were ſo much talked of as this. There certainly never were people who received ſo much company, made ſo reſpectable a figure in life, and always kept ſo large a family about them, with ſo little tumult or buſtle, or indeed at ſo moderate an expence. What their income was I cannot ſay; but am ſure it could not have been what we ſhould think adequate to the good they did, and the hoſpitality and beneficence which they practiſed: for the rents of lands were then of ſo little value, that, though they poſſeſſed a conſiderable eſtate in another part of the country, only very moderate profits could reſult from it; but, indeed, from the ſimplicity of dreſs, &c. it was eaſier;

though

though in that respect, too, they preserved a kind of dignity, and went beyond others in the materials, though not the form of their apparel. Yet their principal expence was a most plentiful and well ordered table, quite in the English style; which was a kind of innovation: but so many strangers frequented the houses of the three brothers, that it was necessary for them to accommodate themselves to the habits of their guests.

Peter being in his youth an extensive trader, had spent much time in Canada, among the noblesse there; and had served in the continental levies. He had a fine commanding figure, and quite the air and address of a gentleman, and was, when I knew him, an old man.

Intelligent and pleasing in a very high degree, Jeremiah had too much familiar kindness to be looked up to like his brother. Yet he also had a very good understanding, great frankness and affability, and was described by all who knew him, as the very soul of cordial friendship and

warm

warm benevolence. He married a polished and well educated person, whose parents (French protestants) were people of the first fashion in New York, and had given with her a good fortune, a thing very unusual in that country. They used in the early years of their marriage, to pay a visit every winter to their connexions at New York, who passed part of every summer with them. This connexion, as well as that with the Flats, gave an air of polish, and a tincture of elegance to this family beyond others; and there were few so gay and social. This cheerfulness was supported by a large family, fourteen, I think, of very promising children. These, however, inheriting from their mother's family a delicate constitution, died one after another as they came to maturity: one only, a daughter, lived to be married; but died after having had one son and one daughter.

I saw the mother of this large family, after out-living her own children, and a still greater number of brothers and sisters,

ſiſters, who had all ſettled in life, proſperous and flouriſhing, when ſhe married; I ſaw her a helpleſs bed-ridden invalid; without any remaining tie, but a ſordid graſping ſon-in-law, and two grandchildren, brought up at a diſtance from her.

With her, too, I was a great favourite, becauſe I liſtened with intereſt to her details of early happineſs, and ſubſequent woes and privations; all of which ſhe deſcribed to me with great animation, and the moſt pathetic eloquence. How much a patient liſtener, who has ſympathy and intereſt to beſtow on a tale of woe, will hear! and how affecting is the reſpect and compaſſion even of an artleſs child, to a heart that has felt the bitterneſs of neglect, and known what it was to pine in ſolitary ſadneſs! Many a bleak day have I walked a mile to viſit this blaſted tree, which the ſtorm of calamity had ſtripped of every leaf! and ſurely in the houſe of ſorrow the heart is made better.

 From

From this chronicle of paſt times, I derived much information reſpecting our good aunt; ſuch as ſhe would not have given me herſelf. The kindneſs of this generous ſiſter-in-law was indeed the only light that ſhone on the declining days of ſiſter Suſan, as ſhe was wont affectionately to call her. What a ſad narrative would the detail of this poor woman's ſorrows afford! which, however, ſhe did not relate in a querulous manner; for her ſoul was ſubdued by affliction, and ſhe did not "mourn as thoſe that have no hope." One inſtance of ſelf-accuſation I muſt record. She uſed to deſcribe the family ſhe left as being no leſs happy, united, and highly proſperous, than that into which ſhe came: if, indeed, ſhe could be ſaid to leave it, going as ſhe did for ſome months every year to her mother's houſe, whoſe darling ſhe was, and who, being only fifteen years older than herſelf, was more like an elder ſiſter, united by fond affection.

She

She went to New York to lye in, at her mother's houſe, of her four or five firſt children; her mother at the ſame time having children as young as her's: and thus careſſed at home by a fond huſband, and received with exultation by the tendereſt parents; young, gay, and fortunate, her removals were only variations of felicity; but gratified in every wiſh, ſhe knew not what ſorrow was, nor how to receive the unwelcome ſtranger, when it arrived. At length ſhe went down to her father's, as uſual, to lye in of her fourth child, which died when it was eight days old. She then ſcreamed with agony, and told her mother, who tried by pious counſel to alleviate her grief, that ſhe was the moſt miſerable of human beings; for that no one was capable of loving their child ſo well as ſhe did her's, and could not think by what ſin ſhe had provoked this affliction: finally, ſhe claſped the dead infant to her boſom, and was not, without the utmoſt difficulty, perſuaded to part with it; while her frantic

grief

grief outraged all decorum. After this, ſaid ſhe, " I have ſeen my thirteen grown-up children, and my dear and excellent huſband, all carried out of this houſe to the grave: I have loſt the worthieſt and moſt affectionate parents, brothers, and ſiſters, ſuch as few ever had; and however my heart might be pierced with ſorrow, it was ſtill more deeply pierced with a conviction of my own paſt impiety and ingratitude; and under all this affliction I wept ſilently and alone; and my outcry or lamentation was never heard by mortal." What a leſſon was this!

This once much loved and much reſpected woman, have I ſeen ſitting in her bed, where ſhe had been long confined, neglected by all thoſe whom ſhe had known in her better days, excepting aunt Schuyler, who unwieldy and unfit for viſiting as ſhe was, came out two or three times in the year to ſee her, and conſtantly ſent her kindly tokens of remembrance. Had ſhe been more careful to preſerve her independence, and

had

had ſhe accommodated herſelf more to the plain manners of the people ſhe lived among, ſhe might in her adverſity have met with more attention; but too conſcious of her attainments, lively, regardleſs, and perhaps vain, and confident of being ſurrounded and admired by a band of kinsfolk, ſhe was at no pains to conciliate others; ſhe had, too, ſome expenſive habits; which, when the tide of proſperity ebbed, could meet with little indulgence among a people who never entertained an idea of living beyond their circumſtances.

Thus, even among thoſe unpoliſhed people, one might learn how ſevere-ly the inſolence of proſperity can be avenged on us, even by thoſe we have deſpiſed and flighted; and who perhaps were very much our inferiors in every reſpect: though both humanity and good ſenſe ſhould prevent our mortifying them, by ſhewing ourſelves ſenſible of that circumſtance.

This year was a fatal one to the fa-

milies

milies of the three brothers. Jeremiah, impatient of the uneaſineſs cauſed by a wen upon his neck, ſubmitted to undergo an operation; which, being unſkilfully performed, ended fatally, to the unſpeakable grief of his brothers and of aunt, who was particularly attached to him, and often dwelt on the recollection of his ſingularly compaſſionate diſpoſition, the generous openneſs of his temper, and peculiar warmth of his affections. He, indeed, was "taken away from the evil to come;" for of his large family, one after the other went off, in conſequence of the weakneſs of their lungs; which withſtood none of the ordinary diſeaſes of ſmall-pox, meazles, &c. till in a few years, there was not one remaining.

Theſe were melancholy inroads on the peace of her, who might truly be ſaid, to "watch and weep, and pray for all:" for nothing could exceed our good aunt's care and tenderneſs for this feeble family; who ſeemed flowers which merely bloomed to wither in their prime; for

they

they were, as is often the caſe with thoſe who inherit ſuch diſorders, beautiful, with quickneſs of comprehenſion, and abilities beyond their age.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

Death of young Philip Schuyler.—Account of his Family, and of the *Society at the Flats*.

ANOTHER very heavy ſorrow followed the death of Jeremiah; Peter, being the eldeſt brother, his ſon, as I formerly mentioned, was conſidered and educated as heir to the colonel. It was Peter's houſe that ſtood next to the colonel's; their dwellings being arranged according to their ages, the youth was not in the leaſt eſtranged from his own family (who were half a mile off) by his reſidence in his uncle's, and was peculiarly endeared to all the families, (who regarded him as the future head of their houſe,) by his gentle manners and excellent qualities. With all theſe perſonal advantages, which diſtinguiſhed that comely race, and which give grace and attraction to the unfolding bloſſoms of virtue, at an early age he was ſent to a kind

of

of college, then eſtabliſhed in New Jerſey; and he was there inſtructed, as far as in that place he could be. He ſoon formed an attachment to a lady ſtill younger than himſelf, but ſo well brought up, and ſo reſpectably connected, that his friends were greatly pleaſed with the marriage, early as it was, and his father, with the higheſt ſatisfaction, received the young couple into the houſe. There they were the delight and ornament of the family, and lived amongſt them as a common bleſſing. The firſt year of their marriage a daughter was born to them, whom they named Cornelia; and the next, a ſon, whom they called Peter. The following year, which was the ſame that deprived them of their brother Jeremiah, proved fatal to a great many children and young people, in conſequence of an endemial diſeaſe, which every now and then uſed to appear in the country, and made great havoc. It was called the purple or ſpotted fever, and was probably of the putrid kind; be that as it may, it proved fatal to this intereſting young couple. Peter, who

had

had loſt his wife but a ſhort time before, was entirely overwhelmed by this ſtroke: a hardneſs of hearing, which had been gradually increaſing before, deprived him of the conſolations he might have derived from ſociety. He encouraged his ſecond ſon to marry; ſhut himſelf up for the moſt part in his own apartment; and became, in effect, one of thoſe lay brothers I have formerly deſcribed. Yet, when time had blunted the edge of this keen affliction, many years after, when we lived at the Flats, he uſed to viſit us; and though he did not hear well, he converſed with great ſpirit, and was full of anecdote and information. Meanwhile, Madame did not ſink under this calamity, though ſhe felt it as much as her huſband, but ſupported him; and exerted herſelf to extract conſolation from performing the duties of a mother to the infant who was now become the repreſentative of the family. Little Peter was accordingly brought home, and ſucceeded to all that care and affection of which his father had formerly been the object, while

Cornelia was taken home to Jerſey, to the family of her maternal grandfather, who was a diſtinguiſhed perſon in that diſtrict. There ſhe was exceedingly well educated, became an elegant and very pleaſing young woman, and was happily and moſt reſpectably married before I left the country, as was her brother very ſoon after. They are ſtill living; and Peter, adhering to what might be called, eventually the ſafer ſide, during the war with the mother country, ſucceeded undiſturbed to his uncle's inheritance.

All theſe new cares and ſorrows did not in the leaſt abate the hoſpitality, the popularity, or the public ſpirit of theſe truly great minds. Their dwelling, though in ſome meaſure become a houſe of mourning, was ſtill the rendezvous of the wiſe and worthy, the refuge of the ſtranger, and an academy for deep and ſound thinking, taſte, intelligence, and moral beauty. There the plans for the public good were digeſted by the rulers of the province, who came, under the pretext of a ſummer excurſion for mere amuſement. There the operations of

the army, and the treaties of peace or alliance with various nations, were arranged; for there the legiſlators of the ſtate, and the leaders of the war, were received, and mixed ſerious and important counſels with convivial cheerfulneſs, and domeſtic eaſe and familiarity. 'Tis not to be conceived how eſſential a point of union, a barrier againſt licence, and a focus, in which the rays of intellect and intelligence were concentrated, (ſuch as in this family,) were to unite the jarring elements of which the community was compoſed, and to ſuggeſt to thoſe who had power without experience, the means of mingling in due proportions its various materials for the public utility. Still, though the details of family happineſs were abridged, the ſpirit that produced it continued to exiſt, and to find new objects of intereſt. A mind, elevated by the conſciouſneſs of its own powers, and enlarged by the habitual exerciſe of them, for the great purpoſe of promoting the good of others, yields to the preſſure of calamity, but ſinks not under it; particularly when habituated,

habituated, like theſe exalted characters, to look through the long viſta of futurity towards the final accompliſhment of the deſigns of Providence. Like a diligent gardener, who, when his promiſing young plants are blaſted in full ſtrength and beauty, though he feels extremely for their loſs, does not ſit down in idle chagrin, but redoubles his efforts to train up their ſucceſſors to the ſame degree of excellence. Conſidering the large family ſhe (Madame) always had about her, of which ſhe was the guiding ſtar as well as the informing ſoul, and the innocent cheerfulneſs which ſhe encouraged and enjoyed; conſidering, too, the number of intereſting gueſts whom ſhe received, and that complete union of minds, which made her enter ſo intimately into all the colonel's purſuits, it may be wondered how ſhe found time for ſolid and improved reading; becauſe people, whoſe time is ſo much occupied in buſineſs and ſociety, are apt to relax, with amuſing trifles of the deſultory kind, when they have odd half hours to beſtow on literary amuſements. But her

ſtrong and indefatigable mind never looſened its graſp; ever intent on the uſeful and the noble, ſhe found little leiſure for what are indeed the greateſt objects of feeble characters. After the middle of life ſhe went little out; her houſehold, long ſince arranged by certain general rules, went regularly on, becauſe every domeſtic knew exactly the duties of his or her place, and dreaded loſing it, as the greateſt poſſible misfortune. She had always with her ſome young perſon, "who was unto her as a "daughter;" who was her friend and companion; and bred up in ſuch a manner as to qualify her for being ſuch; and one of whoſe duties it was to inſpect the ſtate of the houſehold, and "report pro-"greſs," with regard to the operations going on in the various departments. For no one better underſtood, or more juſtly eſtimated, the duties of houſewifery. Thus, thoſe young females, who had the happineſs of being bred under her auſpices, very ſoon became qualified to aſſiſt her, inſtead of encroaching much on her time. The example

example and converſation of the family in which they lived, was to them a perpetual ſchool for uſeful knowledge, and manners eaſy and dignified, though natural and artleſs. They were not indeed embelliſhed, but then they were not deformed by affectation, pretenſions, or defective imitation of faſhionable models of nature. They were not indeed bred up "to dance, to dreſs, to "roll the eye, or troul the tongue;" yet they were not lectured into unnatural gravity, or frozen reſerve. I have ſeen thoſe of them who were lovely, gay, and animated, though, in the words of an old familiar lyric,

"Without diſguiſe or art, like flowers that grace the wild,
"Their ſweets they did impart whene'er they ſpoke or ſmil'd."

Two of thoſe to whom this deſcription particularly applies, ſtill live; and ſtill retain not only evident traces of beauty, but that unſtudied grace and dignity which is the reſult of conſcious worth and honour, habituated to receive the tribute of general

respect. This is the privilege of minds which are always in their own place, and neither stoop to solicit applause from their inferiors, nor strive to rise to a fancied equality with those whom nature or fortune have placed beyond them.

Aunt was a great manager of her time, and always contrived to create leisure hours for reading; for that kind of conversation, which is properly styled gossipping, she had the utmost contempt. Light superficial reading, such as merely fills a blank in time, and glides over the mind without leaving an impression, was little known there; for few books crossed the Atlantic but such as were worth carrying so far for their intrinsic value. She was too much accustomed to have her mind occupied with objects of real weight and importance, to give it up to frivolous pursuits of any kind. She began the morning with reading the Scriptures. They always breakfasted early, and dined two hours later than the primitive inhabitants, who always took that meal at twelve. This departure from the ancient

customs

cuſtoms was neceſſary in this family, to accommodate the great numbers of Britiſh as well as ſtrangers from New York, who were daily entertained at her liberal table. This arrangement gave her the advantage of a longer forenoon to diſpoſe of. After breakfaſt ſhe gave orders for the family details of the day, which, without a ſcrupulous attention to thoſe minutiæ which fell more properly under the notice of her young friends, ſhe always regulated in the moſt judicious manner, ſo as to prevent all appearance of hurry and confuſion. There was ſuch a rivalry among domeſtics, whoſe ſole ambition was her favour, and who had been ſo trained up from infancy, each to their ſeveral duties, that excellence in each department was the reſult both of habit and emulation; while her young protegées were early taught the value and importance of good houſewifery, and were ſedulous in their attention to little matters of decoration and elegance, which her mind was too much engroſſed to attend to; ſo that her houſehold affairs, ever well regulated, went

on in a mechanical kind of progreſs, that ſeemed to engage little of her attention, though her vigilant and overruling mind ſet every ſpring of action in motion. Having thus eaſily and ſpeedily arranged the details of the day, ſhe retired to read in her cloſet, where ſhe generally remained till about eleven; when, being unequal to diſtant walks, the colonel and ſhe, and ſome of her elder gueſts, paſſed ſome of the hotter hours among thoſe embowering ſhades of her garden, in which ſhe took great pleaſure. Here was their Lyceum; here queſtions in religion and morality, too weighty for table talk, were leiſurely and coolly diſcuſſed: and plans of policy and various utility arranged. From this retreat they adjourned to the portico; and while the colonel either retired to write, or went to give directions to his ſervants, ſhe ſat in this little tribunal, giving audience to new ſettlers, followers of the army left in hapleſs dependence, and others who wanted aſſiſtance or advice, or hoped ſhe would intercede with the colonel for ſomething more peculiarly

in

in his way, he having great influence with the colonial government. At the usual hour her dinner-party assembled, which was generally a large one; and here I must digress from the detail of the day to observe, that, looking up as I always did to Madame with admiring veneration, and having always heard her mentioned with unqualified applause, I look often back to think what defects or faults she could possibly have to rank with the sons and daughters of imperfection, inhabiting this transitory scene of existence, well knowing, from subsequent observation of life, that error is the unavoidable portion of humanity. Yet of this truism, to which every one will readily subscribe, I can recollect no proof in my friend's conduct, unless the luxury of her table might be produced to confirm it. Yet this, after all, was but comparative luxury. There was more choice and selection, and perhaps more abundance at her table, than at those of the other primitive inhabitants, yet how simple were her repasts compared to those which the luxury

of the higher ranks in this country offer to provoke the ſated appetite. Her dinner-party generally conſiſted of ſome of her intimate friends or near relations; her adopted children, who were inmates for the time being; and ſtrangers ſometimes invited, merely as friendleſs travellers, on the ſcore of hoſpitality, but often welcomed for ſome time as ſtationary viſitors, on account of worth or talents, that gave value to their ſociety; and, laſtly, military gueſts, ſelected with ſome diſcrimination on account of the young friends, whom they wiſhed not only to protect, but cultivate by an improving aſſociation. Converſation here was always rational, generally inſtructive, and often cheerful. The afternoon frequently brought with it a new ſet of gueſts. Tea was always drank early here; and, as I have formerly obſerved, was attended with ſo many petty luxuries of paſtry, confectionary, &c. that it might well be accounted a meal by thoſe whoſe early and frugal dinners had ſo long gone by. In Albany it was cuſtomary, after the heat

of

of the day was paſt, for the young people to go in parties of three or four, in open carriages, to drink tea at an hour or two's drive from town. The receiving and entertaining this ſort of company generally was the province of the younger part of the family; and of theſe parties many came, in ſummer evenings, to the Flats, when tea, which was very early, was over. The young people, and thoſe who were older, took their different walks, while Madame ſat in her portico, engaged in what might comparatively be called light reading, eſſays, biography, poetry, &c. till the younger party ſet out on their return home, and her domeſtic friends rejoined her in her portico, where, in warm evenings, a ſlight repaſt was ſometimes brought; but they more frequently ſhared the laſt and moſt truly ſocial meal within.

Winter made little difference in her mode of occupying her time. She then always retired to her cloſet to read at ſtated periods.

In converſation ſhe certainly took delight, and peculiarly excelled; yet did not in

the leaſt engroſs it, or ſeem to dictate. On the contrary, her thirſt of knowledge was ſuch, and ſhe poſſeſſed ſuch a peculiar talent for diſcovering the point of utility in all things, that from every one's diſcourſe ſhe extracted ſome information, on which the light of her mind was thrown in ſuch a direction, as made it turn to account. Whenever ſhe laid down her book ſhe took up her knitting, which neither occupied her eyes nor attention, while it kept her fingers engaged; thus ſetting an example of humble diligence to her young protegées. In this employment ſhe had a kind of tender ſatisfaction, as little children, reared in the family, were the only objects of her care in this reſpect. For thoſe, ſhe conſtantly provided a ſupply of hoſiery till they were ſeven years old; and, after that, transferred her attention to ſome younger favourite. In her earlier days, when her beloved colonel could ſhare the gaieties of ſociety, I have been told they both had a high reliſh for innocent mirth, and every ſpecies of humorous pleaſantry; but in my time there

was

was a chaſtened gravity in her diſcourſe, which, however, did not repulſe innocent cheerfulneſs, though it daſhed all manner of levity, and that flippancy which great familiarity ſometimes encourages amongſt young people, who live much together. Had Madame, with the ſame good ſenſe, the ſame high principle, and general benevolence towards young people, lived in ſociety, ſuch as is to be met with in Britain, the principle upon which ſhe acted would have led her to have encouraged in ſuch ſociety more gaiety and freedom of manners. As the regulated forms of life in Britain ſet bounds to the eaſe that accompanies good breeding, and refinement, generally diffuſed, ſupplies the place of native delicacy, where that is wanting, a certain decent freedom is both ſafe and allowable. But, amid the ſimplicity of primitive manners, thoſe bounds are not ſo well defined. Under theſe circumſtances, mirth is a romp, and humour a buffoon; and both muſt be kept within ſtrict limits.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

Family Details.

THE hoſpitalities of this family were ſo far beyond their apparent income, that all ſtrangers were aſtoniſhed at them. To account for this, it muſt be obſerved that, in the firſt place, there was perhaps ſcarce an inſtance of a family poſſeſſing ſuch uncommonly well trained, active, and diligent ſlaves, as that I deſcribe. The ſet that were ſtaid ſervants when they married, had ſome of them died off by the time I knew the family; but the principal roots from whence the many branches, then flouriſhing, ſprung, yet remained. Theſe were two women, who had come originally from Africa while very young; they were moſt excellent ſervants, and the mothers or grandmothers of the whole ſet, except one white-woolled negroe-man; who, in my time,

ſat

ſat by the chimney and made ſhoes for all the reſt. The great pride and happineſs of theſe ſable matrons were, to bring up their children to dexterity, diligence, and obedience. Diana being determined that Maria's children ſhould not excel her's in any quality, which was a recommendation to favour; and Maria equally reſolved that her brood, in the race of excellence, ſhould out-ſtrip Diana's. Never was a more fervent competition. That of Phillis and Brunetta, in the Spectator, was a trifle to it: and it was extremely difficult to decide on their reſpective merits; for though Maria's ſon Prince cut down wood with more dexterity and diſpatch than any one in the province, the mighty Cæſar, ſon of Diana, cut down wheat, and threſhed it, better than he. His ſiſter Betty, who, to her misfortune, was a beauty of her kind, and poſſeſſed wit equal to her beauty, was the beſt ſempſtreſs and laundreſs, by far, I have ever known; and plain unpretending Rachael, ſiſter to Prince, wife to Titus, alias Tyte, and head cook, dreſſed dinners

that

that might have pleaſed Apicius. I record my old humble friends by their real names, becauſe they allowedly ſtood at the head of their own claſs; and diſtinction of every kind ſhould be reſpected. Beſides, when the curtain drops, or indeed long before it falls, 'tis, perhaps, more creditable to have excelled in the loweſt parts, than to have fallen miſerably ſhort in the higher. Of the inferior perſonages, in this dark drama I have been characterizing, it would be tedious to tell: ſuffice it, that beſides filling up all the lower departments of the houſehold, and cultivating to the higheſt advantage a moſt extenſive farm, there was a thorough bred carpenter and ſhoe-maker, and an univerſal genius who made canoes, nets, and paddles; ſhod horſes, mended implements of huſbandry, managed the fiſhing, in itſelf no ſmall department, reared hemp and tobacco, and ſpun both; made cyder, and tended wild horſes, as they call them; which was his province to manage and to break. For every branch

of

of the domeſtic œconomy, there was a perſon allotted; educated for the purpoſe; and this ſociety was kept immaculate, in the ſame way that the quakers preſerve the rectitude of theirs; and, indeed, in the only way that any community can be preſerved from corruption; when a member ſhewed ſymptoms of degeneracy, he was immediately expelled, or in other words more ſuitable to this caſe, ſold. Among the domeſtics, there was ſuch a rapid increaſe, in conſequence of their marrying very early, and living comfortably without care, that if they had not been detached off with the young people brought up in the houſe, they would have ſwarmed like an over-ſtocked hive.

The prevention of crimes was ſo much attended to in this well regulated family, that there was very little puniſhment neceſſary; none that I ever heard of, but ſuch as Diana and Maria inflicted on their progeny, with a view to prevent the dreaded ſentence of expulſion; notwithſtanding the petty rivalry

rivalry between the branches of the two original ſtocks. Inter-marriages between the Montagues and Capulets of the kitchen, which frequently took place, and the habit of living together under the ſame mild, though regular government, produced a general cordiality and affection among all the members of the family, who were truly ruled by the law of love; and even thoſe who occaſionally differed about trifles, had an unconſcious attachment to each other, which ſhewed itſelf on all emergencies. Treated themſelves with care and gentleneſs, they were careful, and kind, with regard to the only inferiors and dependants they had, the domeſtic animals. The ſuperior perſonages in the family, had always ſome good property to mention, or good ſaying to reſpect of thoſe whom they cheriſhed into attachment, and exalted into intelligence; while they, in their turn, improved the ſagacity of their ſubject animals, by careſſing and talking to them. Let no one laugh at this; for whenever man is at

eaſe

eaſe and unſophiſticated, where his native humanity is not extinguiſhed by want, or chilled by oppreſſion, it overflows to inferior beings; and improves their inſtincts, to a degree incredible to thoſe who have not witneſſed it. In all mountainous countries, where man is more free, more genuine, and more divided into little ſocieties much detached from others, and much attached to each other, this cordiality of ſentiment, this overflow of good will takes place. The poet ſays,

> "Humble love, and not proud reaſon,
> Keeps the door of heaven."

This queſtion muſt be left for divines to determine; but ſure am I that humble love, and not proud reaſon, keeps the door of earthly happineſs, as far as it is attainable. I am not going, like the admirable Crichton, to make an oration in praiſe of ignorance; but a very high degree of refinement certainly produces a quickneſs of diſcernment, a niggard approbation, and

and a faſtidiouſneſs of taſte, that find a thouſand repulſive and diſguſting qualities mingled with thoſe that excite our admiration, and would (were we leſs critical) produce affection. Alas! that the tree ſhould ſo literally impart the knowledge of good and evil; much evil and little good. It is time to return from this excurſion, to the point from which I ſet out.

The Princes and Cæſars of the Flats had as much to tell of the ſagacity and attachments of the animals, as their miſtreſs related of their own. Numberleſs anecdotes that delighted me in the laſt century, I would recount: but fear I ſhould not find my audience of ſuch eaſy belief as I was; nor ſo convinced of the integrity of my informers. One circumſtance I muſt mention, becauſe I well know it to be true. The colonel had a horſe which he rode occaſionally, but which oftener travelled with Mrs. Schuyler in an open carriage. At particular times, when bringing home hay or corn, they yoked Wolf, for ſo he was called, in a waggon; an indignity to which, for

for a while, he unwillingly ſubmitted. At length, knowing reſiſtance was in vain, he had recourſe to ſtratagem; and whenever he ſaw Tyte marſhalling his cavalry for ſervice, he ſwam over to the iſland; the umbrageous and tangled border of which I formerly mentioned: there he fed with fearleſs impunity till he ſaw the boat approach; whenever that happened he plunged into the thicket, and led his followers ſuch a chaſe, that they were glad to give up the purſuit. When he ſaw from his retreat that the work was over, and the fields bare, he very coolly returned. Being, by this time, rather old, and a favourite, the colonel allowed him to be indulged in his diſlike to drudgery. The mind which is at eaſe, neither ſtung by remorſe, nor goaded by ambition or other turbulent paſſions, nor worn with anxiety for the ſupply of daily wants, nor ſunk into languor by ſtupid idleneſs, forms attachments and amuſements, to which thoſe exalted by culture would not ſtoop, and thoſe cruſhed by want and care could not riſe. Of this

nature

nature was the attachment to the tame animals, which the domeſtics appropriated to themſelves, and to the little fanciful gardens where they raiſed herbs or plants of difficult culture, to ſell and give to their friends. Each negroe was indulged with his racoon, his great ſquirrel, or muſk rat; or perhaps his beaver, which he tamed and attached to himſelf, by daily feeding and careſſing him in the farm-yard. One was ſure about all ſuch houſes, to find theſe animals, in whom their maſters took the higheſt pleaſure. All theſe ſmall features of human nature muſt not be deſpiſed for their minuteneſs. — To a good mind they afford conſolation.

Science, directed by virtue, is a godlike enlargement of the powers of human nature; and exalted rank is ſo neceſſary a finiſh to the fabric of ſociety, and ſo invariable a reſult from its regular eſtabliſhment, that in reſpecting thoſe, whom the divine wiſdom has ſet above us, we perform a duty ſuch as we expect from our own inferiors; which helps to ſupport the gene-

ral order of ſociety. But ſo very few in proportion to the whole can be enlightened by ſcience, or exalted by ſituation, that a good mind draws comfort from diſcovering even the petty enjoyments permitted to thoſe in the ſtate we conſider moſt abject and depreſſed.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

Refources of Madame. — Provincial Cuftoms.

It may appear extraordinary, with fo moderate an income, as could in thofe days be derived even from a confiderable eftate in that country, how Madame found means to fupport that liberal hofpitality, which they conftantly exercifed. I know the utmoft they could derive from their lands, and it was not much: fome money they had, but nothing adequate to the dignity, fimple as it was, of their ftyle of living, and the very large family they always drew round them. But with regard to the plenty, one might almoft call it luxury, of their table, it was fupplied from a variety of fources, that rendered it lefs expenfive than could be imagined. Indians, grateful for the numerous benefits they were daily receiving from them, were conftantly bringing the fmaller game, and, in winter and fpring, loads of venifon.

Little money paſſed from one hand to another in the country; but there was conſtantly, as there always is in primitive abodes, before the age of calculation begins, a kindly commerce of preſents. The people of New York and Rhode-Iſland, ſeveral of whom were wont to paſs a part of the ſummer with the colonel's family, were loaded with all the productions of the farm and river. When they went home, they again never failed, at the ſeaſon, to ſend a large ſupply of oyſters, and all other ſhell-fiſh, which at New York abounded; beſides great quantities of tropical fruit, which, from the ſhort run between Jamaica and New York, were there almoſt as plenty and cheap, as in their native ſoil. Their farm yielded them abundantly all that in general a muſket can ſupply; and the young relatives who grew up about the houſe, were rarely a day without bringing ſome ſupply from the wood or the ſtream. The negroes, whoſe buſineſs lay frequently in the woods, never willingly went there, or any where elſe, with-

without a gun, and rarely came back empty handed. Presents of wine, then a very usual thing to send to friends to whom you wished to shew a mark of gratitude, came very often, possibly from the friends of the young people who were reared and instructed in that house of benediction; as there were no duties paid for the entrance of any commodity there, wine, rum, and sugar, were cheaper than can easily be imagined; and in cyder they abounded.

The negroes of the three truly united brothers, not having home employment in winter, after preparing fuel used to cut down trees, and carry them to an adjoining saw-mill, where, in a very short time, they made great quantities of planks, staves, &c. which is usually stiled lumber, for the West-India market. And when a ship load of their flour, lumber, and salted provisions were accumulated, some relative, for their behoof, freighted a vessel, and went out to the West-Indies with it. In this stygian schooner, the

departure of which was always looked forward to with unſpeakable horror, all the ſtubborn or otherwiſe unmanageable ſlaves were embarked, to be ſold by way of puniſhment. This produced ſuch ſalutary terror, that preparing the lading of this fatal veſſel generally operated a temporary reform at leaſt. When its cargo was diſcharged in the Weſt Indies, it took in a lading of wine, rum, ſugar, coffee, chocolate, and all other Weſt-India productions, paying for whatever fell ſhort of the value, and returning to Albany, ſold the ſurplus to their friends, after reſerving to themſelves a moſt liberal ſupply of all the articles thus imported. Thus they had not only a profuſion of all the requiſites for good houſe-keeping, but had it in their power to do what was not unuſual there in wealthy families, though none carried it ſo far as theſe worthies.

In proceſs of time, as people multiplied, when a man had eight or ten children to ſettle in life, and theſe marrying early, and all their families increaſing faſt, though

they always were confidered as equals, and each kept a neat houfe and decent outfide, yet it might be that fome of them were far lefs fuccefsful than others, in their various efforts to fupport their families; but thefe deficiences were fupplied in a quiet and delicate way, by prefents of every thing a family required, fent from all their connexions and acquaintances; which, where there was a continual fending back and forward of faufages, pigs, roafting pieces, &c. from one houfe to another, excited little attention: but when Aunt's Weft-Indian cargo arrived, all the families of this defcription within her reach, had an ample boon fent them of her new fupply.

The fame liberal fpirit animated her fifter, a very excellent perfon, who was married to Cornelius Cuyler, then mayor of Albany; who had been a moft fucceffful Indian trader in his youth, and had acquired large poffeffions, and carried on an extenfive commercial intercourfe with the traders of that day, bringing from

Europe

Europe quantities of thoſe goods that beſt ſuited them, and ſending back their peltry in exchange; he was not only wealthy, but hoſpitable, intelligent, and liberal-minded, as appeared by his attachment to the army; which was, in thoſe days, the diſtinguiſhing feature of thoſe who in knowledge and candour were beyond others. His wife had the ſame conſiderate and prudent generoſity, which ever directed the humanity of her ſiſter; though, having a large family, ſhe could not carry it to ſo great an extent.

If this maternal friend of their mutual relatives could be ſaid to have a preference among her own, and her huſband's relations, it was certainly to this family. The eldeſt ſon Philip, who bore her huſband's name, was on that and other accounts, a particular favourite; and was, I think, as much with them in childhood, as his attention to his education, which was certainly the beſt the province could afford, would permit.

Having become diſtinguiſhed through

all the northern provinces, the common people, and the inferior claſs of the military, had learned from the Canadians who frequented her houſe, to call aunt, Madame Schuyler; but by one or other of theſe appellations ſhe was univerſally known; and a kindly cuſtom prevailed, for thoſe who were received into any degree of intimacy in her family, to addreſs her as their aunt, though not in the leaſt related. This was done oftener to her than others, becauſe ſhe excited more reſpect and affection; but it had in ſome degree the ſanction of cuſtom. The Albanians were ſure to call each other aunt or couſin, as far as the moſt ſtrained conſtruction would carry thoſe relations. To ſtrangers they were indeed very ſhy at firſt, but extremely kind; when they not only proved themſelves eſtimable, but by a condeſcenſion to their cuſtoms, and acquiring a ſmattering of their language, ceaſed to be ſtrangers, then they were in a manner adopted: for the firſt ſeal of cordial intimacy among the young people was to call each

 other

other couſin; and thus in an hour of playful or tender intimacy I have known it more than once begin: "I think you "like me well enough, and I am ſure I "like you very well; come, why ſhould "not we be couſins? I am ſure I ſhould "like very well to be your couſin, for I "have no couſins of my own where I "can reach them. Well, then you ſhall "be my couſin for ever and ever." In this uncouth language, and in this artleſs manner, were theſe leagues of amity commenced. Such an intimacy was never formed unleſs the object of it were a kind of favourite with the parents, who immediately commenced uncle and aunt to the new couſin. This, however, was a high privilege, only to be kept by fidelity and good conduct. If you expoſed your new couſin's faults, or repeated her minuteſt ſecrets, or by any other breach of conſtancy loſt favour, it was as bad as refuſing a challenge; you were coldly received every where, and could never regain your footing in ſociety.

Aunt's

Aunt's title, however, became current every where, and was moſt completely confirmed in the year 1750, when ſhe gave with more than common ſolemnity a kind of annual feaſt, to which the colonel's two brothers, and his ſiſters, aunt's ſiſter, Mrs. Cornelius Cuyler, and their families, with ſeveral other young people related to them, aſſembled. This was not given on a ſtated day, but at the time when moſt of theſe kindred could be collected. This year I have often heard my good friend commemorate, as that on which their family ſtock of happineſs felt the firſt diminution. The feaſt was made, and attended by all the collateral branches, conſiſting of fifty-two, who had a claim by marriage or deſcent, to call the colonel and my friend uncle and aunt, beſides their parents. Among theſe were reckoned three or four grandchildren of their brothers. At this grand gala there could be no leſs than ſixty perſons, but many of them were doomed to meet no more; for the next year the ſmall-pox, always peculiarly mortal here, (where it was improperly treated in

the

the old manner,) broke out with great virulence, and raged like a plague; but none of thoſe relatives whom Mrs. Schuyler had domeſticated ſuffered by it; and the ſkill which ſhe had acquired from the communications of the military ſurgeons who were wont to frequent her houſe, enabled her to adminiſter advice and aſſiſtance, which eſſentially benefited many of the patients in whom ſhe was particularly intereſted; though even her influence could not prevail on people to have recourſe to inoculation. The patriarchal feaſt of the former year, and the humane exertions of this, made the colonel and his conſort appear ſo much in the light of public benefactors, that all the young regarded them with a kind of filial reverence, and the addition of uncle and aunt was become confirmed and univerſal, and was conſidered as an honorary diſtinction. The ravages which the ſmall-pox made this year among their Mohawk friends, was a ſource of deep concern to theſe revered philanthropiſts; but this was an evil not to be remedied by any ordinary

dinary means. Thefe people being accuftomed from early childhood to anoint themfelves with bear's greafe, to repel the innumerable tribes of noxious infects in fummer, and to exclude the extreme cold in winter, their pores are fo completely fhut up, that the fmall-pox does not rife upon them, nor have they much chance of recovery from any acute difeafe; but, excepting the fatal infection already mentioned, they are not fubject to any other but the rheumatifm, unlefs in very rare inftances. The ravages of difeafe this year operated on their population as a blow, which it never recovered; and they confidered the fmall-pox in a phyfical, and the ufe of ftrong liquors in a moral fenfe, as two plagues which we had introduced among them, for which our arts, our friendfhip, and even our religion, were a very inadequate recompence.

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