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## MEMOIR

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REV．WILLIMMSON JAIINSE：YKFS，LL．D． AND HON，MEMBER OT THE ROYAL AMFIRICAN HOARD OE

มITERATERE，

IN SIX LETTERS TO HIS SON．
－Olin neminisse jü゙局if．＂

## NOW FIPST FUBLISILED，

 QUEBECK，A．D． 1901.


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## KING.

Sire,
Pramit me, in conginatulating my con on Your fortunate accession to th. e of Your Royal Father, to lay at : feet with all humility a small work of the: venerable man, to whom I owe my existence. I am persuaded that Your Majesty will pardon its frankness, and extend to it the indulgence, which Your Princely Race have ever manifested for manly sentiments, and with which Your Royal Father was pleased to honour its authour.

I should not, under other circumstances than the present, have presumed to approach the throne with an offering of this nature ; but having been honoured with Your Royal Commission in an attempt to unite with Your subjects a distracted and divided people, I presumed that the faithful history, my father left, as a legacy to his children. of the
troubles, of which he was a witness, but which happily ended in the establishment of Your Majesty's illustrious House, would be no unacceptable present to future times.

In discharging, Sire, this duty, permit me also to declare that, under a kind and gracious Providence, the people of this Northern Empire are indebted for all the prosperity they enjoy to the prompt, vigorous yet clement measures of Your Majesty's Royal ancestors. That this kingdom, formed by their wisdom, and transmitted to Your Royal hands, may long flourish, that its boundaries may still increase, and thus diffuse the happiness, which those experience, to whom Your Imperial qualities are known, and that every enemy to Your Majesty's government may be transformed into a warm and zealous serrant, is the hearty prayer of, Sire,
Your Majesty's most humble, most affectionate, and most devoted subject, JULIUS DE BARRI,

Ld. Jurssenkells.

## PREFACE.

IT may not be amiss to inform the publiek, that the Editor of the fiew followins letters has lous retained them, and would frobably hare continued to kecp them private, had mit eceent occurrences rendered it, in his opinion, caxcee-lingly uscfull to extibit them to the world. For, whatev $r$ sources of information may have been opened in general histories, it is plain that private memoirs, separate from the circumstance of authenticity, must enter more into the detail of those rouses, which, though they develope themselves only to the curious eye of an intelligent and attentive observer, produce ultimately the greatest cevents. Ind as these letters faithfully pant the miserics of former times, it was hopech that the publishing of then at the present clay inight tend to open the eyes of our infut wed netghbours to their real mterests.

Of these interests the Editor Inpes he shall be allowed to have formed a proper estimete. Fiorty five years of bickering, or open warfare, might have convinced the Illinos Republicans, that it were far better to renounec, as did their ancestors, the phantom of a grovermient, which they haze not virtue to protect. For the Republick is a frey to the dissentions of her ambitious chiefts. Conficting in tha population or territory they huse acquired or maintained, animated by ais antient grudse, and still more by a desive of attractiug to themseleces individually the manurement of the Stuld, in the midst of such comoutsions, these factious demagogues, for such must they be named, are for protructings "wear, wedich puts to the grof all the millhess and moderation of ou Siovercign; a tear ton. which comant arll but in themi. sulyusation.

Nor call this event be far distant. The inmense power of the Northern, and the preponderating interests "the Southern Kingdom, point out for each of them a $\dot{d}_{1 .}$ - t path to their object. Nor is his Virginian Ma. jesty so inattentwe to the security of his frontiers, or so fond of repose and quiet, as to omit any method of reducing such an obstinate enemy. The league too, which has of late been happily formed between the turo Monarchies, and in which tl:? Editor is well known to have borne an honorable part, must teach these enthusiasts, that it is vain to resist.

On the whole, our population of twenty milliuss, with the command of the navigation of the lakes, which we indisputaliy possess, joined to the power and martial prowess of a late reconciled indeed, but doubrless faithful ally, who is able to shut the Mississippi to their eastern conmerce, and leave them only the shores of the Pacifick, still at an immense distance, and with several intervening nations-these advantages of the Allies, together with the history of former Pepubhets, and especially of the once confederated Amei isan States, must, one would think, bring then to their reason.

Whatever vietus may influence the Northern Court, cvery one must grant, that sonnd policy absolutely requires, that a neighbour so capable of doing harm, as the Republick of the Illinois, must be brought to peace; on equitable terms, if possible, if not, by force. For many years, it is well known, their territory has been the common receptacle of intriguing, discontented and abmudoned men, from both the Ainerican Kingdoms; nor would his Majesty of the Sonth have cver espoused their canse, but for the deadly fends of civil war; feuds, which rendered any anviliary acceptable, yet which have at length but served to establish forever the Royal Houses derived of Britain and of France.

J. de B. JAHNSENYKES.

Lordship of Jurssenkells, A.D. $1^{\text {e }}$

## INDEY.

. Wete...That the subjects at least of the following letters may be generally unlerstood in our Sister Kinglom, the Editor inserts an index in the language of Her Court.

## Lettre premiere.

Page. relativement à icelles

Seconde.
Jalousies de France, et tentatives pour contreba,acre, of securité aussi de ses Colonies des Indes, menacées prong Espagnols etc

Troisiéme.
Vue des principes, mæurs et écrits des Americains des Etats-Unis

Quatriéme.
Ftablissement d'une Préfêture durant les troubles des partis Americains, à Richmond29

Cinquiéme.
Vue des sentimens du peuple-nord. Histoire des Etablissemens Angloss dans l'Angleterre-ncuve. Emigrations à l'ouest. Formation d'une Présidence perpetuelle du Nord

## Sixieme et derniére.

Jalousie des aristocrats. Vigilance de Sa Majesté du Nord. Ses préparatifs pour la guerre. Misérables contestations. Déclaration de Sa Majesté Virginique. Vue de Quebec, capitale florissante d'un Roiaume puissant. Soumission des peuples des Etats du Nord. Mariage du Roi avec la fille du President

## LETTER 1.

My dear son,
Whatever motives and principles may justly be preseribed to individuals, it is a fact, that mations act on a plan totally selfish. The very essence of patriotism consists in preferring the good of our own conntry: to the good of any other. And the design of constituting every geverment is, that ther, who are to direct its administration, may administer to the good of its subjects. Not, inderd, that the interest of any one nation will be found wholly isolated from that of all other nations ; but that, in the collision of separate mational interests, that of our own mation lics nearest to the heart.

I premise this remark to the maration you have so often requested of me, and which 1 now purpose to leare with yon, as a memorial of my love; consecrating, as I do, the last cfforts of my eufeebled mind and health to a subjeet, which has been the froitful theme of my private anxicty and publick comersation, as it has also been ever interesting to the true American. I premise the remark, my son, to my marration, because I look back with infinite regret to the period, When, confiding in their own blind vanity, and patriotick partialities, my comentrymen wonld see no evil, that thenemed them from alyoud ; mor would comsont that
other nations should feel for their own institutions and their own citizens the attachment we felt for ours. Indecd I well knew that the nature of the principles, on which men were then acting, and the tendency of events then taking place, would lead of course directly to the result we now behold. I said and 1 wrote as much. But mations are slow to learn; human passions are hard to be curbed, and man is governed by views of present interest rather, than by the consideration of an interest attached to the future periods ol his duration.

But I shall moralise and declaim more, thim I narrate. Without finther introduction, then, J procecd to the business of these letters.

Great-Britain had long jossessed, without appearing to know its valac, in cither a political or come creial vew, an immense territory to the northward of the do. minions of those states, which had gloriously effected their independence of her, and become sovereign, by a long and bloody strugghe, that renders immortal the memory of those, who maintancd it, and achie ved their object. Manty of thie inhabitants of the colonics were, howerer, disaffected to the idea of emancipation from a regal gorermment, and chose to reside among those, who remained loyal to their hing. 'The population, therefore, of the loyal states increased not only by the common process of imuigrations from Eingland, Scotland, and ladiand, but by remotals of disaffected republicans, uncast or cutcoprising men, lamers, who expected better bargains in land, copeceially in the coun-

less encouragement at home, than they could obtain among the British subjects. This latter case I will explain hereafter.

While the English trade to the continent of Europe was occluded by the decrecs of the first Fimperor of France, of the present dynasty, it was seriously enquired in Britain, what benefit might be derived to the mother country from her American possessions. Already a Prince of the house of Brinswick had been invested with the office of Grovernour in: general, and had won the affections of the colonists at large. It was now proposed, thit a kind and fostering hand should be stretched out, effectually to raise this valuable country to the rank, it has since attained. A prince, then, of the reigning family, was, after a very considerable serics of preparations, which it is not necessary to recount, placed, as Viceroy, at the head of all the British dominions in North-America and the West-Indics. An expectation was held out, that offices of trust, and of honour and emolument, would be bestowed on those. noble minded Britons, who would embark, witl their families and fortuncs, for a country, which already seemed to assume the name and dignity of a great and flomerishing empirc. Monopolies were abolished. A free trade began to be established. A flect was in preparation ; and the spirit of enterprise, wisclom, and decision, which all at once burst, as it were, on the astonished continent, though, in truth, many had long forcseen it, promised to the rising state a vigorous ma. tirrity.

Empire seemed now decidedly westering. The expatriated Portuguese, roused into energy by the circumstances of their country, and enlightened by a free and confidentia! intercourse with the English, who frequented their new court in crowds, shook off the emasculating shackles of a bigoted superstition, entered, with cmutons earnestness, into the liberal views of their fanthul allies, and retrieved the character, they onee bore under Emanuel and Henry. Nor did their friends repent the kinduesses, they had shewn. In fact, there laid ieen, for a long series of years, such a mutual grood understanding between the two countries, even before the removal of the court, as redomnded to the honour of both. Aud in Americal the attachment was rencwed with the most brilliant adrantages. Important privileges were granted to the American subjects of Great-Britain, and wealth flowed profusely into the northern provinces. That country was thus acquiring simews, to brace its already powerful arms.

Nor were the American Spaniards, in their estensive possessions, ielle spectators of their neighbours. Einglind had generonsly assisted the patriots of the mother crunti?, in their glorions strugele to maintain their rights agaiust Napoleon I. whose orerwhelming ambition prompted him, at one period, to attempt the utter subjugation of that anticut and brane people. Spain was gratchal, and linglish commeree, Finglish mamers, and Einglish politicks, begam semsibly to pervade ' : eona:, her people, and her coide aces. But at home they wowe hate in dheok bey france, and abroad they were niii eniamrasect, notwithstading the fintacial amaner
ments of their magnanimo' uxiliaries; nor con' ' they make an effectual impression on the power, by which they were kept at bay. Stiii, howerer, their wide spread domains were opened to the adventurous Britons; and the raw materials so richly furnished by their several states as well, as by the Brasilian territories, supplied copiously the manufacturing interest of England. All this commeree, with but little exeeption, passed through the han-!s of colonial carricrs, for they were taught the policy of ahnost restricting this advantage to the new erspipe ; having seell with envy the growing prosperity of New-Fngland, during the neutality of the United States, while the nations of Fimope were at war. The carrying trade, so termed, was now therefore taken from foreis ıers. It was placed in the Viceroy's power ; and this cireumstance alone had great influence in increasing not only the wealth, but the population and strength of the British territories in Americia, to the govermment of wheh he devoted great prudence, vigour and judicions moderation.

It was not long, therefore, before a more perfect consolid: on of these several territorics was songht with earnestuess by almost all the principal colonists. Thrprovincial and colonial somemours, who had been alway: depoled frem the mother comintry, were often fomid macpmainter! with tike interests of the commmities, they atume to nourish and defend. It began, of course, to be perecived, that it would bebetter to place the nomimation of persen :o all these ponts in the Viceroy himself, who hati nearl! beconc a sovereign Prince. But the diens of the cone were vast. And experione mat
taught the British government, that, by indulging to the suggestions of a liberal and enlightened policy, more advantage migit be derived from a country in the striet connexion of a friendly and mutually beneficial alliance, than for one in the galling bond of colonial dependence. The United States had afforded them this lesson, and they were ready to profit by it. Already it was sur. mised that the total independence of the Viceregency would ere long be openly discussed. And events, which will be noticed in a future letter, tended rapidly to realise the suspicion.

National concerns are seldoni conducted on a perfeetly consistent plan for any considerable series of years; and wothing but the unvarying motive of selfinterest can be assumed, as the clue to every state labyrinth. When, therefore, interest inclines manifestly to one line of conduct, we may expeet to find that line pertinaciously followed. England was wise enongh to see her own interest in pursuing the track, which her apparently generous ministers had now disco ered.

No sooner was the right to nominate the several Governours in complete exercise by the Viccroy, than beneficial consequences appeared to result. His nominations were sckdom countervailed by the court, and as they were made, with bit very few exeeptions, after the strictest serutiny in regard to character and talents ; fo - a plan of great extent required a powerful co-opera-
a; they gained the affection of the people, and effected in a few years the important measure of leaving the appointments solely to the discretion of the Prince.

A long time elapsed without any material alterations in the plan of goverrment. The views of the British court began to be penetrated by almost every calinet of Europe and America. 'They, howeve': who comprehended these views, could not but ascribe them to political wisdom, and to a prudent regard for securing the good will as well, as presperity of a naseent empire. A consolidation was incleed perfecting, which inspired the neighbouring states with alam for the habours of Newfoundland were thronged with ships and the smaller craft ; the islands of the vicinity overfoned with inhabitants ; the Dunkirk of America was agaia rendered impregnable, or supposed so ; active, enterprising and brate, the inhabitants of N.w-Scotland and Brunswick had breome rich also, not only from improviag their maritime advantages, but from an inland commerce with New-England ; the nor'acrmmost regions of the bay of Hudson beggen to yield in a degree to cultivation ; Lablador was gro: is populous ; the lakes of Upper Camada were whitened with the sails of commerce, and the gencrous encouragement of the princely Viccroy allured to his court the men of genius, talents and enterprise, who sought promotion, and the means of affluence. Alrearly, therefore, the impe. tant moment was ardently expected, when this flourishing and broadly extended frovernment should prockim its independence and uncontrolled sovercignty.

But in a future letter 1 must adrert to another seene of striking, though long anticipated events, in a different quarter of the western continent. I have given yon
a hasty sketch, though it be on the whole such, as I had contemp!ated, of the progress of some of the present members of the Northern Kingdom, from the inert condition of a crippled, dependent colony, to the expansive activity of a self-moving, enlightened and powerful state ; and am, with unerasing love and anxious coneern, your ever affectionate Father.

## LETTER II.

I know not, Julius, to what precise period of history we are to assign the origin of that spirit of jealousy, whieh has so long raged between the powerful countries of Britain and France. So antient it is, that the bearing of fleurs de lis on the coat armour of many old fam1. $\mathrm{j}_{\text {of Wales, that land of genealogies, takes its date }}$ from serviees rendered in the wars between those rival powers. Perhaps the eonquest of England by William, whieh exeited the envy of the reigning family in the land $h^{\circ}$ left, might be assumed as the æra, sinee wi like Carthage and Rome, their opposing shores but too strietly eorresponded to their opposite interests and views. Wherever British arms, and British generosity, and may I not say, British improvidenee have been known, there full soon have followed Freneh intrigue, French selfishness, and Freneh alertness, with a consummate military skill.

Not more distinet are the facultics of the understanding and the will in man, than are the eharaeters of Britons and Frenehmen ; and, I had almost said, not more inseparable notwithstanding. But eould you unite them fully, what perfection would ensue! Were the cool deliberations of the head aecompanied too by the warm feelings of the heart, that is, did inclination fol-
low the decisions of reason, how blamelessly should we conduct in life! Could you form men, in whom the distinctive features of the French and English characters should be happily blended, and superinduce the principles of Christianity to the composition, interweaving them with every vital fibre-ah then! But I pratc.

Wherever a Frenchman* residcs, he remembers Paris. Not that he has more "love of country," than had a Switzer, when Switzerland existed, or than has a Scotsman now. An Englishman loves home indeed, but home is to him the place wherc his beloved wife and children, his friends and associates reside. And if these migrate with him, his home is portable. "Eng. lishmen on both sides the Atlantick" was a good name for the nation when it separated, as it were, into monarchists and republicans. Amcricans descended of English ancestors preserve many of the traces of their descent. Hence the wily court of France fcared exceedingly that English powcr, having gained such footing in the North, would travel southward, and overwhelm and subduc the invaluable territories of the Unitcd Statcs.' Already, thercfore, were haard the chatterings of the monkey, amusing but to deceive, and the gnashings of the tyger, $\dagger$ whose sharp fings were convulsively extended for rapine and for blood.

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 could not cause me to forget the wisc plan ol government, that prevailed in my youth, yet occasioned my relinquishing with pleasure an allegiance to its abuses.But I shall conclude this letter, without accomplishing its object.

France saw with regret the preponderance of British power un the American continent and in its seas. She had ever fostered with anxious care her colonial pos-
sessions, and partieularly those of the Western Indies, which she had increased by treaty, purehase and conquest, as often as opportunity offered. For these she now trembled. The Portuguese and Spanish governments in Amcrica threatened, as it seemed, to sweep the French from all their ccionics, and it was but an effeet of mere sufferance that those colonies were permitted to retain their allegiance. Franee therefore felt the necessity of obtaining some security for the dcpendenee of her colonies. Every art was in consequence cmployed to alarm the jealousies and fears of the government of the States against England, Envoy after envoy was instrueted to propose, to eajole, to threaten and intimidate, to plead, eommand, seduce and flatter. And these reiterated remonstrunces, insinuatious, threats and flatteries must be supposed to have had some effect ; for how eould it be otherwise, when every French engine was set in motion to produce a eounterbalance to British power.

There were men, I acknowledge, as our history too decidedly proves, who yielded to thicse arts. Opposition also strengthens opinions. Several had enibarked with thei .ilest passions on the tumultuous sea of politicks, and had been driven by malice and contention very far from caeh other. If the one expressed an opinion, or made an allusion, in any degree favourable to Britain, the other immediately, and with emphasis, extolled her rival. A French party and an English party began now to be marked with precision; and the arts of Farisian adepts in intriguc, duplicity and mis-

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adies, conshe verin. weep it an pere felt e de-onseof the nvoy e, to cand inuahave when ce a too posirked polintion d an rable asis, glish d the mis-
representation were too visible to be disregarded. Their exertions were principally directed to the most influential characters of the south, for from that quarter, coving to many causes and events, which I camot now particularise, they expectid, and that too justly, the most effectual support.

Your loving Father.

## LE'TTER III.

## My Son,

There was a very great difference in character between the several citizens, and even the several States of the former Union. Nor are we to wonder that such should be the case. The population of the United States was originally derived from a variety of sources; and the intermistures of different national characters in those, who descended from the first emigrants, may be easily conceived to have diversified the individual character to a degree almost maknown in other countries. Add to this the various and uneertain methods of education among those, who enjoyed any of its greater advantages, and the almost endless variety of religious sects, into which professors of a belicf in Cleristianity were divided.

Nor should we omit distinctions of politicks. I will only advert, however, to those, who openly iud with apparent sincerity adrocated the prevailing system of general government. Some of these were zealons repulbicans, because they had studied with diligence the antient writers of Greces, and had imbibed from the history of her Republicks, and from that of Rome. while governed by her Consuls, a hatred to the very ider and name of myalty, some were republicans. be
caluse cither they or their immediate ancestors had been cast, by the lot of contingeneies, into a situation, where their opponents were attached to a kingiy government. Some wère fond of the name, because it gave them a passport to the favour of the people, with whom resided the physieal and civil power, and from whose favour alone they could expeet office, wealth and fame. Others again professed themselves republicans, and these indeed were the majority of the leading men in my time, because their pride and vanity, whieh in other circumstances would hardly have allowed them to acknowledge an equal, absolntely forbad their submitting to a superinur. All these were suecessively subdivided into federalists and anti-federalists, aristoerats and jacobins, federal republieans and democratick republicans, and very few were avowedly royalists. All had too much of the hanteur of republicanism to brook the idea of hereditary subordination.

Indeed I have very mueh questioned, whether most of the Repulbieks, which have been constituted in the world, did not take their origin from the ambition, jealousy, envy and pride of leading men. Most of the repullicans, whom I have known in any honourable station, or possessed of any distinguishing talents, have been such, Ixecause circumstances prechuded them from being kings, dukes or lords ; and they have been adrocates for a system, which kept all on a level, because they would not permit others in rise to homours above themsches. But I will exeept one glorions character, that illustrions man, whose name is embalmed in the memory of all the good and virthous, evell our Wash-
ington, the patriot, the hero, and the Christian sageHc, I gran , might have made himself absolute, and did not. But what can be said of that impious faree, the French revolution? Had it not been so bloody, so terrifick and horrid in its progress and consequences, who could furbear smiling with contemen on its conductors, its dupes, and those, whon reaped from it such immense atggrandisement And I verily believe, that republicanism in England, under the hypocritical Cromwell, arose mostly from a family compact. Siamiane the retations of kincired between: those, who projected and perpetrated the measures, that cansed at civil war in England, and issucd in the death of her lawfil king, and you will see but too much reason to doult, with lord Clarendon, the purity of even a Hampelen. I shall indeed say more, in a future letter, of republicans of another stamn ; but I am too much inclined to believe, that every republican, who is not a humble subject of the King of kings and Loord of lords, adlueres to his: political ereed and system from arrant "pride and hanglatincss of soul." The principles of Christianity kad men "in honour to prefer one another ;" the wisdom of this world is "carthly, semstal, devilish," and comsults personal emolument, reputation or perwer in all its efforts.

It was, in fact, very eommon belone the introduction of . Hat system, which now pervales the Northern Kingdom, for men in spaking even ol the ir comexions to deny merit to any, but themselves, and to be regardless therefore, or perthaps rather to pretend a distegated of that most gratifying species of homom, whicitiow iftom
ancestorial worth. A man, whose descent is honourable, and whose family law been in possession of ease, afflucnee and respect for a considerable time, is, cæteris paribus, by no means so grasping, so ostentatious, so haughty, assuming and presumptuous, as the child of fortune. He dues not regard his advantages, of whatever kind they be, with wonder, admiration and disproportionate fondness. At ho: when splendidly surrounded, he is not perfectly abroad if reduced to indigence. His noble qualities remain ; and that good brecding, which is the most valuable fruit of easy eircumstances, enables him, if he have profited by it, to be calm, industrious and honourable, where others would be discouraged, servile, insincere and wicked. But the trith is, no man is indificrent to personal honours, howeser he may for the present, and most probably for the sake of obtaining a more abundant share in future, affect to despise them.

In prineiple, then, by far the greater part of the United Americans were republican. In manners the most influential among them were generally aristoeratiek. But 1 do not impute this circumstance to them an Amer. icans, or as republicans, but as men. It is human nature, and we cminot expeet to change that nature merely by the form of a govermment. Govermments vary with the times, in which they exist, and the circumstances of their subjects. Man, in his constituent principles, is cror the same.

Let me say a word, before I close, of the writings of 7. one fommer citizens. These were indecd mostly confined (o) the political and commercial diaries, those re-
hicles of truth and falsehood so indeterminately and promiscuously, that nothing learned from them respecting the real state of the times can be fully depended on. In them abuse generated abuse, and the contention never closed, till language was cxhausted of its epithets of slander. The American newspapers were the vilest, that ever disgraced a nation. Uiffounded calumnies, scandalous surmises, and base accusations were multiplied without end on every eminent character. For as surely, as one paper passed a single compliment on any man, the opponent blackened his character with aspersion on aspersion. I will not pollute this sheet with a record of particulars, nor will I give the printers, who were too generally the editors of them, the honour of even mentioning a name. These printers were mostly needy adventurers, mind by no means such, as should direct that important engine, the press. They had writers indeed of sterling talent, for in fuet very few men published their lucubrations, but in the newspapers; except they were of a decidedly religious or literary character, and then they found their way into the magazir of the time, which were tou often but meagre con: ms.

I do not ru, ...ct more thit.. two works of national interest and importance written in the times, that preceded the eivil wars and troubles of my country. These were, the immortal "Defenee of the Aucrican Constitutions," by the second President, accompanied, as it now is, by its more valuable supplement, his inestimable "Lectures on Dayila;" and the life of the illustrious Father of his country, ly the Chicf Justice, Mar-
shall. There were indeed "Annals," published by a Doctor in Divinity, of a general nature and ably executed, but this snould not be called an original work. There were also sermons almost imumerable, and systeras of ethicks and the ulegy, but many of those are no longer remembered, and now hardly to be found in our libraries. The writugs inded of Mayhew and Edwards, Belknap, the accomplished historian, and Clarke, his more accomplished i.iend, as also of several provincial authors, obtained and yet receive high and deserved applanse. So did Franklin's. But we had no Fenclon, mo Doddridge, no Montesquieu, no de Monnay, mo Nerrton, Shakespere, Milton, Boyle or Cowper. Wie had our Marmontels, on I yleys, our Chathams, Marlboroughs, Addisons and Swifts, and imitators of Junius by limedreds. Indeed his assassinating periods, his dark imsinuations, and bold invectives peculiarly suited our newspaper editors, paragraph scribblers, shallow pamphicteces, and theatrical criticks.

From this sketch you see that, in such a chatick state of character, such a mixture of Duteh phlegm, the sanguine complexion of the Englishnan, lreneh choker and vanity, Irish rapidity, German scmsibility and patient industry, Negro indiflerence, and Ludian induknee, there was "pabulum," as say the naturalists, for any phant whatever. Aud a planter, skilful, persecrinis and wayy, was not long wanting.

Your's affectionately:

## LETTER IV.

## My dear Julius,

If my last letter presented you an unpleasing picture, this offers one much more disgusting and distressing. But it shall be short, for of all moral paintings that of the degradation of a free born people is the most humiliating.

I have noticed the contimal exertions of the French and their partisans to cause a political diversion in their favour among the Southern States of the $\Lambda$ merican Union. I observed that they met success, and the reason is apparent. There had been from a very carly period in the history of the federation, a decided prediection for France and French mamers in sereral individuals high in office.*

This preponderance of regarel of lanee liatered that insidions court with the prospect of a grata ateession

The following passage has ben taken fom it, place in the fov, and








of power. And a circumstance apparently casual prepared a train of events, which have issued in the destruction of the antient federation.

While the First Emperour of France was nnly Consul, one of his younger brothers visited Ameriea, and becoming attached to the daughter of a prineipal eitizen of Baltimore obtained her in marriage. As his brother advanced in dignity; however, this marriage was regarded as too low for one, who wight aspire to the land of a princess, and was accordingly annulled, under pretence of being illegally contracted. But there was issue of the marriage ; and the subsequent fortuncs of the Buonapartes rendered this issue exceedingly interesting to France and America. For to the family of the mother, and mueh more to the parisans of France, who ever abounded in the city of her residence, the violent politicians, who espoused the French interests, directed their thoughts.

Political dissensions ran high ; and as in the unhappy capital of the Greek Empire an infatuated partisan would have seen with inore pleasure a Turkish turlan upon the altar, than a Latin mitre, so there were men of

[^1]the party called democratick, who openly asscrted, they would prefer a French Emperour in America to a federal President. Such insinuations were not lost.

The French gencrals, and those of that nation, who, pretending disgust at the proceedings of the Emperour, feigned to seck an asylum in America, werc now sanguinc in their views. They gradually offered their scrvices to the administration, and were favourably received. Intrigue indeed effected a choice of such men, as officers; and at length, under a pretext of I know not what kind, frer it always appeared to me a presumption on the weakness or partiality of the government, a body of troops, so officered, obtained an establishment in the country. In numbers they now found themsclves formidable, and appeared, from the predilection of their partisans, invincible. But, as might naturally be expected, native Amcricans, and especially those of the middle and northern States, conceived a disgust at these measurcs. They found themselves neglected, and openly predicted the conscquences of the stcps then taken. And since politically as well, as philosophically, action and rcaction are equal, this conduct created resentment, and paved the way for a scparation of interests.

Virginia, as a state, found protection against her ncgro population in the troops beforementioned, which, for obvious reasons, were qua:-tered in the South. She had ever been indifferent to the Federal Union, exeept when she herself was the acknowledged head of it. And now, finding that the partiality lree citizens had manifested toward the lirench alienated the confidence
of the northern Staces, she set up, by her waiters, the hue and cry of "British influence." British influence indeed would naturally be exerted, could it find its objects, wherever French influence was apparent; for such conduct it is reasonable to expect from risal nations. It was now too late to recede, and the ery of war resounded from the soutl. They too, who were disaffected to Virginia and her interests, demanded war. Numerous publications of mutual defimec issued from northern and southern presses. Virginia was now openly charged, as she had often been before, though less directly, with wilfully taking measures to dissolve the national compact. The charese was not denied. She elained her right ; and appealing to the world, and especially to France, placed at the head of her interests a man deroted to the Eimpire, and cast the gauntlet of civil war at the feet of the yet conferarated States.

But this was not all. France, to whom the appeal was made, demanded a price for her fricudshir. It was declared by her resident therefore to Virginia and her friends, that the urgency of the times, and the circomstances of the mation required a decided balance to the Energish power ; that indecd a strongr aid would be rerquisite $t$ ol assure to them a defence agrainst the unecrtainties of domestich war ; but that France must have some adequate compensation for her sacrifices ; vet, as she execedingly wished the happiness of her beloved allies, would in kindness wave that question, and, ats an emenest of her grood will, and of the paternal regord of her Bimperour, wonk condescend, that the Sonthern Division of the States, which had seceded from the late

Union, should be the future care of a son of her Imperial family, or : allied to the Americans by blood and every teider consideration; and that, in consequence of these gracious determinations, she formally appointed the respectable chief, whom Virginia had elceted, her Imperial prefect for that purpose, to govern and enlarge the domain, as lieutenant of the kingdom, for the few years that its lawful heir should remain in his minority.

Your affectionate Father.

## LETTER V.

IT is now time, my Son, after having rapidly drawn for you the preceding or tline of national degradations, for I have omitted many intervening facts, vecause the narration gave me pain; it is now time to advert to the North Eastern States, and bring down their history to the period, at which we left the aflairs of the South. Had that valuable library of domestick history, colleeted by the friends and associates of Belknap and Minot, survived the troubles of civil war, it would have been needless for me to leare you any hints of the antient history of New England. It was doubtiess a politick measure of his Majesty's lientenants to suppress also the publication of those patriotick details of history, which could serve only to renew the memory of a different form of government from the present, and of purer times, than those, in which we live. But 1 have always spoken and will still speak to you the truth. For should I now forfeit the fewour of my Sovereign by concealing facts and sentiments" Should I leave your name braded with my derelictions? It is truc I am left alone. Perhaps his Majesty has beca inclined to respect in my aged person the Republick, whose existence was once incompatihie with his safety, but which he has loner since ecased to fear. because he hath
tanght its citizens，now his dutiful subjects，to esteem and to love him．Or，perhaps，he bestows his notice on me from an imate nobleness，prompting him with tenderness toward the homry head．

The States east of the Hudson were peopled by a body of men distinct，in several respeces，from the generality of the colonists．It was not thirst of giuin nor de－ sire of conguest，which instigated the fathers of New England to leave their native home．Considerations of religion were the gronnd of their removal ；and the majority of the carly settlers were men ol a riged in－ dicd，！ut distinguished piett．Scoual of them des－ cended of respectable familice，who had carly embaned the doetrines of the lie formation，and had dissented firom the E．inglish Church establishmen．Others were them－ selves the first of their families to dissent．They were moderately Republican in peineiple，but nevertheless loyal subjects．Not a mam of their compring，perhaps， entertained vicirs of a distinet，independent sovereigenty． They were attached to the country，which a son⿻丷木大⿱十又⿱⿻丷木女⿱⿰㇒一乂，of one of their number emphatically called＂the land of our futher＇s seppibches，＂and gloried in the rights and prisileges of frechorn Finglishmen．Their first per－ matient settlement wats at Plymonth，where a vencrable band established themselves ；and in my day several ol their descendents hede a distinguished rank in the churches，and in the statc．The nest was at Salem， which issued in the formation of the colony of Massa－ chusetts－hay．Then followed New Hampshire and

[^2]Rhode Island, from different views and causes indeed, for the former was settled through interested speculations, and the latter by persecuted religionsts. Connecticut receised her inhabitat, principally from the colonists of the Massochusetts, and among her civil and rdigions fathers boused the brightest ornaments of the times. Maine wats patented to a noble family, and, like New Hampshirc, oftaised her Europe:m population through permission of an individual proprictary. All these separate colonics were, at one period of their history, united by a federation, of which the traces continuced erer after.

But as the Ni.w "dnglanders, st named, wereal heallyy, hardy race, and prossessed a dact bey means the most fertile of the United territories, many of them migrated into other States, and especially alter the revolutionary war, which separated them from binghand. New York received in this manner the greater part of her western subjects, and evern the capital of that name embataced in it many, who, derining their desecnt fom New Finglith amestors, retain I a memorial of it in ammal edelations. 'Thex Were common in New Finghand, and sulbereved the purposes of attachiner the inhabitants to each other, of rendering them regardful of the religions and political chanacter of their forcfathers, and of tramsmitting to posterity the recollectioms of deceds of old. I fiw distinguished indicidnals, it may be, used them an means of attaterins? perman no. tiec, and thus of ohtaming influcnce and agromatise. ment.

In later times there was a peculiar sympathy berween the inhabitants of New England and New York, gromeded on commercial comexions. The grand mart for a great portion of the produce of the western lands of New England was the flourishing city of New York. Hence that State was ranked with the old confederation of the East in thox alarming calculations of population, weath, militar stength and general resonces, which, under the thind President, were very imprudentI! and rathly brought forward by individuals, who were
 prodenty and rashly, because the question of separation onght never to hate been debated. Bubld now the comsequences! 'Io ntter the idea shoukd, from the first, have been deemed implicit treason ; and the man, who berached the phan of it, shouth have been held up, ats atl enem! to his comatry, whether he were a Virsiuian or New Fighancier. On that question depended the fate ol the commery. And sulbecpuent erents hase prosed that, the commencement of its consideration was the era of our calamitics.

In the politioal contents and discussions of that day the disputatits secmed to hate forgetten, that the gor. -rmment wats decidedly and kegally a cration of the majority, and that of conmse it was the duty of a minority to submit with checrfal loyalt!. Those too, who "ere in power, should have used that power with a Christian moxderation. But was the want of this quall.当 the fant of Americans, ats such ? It was hamam nature : and the fefore the framers of our constitutions - inde provided the mansof a chatye of a ceministrants.
that mutual dependence might leget and murture mutual charity. But it tended rather to imbiture domes tick and civil life. Party rancone prevailed soon after the formation of a permanent gencral gormoment. And I was acenstomed to think that they, who were denominated Federalists, might thank themselves for the rage of its renom. For when they had poller, their opponents were absolutely trampled upon. Nothing was too base to impute com. Hence their increase of numbers and influc ; nd, as mamind maturally fafour a piesecuted buit, henee they became the domi nant party. But as their political predecesors generally possessed the weatho of the nation, there arose a strugerle between the aristocratey of money and the aristocracy of office, in which each party was erpally. tenacions of its rights. Conk there have leen an aristocracy of honour, to cheok and balanece these two parties, possibly the form of provernment might have subsisted much lougra.

Men love distanction ; and distinetion they bill ob tain, thenegh in some instances it be by the harditiond of villany. Few of the mations of the carth have $e$. hibit. cel al ereater lowe of it, than the Americans: though
 dence. 'lhis circumstance, howerer, terded but to shonther, not tocestingruishthe joussion. Rank and itk Were eagerly conted, and pertinacionsly kept, form the corporal to the captain-genctal, and from the tide watior
 penemess inglind sill to think. that the how of titula alistinctions was provilu at amoner the Now limetand in
more, than among the Virginians and their associates. The latter were generally beed in habits of superionty, and acenstomed to defercace fiom carly years, owing - . the sreat prevalence of slavery in those times. The former were commoily acenstomed to stand on the ground of individual character, and had few adventitious ciermastances to enhance their personal merits. Far irom being the mere appendage to his estate, the New-Finglander was gencrally, meder Providenee, the creator of whatever fortane he enjoyed. Multiplying rapidly, fom the feemdity eonsequent on their climate and habits, the people of New-England saw their property liable to frectuent and indefinite subdivisions: While the single heir of the rich somhem planter often survered from the stme "maison seignemiale" the hereditary and - ndiminished fichds of his family for several gencrations.

Hence the planters were, in fact, a kind of lowds: and so too were the merchants, mother body of "honomable men ;" and beillect the two there obtained not only a domestick rivalry, but a cinil competition.

I think that, when Switzoland thew off the yoke of Austria, she chacted smmptuary haw for ior citizens. Whether she did or not howe reve, I can concecive of no better methon, if practicabie, to restain within leands one peceies of shom and parade, to shich the enmbation, I hetre maned, natmally tends. Oni Amerieans were arely desiones of rivalline the antinat Republicans of Rome in their poretre. They emmatace rather their
 amingr them, these were such, as happened to be in
fashion. Were I to decide, my Son, hetween the respective aristocracies of honour and of wealth, I think I should give the former a preference, becanse it naturally produces civility, since it depends on publick estimation; whereas the other is the very parent of arrogance. And I never knew any men ciemand more notice, and practise more ostentation, as I think I oisers: ed to you before, than the "hommes parvenus," who grew up, like mushrooms, with sudden exuberance, in the rank seil of commercial prosperity.

There were families, who cultivated and boasted a bamily interest. But this dimgerons idea sprang from an excess of wealth above the general mediocrity, and it tended to cerents the most important. For no sooner did it appear, from the measures of Virginia and her issociates, that a political sowercignty, of whatever name, wats about to be formed in the South, than every exertion was made among influential men of the North, to inerease their influenec, and form a separate dominion. For this parpose there was a sufliciency of means, which were now collecting with diligenee.

During these disenssions and artempts, the Middle states, as they were named, persevered in a steady course of Repulbicenism, with great firmucsis. 'The society of Priends, wh ch religions sect had grained a preponderance both in wealth and power in the State of Pemsylvania, mited their views and exertions with those of the sober, frugal, iadustrions Girmans, and stosed ummowed by cither the threats or tlatteries of their neighbours. Similatity of interests attached to them the yet disconnected States of their immedian, 6

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vicinity, and the whole body were equally deaf to Northern and Suuthern overtures. They afforded thus a desirable and safe asylum to all, who preferred the antient state of affairs to any immovation ; and thongh several, entertaining opinions different from those of the majority, quitted their territory, the republican immigrants considerably exceeded them in number. These inmigrants consisted of persons of every condition, and their motion was continually westward, for the western country increased greatly in value and importance.

Under such a state of things the antient confederation of the colonies of New Fingland was brought for cibly to view. 'The hostility manifested by Virginians to commerce, in which consisted the life of the Northcastern States ; their hostality also to Fingland and the new Viceroyalty of the North, with both of whieh the New Englanders were neecssitated to maintain a close connexion, and still finther, their derotedness to the views of Franee, to which the men of the north ec ald never brook a subserviency, all joined to sever the bonds of connexion, and to prepare the way for a new and distinct government.

I will not enter into a detail of the delates of that eventful period. I look on all the secenes I have related with horror ; and you, my dear Som, must esteen it the strongest prool I ean give you of the sincerest love, that I sit down to a namation which awakens unheceded and incfiectual regrets, and will evor be the theme of mortilication and sonicm.

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But perhaps it was best, indeed I doubt not it was best, that events should have issined as they did. The contests between rival families, rival systems of govcrmment, and rival competitors were long and violent. At length a Presidency for life was agreed on ; and since in New lingland there was a mutual interest, sufficient of itself to attach the several members, this high and responsible office was bestowed on the meritorious Head of one of the most powerful and opulent families of the former State of New York. As a compensation however to the original Confuderation, the old metropolis of New England was constituted forever the capital of this new and most interesting Commonwealth.

Your aged Father.

## LETTER VI.

Haveng carricel you, my Son, thus fir, shall I not now give vent to my feelings? But, alas, of what avail would it be! I am declining to the grave. I have survived my comntry. I am among the last of those, who satw the grolden days of Republican freedom. Yet if kingly power can in any hands conciliate esteem, and reverence, and dhty, certainly these are dae to our gracions Sovereign. Never, perhaps, could a people look back on so natural a series of events, as have formed the progression of the northerin colonies to a free, sovereign, independent and powerfil monarchy. But I, the inhabitant, as it were, of amother country, and the relict of another race, look back with peculiar sensations. The immortal names of Carver, Bradford, Winthrop, Haynes, Hooker, Cotton, Higguson-and a long trinn of worthics, men of picty, of learning, and of the purest patriotism, swell my bosom with indescribable emotions. 'The chbing hlood thrills through these withered veins with a momentary glow; and when I shall be permitted to rest from a wearisome pilgrimage, O spirits of my ancestors! "Sit anima mea, 1'uritani, voliscomm!"

The choice of a President of the new Repulbick for a time allayed the contentions of parties, but for a short
time only. As we had no royal, * nor any incontestibly noble blood among us, and were not in the state of a conquered people, the prineipal citizens eaballed for distinetion. They regretted the work of their own hands; that they had been aceessory in the elevation of one like themselves to a rank pre-eninently splendid, and had done all in their power to establish an hereditary sway, eonsigning themselves and their posterity, by this action, to a despotism, that state, which is the first and the last in the progress of civilised man.

But these eomplaints availed little. They served only to canse an unders nding between the President and the British Prince, who had now assumed the style and power of a Monareh. These strengthened the bonds of their alliance, and it was intimated by the former, that an offensive and defensive treaty could alone assure them both against the arts and arms of France and her Virginian ally. Wary, eautious, vigilant and indefatigable, the King, as was his interest, aeceded cordially. And occasions som offered of testing their strength. The malcontents of the north held a elose correspondence with His Virginim Majesty, and stimulated him with the hope of recosering the whole territory, that lad antiently been the domain of the United States.

In the north a vigorous prepuration for war immediately commenced. Rededlion had begun, and was rife in New Eingland. But why should I relate the

[^3]murders, sciges, devastations and cruelties of a mode of waffare ever the most bloody? Why paint to you the rage, burbarity and brutal violence of a contest so deplorable and fatal?

His Virginian Majesty issued a manifesto which laid all b'...m in the Northern Court. This was acensed of plotting with the President of New England the subjugation of that Republick ; and no circumstance was omitted, which could serie to represent ir in colours the most detestable.

While these great events were transacting, the metropolis of the kingdom, the Petersburgh of America, enjoyed the greatest privileges and prosperity. Her commerce was immense, taking its rise principally from that period, when a ruinous embargo cramped every commercial town of the United States, and she had then and since attracted to herself meechanicks, merchants, professional men, without number, employing them, and rewarding their talents with merited affluence. Like London, Quebeek was now the mart not only of trade, but of literature ; the "Royal Americ:un board" of which, under the fostering patronage of a discerning Prinec, became highly instrumental in the promotion of science. Canals had joined the waters of the St. Lawrence (o) the Atlantick by the North River of New York and the Kennebeck, while the great bay of Hudson by like means supplied the capital with a commmication as extensive, as important, therenghout all that northern tract,

Not many years intervened before the States of New Fingland were compelled by imperious circumstances
to form an indissoluble Union with His Majesty of the North. To this their habits of thinking and living, a community of language and similarity of religrions belief, with a mutual grood will among their religious teachers now combined to ineite. And this, the effect at length of a more intimate alliance with the President, by the marriage of his daughter to the reigning Sovereign, seemed to promise tranguillit!.

But the war raged. Those, who were dissatisfied, or compelled to quit the territory, retired to the West. And it is far more than probable, that there will be the last stand of American Republicanism. Nor should J be surprised, if, notwithstanding present appearances, and the :mimosity of the Northern and Southern Cours, they should yet find their interest in uniting their forec. to exterminate its last traces.

Perhaps, my Julius, you may live to see all thingsettled. Quict may be restored to this unhappy com try in all its parts, a quict, which for fifty years and more has beca prostitnted and abandoned. Perhap. you may live to bless the period, when a people, when had neither the wisdom nor virtue to protect the gor ernment of their first and deliberate choice, submiteed to recece a system imposed 'y arms, and then render. ed dear, by a remembrance of the woes, from which it rescued. But for myself, as I newe reased repeatin!

[^4]to my former compatriots, "Quo, miseri cives, ruitis ?" so I shall ever say of those, who were once the happ? sulbjects of the United States,
"O fortnnatos nimium, sua ‘i bona nôrint!"

## To Julius de Bahiri, Lal. Jurssenliells.

Sir,
THE Publishers deem it a duty they owe you, to apologrise for the liberty they have taken in partially der iating from your directionis, in issuing these trulyvaluable letters of your much homenred father. The" conccived, however, this form would give them a mori extensive circulation, and would by no means injure their value.

They cmbrace this mode of tendering you a publick arknoniledement for so valuable a presebt, and assure ?on, Sir, they will ever kecp in siew your patrontick reguest.

Roynal Press, Quebiecs, 1901 .




[^0]:    - For these characteristick sketches, and the former strong, very strong expressions of his honoured Father, the Editor, unwilling to suppress them in any degree, presumes a sufficient apology may be found in Republican feelings and American fraasnt'ss.
    $\dagger$ This expression should have been suppressed, notwithstanding my reluctance, had it not been legitimately derived-even from Voltaire.

[^1]:    assisted the Americans in their strugble for independence. I do not take it upoa myself to exculpate him, fir a review of his measures tends too cuilently to a ennvirtion, that he indulgal severe prejudices arainst England. And the times, in whirh he lived, stmitted of but two dispositions in public men, as regarded foreign nations. I fully believe, how ever, he sincerely wished well to his country; and if lee erred, am willing to impute his errours to a tho speculative view of her great interests. But had he dicel Screctury of Sture. his name would have lementrane mitted to after times, as indisputably one of the greatest men, whom America produced

[^2]:    ＊Mresident Mather．

[^3]:    *The imperial boond of Powhatan, it wiha be recollected, cmobled the veins of un Northern family E.D.

[^4]:    
    
    
    
    

